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A HISTORY

OF THE

INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE

1600—1913

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A HISTORY

OF THE

INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE

1600—1913

BY

LT.-COLONEL D. G. CRAWFORD

Bengal Medical Service, Retired List

"*That ye may tell it to the generation following*"

PSALMS xlviii., 13

31853

VOLUME I

LONDON

W. THACKER & CO. 2 CREED LANE E.C.

CALCUTTA & SIMLA THACKER SPINK & CO.

1914

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TO

THE MEMBERS

PAST AND PRESENT

OF THAT GREAT SERVICE TO WHICH FOR OVER THIRTY YEARS

THE COMPILER WAS PROUD TO BELONG, THIS ATTEMPT

TO SET FORTH THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF

THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE

IS DEDICATED

"*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*
Multi; sed omnes illacrimabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro."

HORACE, *Odes*, IV. 9.

PREFACE

My interest in the history of the Indian Medical Service was first aroused in 1884, when I was serving as Resident Surgeon of the Medical College Hospital, Calcutta, by reading an article by the late Surgeon Major Norman Chevers, in the *Calcutta Review* for 1854, No. 45, Vol. XXIII, entitled *Surgeons in India, past and present.* This article was nominally a review of the *List of Medical Officers of the Indian Army,* compiled in 1839 by Messrs. Dodwell and Miles, a long-dead firm of East India Agents. This work purports to give a list of all medical officers serving in the three Presidencies, from the foundation of the Service in 1764, up to 1838, with the dates of their commissions in each rank, and of their death or retirement. In the previous year, 1838, the same firm had published a list of combatant officers serving in the armies of the three Presidencies from 1764 to 1837. I found a copy of this *Medical List* in the Medical College Library; glanced over it, read it, and then studied it carefully. I then began to bring the list up to date, for my own amusement, and in so doing found that it was very imperfect. The information given is usually correct, as far as it goes, but the list is far from complete. I have gradually collected the names of some two hundred medical officers who served in India during the seventy-four years the list covers, whose names are not included in the list.

I had some vague idea of publishing the results of my researches at some future time, *i.e.* Dodwell and Miles' list, with the additional information I had acquired about the period it covers, and that necessary to bring it up to date. Such a list, it appeared, would be the better for some prefatory notes on the history of the Service. This proposed preface has gradually grown into the present large book.

Towards the end of 1900 Major, now Lieutenant Colonel, W. J. Buchanan, then as now Editor of the *Indian Medical Gazette*, asked me to write some notes on the History of the I.M.S., to form the first article in the *Gazette* for January, 1901, the first number of the new century. I did so, and in so doing I realised how little I knew about the subject. Since 1901 I have contributed a historical article to the January number of the *I.M.G.* each year. Nearly all of these articles are embodied in this history, in most cases with considerable additions and alterations. I am indebted to Messrs. Thacker, Spink, and Co., Calcutta, for permission to make use of these papers.

In a work of this kind there must be many errors, both of commission and of omission, I hope chiefly the latter. I am conscious that there is a good deal of repetition in the book. The same facts have, in several cases, been given more than once, as they seemed to be required, to make the account complete, in more than one place, *e.g.* under Early History, and again under Rank, Pay, &c.

The record of the deputation of Surgeon Robert Adams, of Bombay, to attend Haidar Ali, and of his service of over five years in Maisur, came to my notice too late to enter it in its proper place, in Chap. II, *European Surgeons in the Service of Oriental Potentates.* It seemed to me a matter of too much interest to omit, and the only way to include it was to put it in a supplementary chapter. Various other points, of less interest, which were either omitted, or found too late to enter in their proper places, have also been given in Chap. XLV, *Addenda.*

Some of the original documents now given have, as far as I know, not been published before, *e.g.* the Cornwallis regulations of 1788, and the Minute of the Medical Board in 1796 on the Military and Civil question, a Minute the arguments of which are as forcible and as appropriate to-day, as when they were written, over a century ago. Part of Dalhousie's Minute of February, 1856, on the I.M.S. is given in Dr. George Smith's work, *Physician and Friend,* but the greater part of it I have not seen before, except in the original manuscript.

This work does not profess to be a general history of India,

but it has been found necessary to include a good deal of general history in the earlier chapters, for the due illustration of the special subject. Neither is it a history of the rise and progress of modern medicine in India. The only chapters which deal with professional matters are Chapter XLII, *Hospitals*, and Chapter XLIII, *Medical Education*, with a few paragraphs in Chapter XL, *General Remarks*. The aim of the book is to describe the origin and development of the Indian Medical Service.

The work has no pretensions to originality, but is altogether a compilation from older sources. It is difficult to be original in writing history. Indeed, originality in history would come perilously near to fiction. My aim in the compilation has been, not to make an interesting book, so much as to put together a mass of facts. In the compilation I have acted on Molière's maxim, *Je prends mon bien où je le trouve*, and have borrowed from every source, with which I was acquainted, where I could find matter bearing on my subject. The most important sources of information have been the *MS.* records of the India Office and of the Calcutta Record Office, and the *Calcutta Gazette;* but I have also got much of interest from a large number of previous writers, whose works are mentioned in the *Bibliography*. Those from which I have borrowed most freely, I hope in all cases with due acknowledgment, are the late Mr. W. N. Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers*, Miss Sainsbury's *Court Minutes of the E.I. Co.*, Mr. S. C. Hill's *Bengal in* 1756–57, Colonel H. D. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, and *The English Factories in India*, and other works by Mr. W. Foster.

It may be thought that in some instances the book strays somewhat far afield from its subject, the history of the I.M.S., till it resembles the philosopher's treatise, *De omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*. Such episodes as Dance's action with Linois, (Chapter XXXII), the relations of George III with the Fair Quaker, (Chapter XLII), and the exhumation of the skeletons of Anne Boleyn and of other victims of the block in the Tower, (Chapter XXXI), have, indeed, little to do with the I.M.S. All three of these episodes, however, have some slight connection

with the subject. Medical officers of the Company served in Dance's fleet, an I.M.S. officer married a lady who was said to be a descendant of Hannah Lightfoot, a retired officer of the I.M.S. was present on duty at the exhumation.

To one who has a liking for old-world tales, the mere passing glimpses one gets of what should be interesting stories are very tantalising. One would like to know more of the life of Gabriel Boughton, at Agra, at Balkh, and at Rajmahal. All that is known with certainty is that he did visit these places. Who was Dr. Lloyd, the English, or perhaps more probably Welsh surgeon, who was serving under Haidar Ali against his countrymen in the second Maisur war? How did he get into that position, and what became of him afterwards? What were the adventures in Central India of Henry Harlan, first ship surgeon at Madras, afterwards artillery subaltern in Bombay, from the time when he deserted to the "Morattoes," till, nearly four years later, we find him again serving as a surgeon, this time in Bengal, just in time to perish in the Patna massacre? But, as has been said, the best stories are those which have never been told.

In the spelling of Indian words, chiefly proper names, I have in the main followed the Hunterian system. Well-known names, such as Lucknow and Chittagong, are spelt in the ordinary English fashion, sanctioned by long usage. If one writes *Lakhnau* for Lucknow, and *Chatgam* for Chittagong, etc., one might as well carry the system to its logical conclusion, and write *Kalikata* for Calcutta, and *Mambaim* for Bombay.

In the numerous extracts quoted from *MS.* records, and from other writers, spelling, punctuation, and use of capitals and of italics, are given as in the original. In the extracts from old documents, quoted from the works of Sainsbury, Talboys Wheeler, and Foster, the original spelling has been somewhat modernised by these writers.

References beginning with the letters *M.P.L.* are to documents as arranged in the Madras Record Office, and as given in the *Madras Press Lists*. The arrangement of records in volumes at Madras is different from that of the India Office. Similarly, references beginning with *C.P.L.* are to the arrangement of

records in Calcutta, as given in the *Calcutta Press Lists*. I have examined many of the original documents at Calcutta, which I have quoted, but have not seen any of those at Madras. References to *MS.* records, in which the initials *M.P.L.* and *C.P.L.* are not used, are to those in the India Office.

The volumes of Madras records, entitled *Military and Secret Proceedings*, *Select Committee Proceedings*, and *Military and Political Proceedings*, at the India Office, appear to be identical with those entitled *Military Consultations* at Madras. In quoting these records I have throughout, for the sake of brevity, referred to them as *Mily. Cons.*

The abbreviation *O.C.* is used in the India Office records for *Original Correspondence*, in Calcutta for *Original Consultations*, a difference which is apt to be a source of confusion.

The records of the discussions in Council at the three Presidencies are sometimes called *Proceedings*, sometimes *Consultations*. For the names of the Councils, Bengal, Fort William, and Calcutta, are used indiscriminately, as are also Madras and Fort St. George. Thus, *Bengal Consultations* and *Calcutta Public Proceedings* are one and the same thing. Personally, I have usually used the word *Cons.*

The Calendar.—Up to the year 1751 the official year began on the 25th March, and all days from 1st January to 24th March were considered as belonging to the previous year. Thus, the date which would now be given as 12th February, 1731, was then 12th February, 1730. From 1st January, 1752, the year was considered to begin on that day; and in September, 1752, eleven days were omitted, assimilating English dates to those used on the Continent. The "old style" is still in use in Russia. Many writers now modernise the dates, giving them according to modern usage, not as when they were actually written. Others give both years, *i.e.* 12th February, 1730/31. I have followed this plan, which seems the most accurate. In the original records, the dates are often, but by no means always, written in this way, giving both years.

The Coinage.—The three Presidencies originally used, and made up their accounts in, three different coinages, and it was not

till well on in the nineteenth century that the rupee became the universal standard of reckoning and of payment.

In Bombay, in the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth century, payments were made in *Xeraphins* or *serafins*. The word is a corruption of *ashrafi*, the name of a Persian gold coin, worth about 11*s*. 6*d*. The *Xeraphin*, however, was worth only 1*s*. 6*d*. to 1*s*. 8*d*. Surat *Cons*. of 28th Dec., 1702, (quoted in Chapter VI, Vol. I, p. 73), speak of *Xeraphins* at 20*d*. each. The rupee gradually superseded the *Xeraphin* in Bombay about 1710. An entry in the Bombay *Cons*. of 16th June, 1711, gives the salaries of the medical officers in rupees. A later entry, in the same *Cons*. of 6th October, 1712, gives one salary in *Xeraphins* and another in rupees. The word *Xeraphins* is often written as *Xs*.

In Madras, up to 1818, the pagoda was the standard coin, whence the phrase "*to shake the pagoda tree*." In 1818 the rupee was made the standard coin. The pagoda was then worth three and a half rupees, or, with the rupee at 2*s*. 6*d*., a little under nine shillings. The *pagoda* contained forty-two *fanams*, each fanam was worth eight *kas* or *cash*. An entry in the Fort St. David *Cons*. of 17th Jan., 1697/98, states that the Company's servants are paid at nine shillings to the pagoda. The entries of payments of medical officers' salaries from 1730 to 1750 show them as paid at the same rate, half a year's pay being given as £18 or forty pagodas. The Madras Pay Lists of 1759 and 1770, quoted in Chapter XVIII, *Pay*, note the pagoda as equalling eight shillings.

In Bengal and in Northern India the rupee was the standard coin before the first British settlement. H. H. Wilson states that the rupee was introduced by Sher Shah in 1542. But a coin of substantially the same value was in circulation at least 300 years earlier. Payment in rupees is mentioned in Balasore *Cons*. of 1676 (quoted in Chapter VIII, Vol. I, p. 102), and in Hugli *Cons*. of November, 1676. The use of the Murshidabad mint for their own coinage was one of the privileges asked for by and granted to Surman's Embassy to Delhi in 1715–17 (see Chapter IX, p. 119).

The earliest British rupee was struck at Bombay in 1677. Many different rupees used to be current, all varying somewhat

in weight and in value ; the Surat, Bombay, Farakhabad, Benares, Arcot, *Sonat*, and *sikka* rupees; and besides all these the *chalani* or current rupee, in which the Company's accounts were kept. The *sikka* rupee was the highest in value, 116 *chalani* rupees equalling 100 *sikkas*. Hence the well-known but unfounded story that, when Francis was condemned to pay 50,000 rupees damages to Grand, Mr. Justice Hyde interrupted the Chief Justice with the remark, "*Sikkas*, Brother Impey, *sikkas*." The modern rupee is the exact equivalent in weight and purity of the Farakhabad rupee.

The gold *mohur* was worth sixteen rupees. The term is still used in common parlance as equivalent to sixteen rupees, in speaking of a bet, a fee, etc., as the term guinea is used in England ; though an actual gold mohur is now worth more than double that amount. The first British coins, bearing the British Sovereign's head, from a rupee downwards, were issued in the reign of William IV. No gold *mohur* bearing the British Sovereign's head has ever been put into circulation, though such a coin, with the Queen's head, was minted as an essay in 1881.

The value of the rupee has varied greatly from time to time. An entry in the *Court Minutes* of the E.I. Co., on 28th April, 1640 (*Calendar of Court Minutes*, 1640–43, p. 36), speaks of the rupee as worth 5*s.* or 6*s.* 8*d.*, and fixes on the higher rate. This greatly enhanced value, however, appears to include the allowance of a large profit on money invested.

The Calcutta *Pub. Cons.* of 31st Dec., 1722, mention bills given to Surman at 2*s.* 9*d.* the rupee. For about a century the value of the rupee stood at about half a crown, and for another half century at about two shillings. A Bengal G.O. of 21st Nov., 1845, values the rupee at 2*s.* 0½*d.* But a list of subscribers to the Company's bonded debt, entered in the Bombay *Cons.* of 14th Sept., 1786, gives the amounts held by each subscriber both in rupees and in sterling, and shows the rupee at rather *less than* two shillings.

In the 'seventies of last century, after the demonetisation of silver by Germany, the value of the rupee rapidly fell. In 1881 it was worth 1*s.* 8*d.* It gradually sank, until in 1890 it was

worth only about 1*s.* 1*d.* In 1890 it made a sudden but very brief rush up to 1*s.* 9*d.* Finally its value was fixed at 1*s.* 4*d.* by the currency legislation of 1893. It is now, of course, only a token coin, the nominal value of which is upheld by a gold backing, like that of the silver coinage of other gold-standard nations. The actual bullion value of the Indian rupee and of the English florin is now only ninepence or tenpence.

For permission to use the illustration of Lady Butler's picture, *The Remnants of an Army*, I am indebted to the Fine Art Company; for that of Holwell to Messrs. Thacker and Co.; for that of Hamilton's tombstone to Dr. George Smith, C.I.E., LL.D., in whose work, *Physician and Friend*, it has already appeared. The print of Dr. James Anderson was given to me by Mr. W. Foster.

Finally, I must express my thanks to many friends who have given me a great deal of help in the compilation of this work; to Sir Richard Lamb, K.C.S.I., I.C.S.; to Colonels K. McLeod, R. N. Campbell, C.B., and G. W. P. Dennys, Lt.-Colonel Sir David Prain, C.I.E., C.M.G., and Captain A. Hingston, all of the I.M.S.; to Colonel H. D. Love, R.E.; to the late Mr. John Macfarlane and the late Mr. E. W. Madge of the Imperial Library, Calcutta; to Mr. P. Dias of the Calcutta Record Office; and, above all, to Mr. S. C. Hill, late Superintendent of the Calcutta Record Office, and to Mr. W. Foster, C.I.E., of the India Office. All the many references to the *Orme MSS.* were pointed out to me by Mr. Hill.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I

		PAGE
	PREFACE	vii
	LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xix
CHAPTER		
I.	THE FIRST BEGINNINGS	1
II.	EUROPEAN SURGEONS IN THE SERVICE OF ORIENTAL POTENTATES	7
III.	SURGEON GENERAL JOHN WOODALL	17
IV.	EARLY HISTORY; THE ISLANDS; AMBOYNA	27
V.	THE LEGEND OF GABRIEL BOUGHTON	37
VI.	EARLY HISTORY; SURAT, PERSIA, BOMBAY, AND THE WEST	58
VII.	EARLY HISTORY; MADRAS AND THE COAST	78
VIII.	EARLY HISTORY; BENGAL AND THE BAY	99
IX.	WILLIAM HAMILTON, AND THE EMBASSY TO DELHI	113
X.	THE FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	129
XI.	JOHN HOLWELL, AND THE FALL OF CALCUTTA	155
XII.	WILLIAM FULLERTON, AND THE PATNA MASSACRE	178
XIII.	THE FOUNDATION OF THE SERVICE	197
XIV.	STRENGTH FROM TIME TO TIME	199
XV.	THE DOUBLE COMMISSIONS	223
XVI.	MILITARY AND CIVIL	248
XVII.	RANK	296
XVIII.	PAY	353
XIX.	FURLOUGH AND LEAVE	402
XX.	PENSIONS	437
XXI.	THE FUNDS	458
XXII.	APPOINTMENT TO THE SERVICE: EXAMINATIONS	488

ILLUSTRATIONS

VOL. I

JOHN ZEPHANIAH HOLWELL . . . . . *Frontispiece to Vol. I*

WILLIAM HAMILTON'S TOMBSTONE . . . *to face page* 128

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(The ordinary abbreviations of degrees and orders are not included.

A.M.O.	Administrative Medical Officer.
A.M.D.	Army Medical Department.
Apy..	Apothecary.
A.J. .	Asiatic Journal.
B.C.S.	Bengal Civil Service.
B.I. .	Bengal Infantry
Bo.C.S.	Bombay Civil Service.
Bo.I..	Bombay Infantry.
B.S. .	Brigade Surgeon.
B.M.J.	British Medical Journal.
C.G. .	Calcutta Gazette.
C.P.L.	Calcutta Press Lists.
C.-in-C.	Commander in Chief.
Cons.	Consultations.
D.I.G.	Deputy Inspector General.
D.S.G.	Deputy Surgeon General.
D.G.	Director General.
E.I.Co.	East India Company.
E.M.J.	Edinburgh Medical Journal.
G.O.	General Order.
G.O.C.C.	General Order by Commander in Chief.
G.O.G.	General Order of Governor.
G.O.G.G.	General Order of Governor General.
G.M.	Gentleman's Magazine.
H.C.S.	Honourable Company's Ship.
H.M.S.	His Majesty's Ship.
I.A.C.	Indian Army Circulars.
I.C.S.	Indian Civil Service.
I.M.D.	Indian Medical Department.
I.M.D. Circs.	Indian Medical Department Circulars.
I.M.G.	Indian Medical Gazette.
I.M.S.	Indian Medical Service.
I.N. .	Indian Navy.
I.G. .	Inspector General.
J.J. Hosp.	Jamsetji Jijibhai Hospital.
K.H.P.	King's Honorary Physician.
K.H.S.	King's Honorary Surgeon.
L.G.	Lieutenant Governor.
L.S. .	Lower Standard.
M.C.S.	Madras Civil Service.
M.I. .	Madras Infantry.
M.P.L.	Madras Press Lists.
M.M.B.	Member Medical Board.
Mily. Cons.	MilitaryConsultations.
N.Dr.	Native Doctor.
N.I. .	Native Infantry.
N.C.O.	Non-commissioned Officer.
O.C.(Calcutta)	Original Consultations.
O.C.(London)	Original Correspondence.
P.W.I.	Prince of Wales Island.
P.M.O.	Principal Medical Officer.
Pub. Cons..	Public Consultations.
Q.H.P.	Queen's Honorary Physician.
Q.H.S.	Queen's Honorary Surgeon.
R.A.M.C.	Royal Army Medical Corps.
R.N.	Royal Navy.
S.M.O.	Senior Medical Officer.
S.A.S.	Sub Assistant Surgeon.
S.S. .	Superintending Surgeon.
S.G. .	Surgeon General.
S.M.	Surgeon Major.
T.C.D.	Trinity College, Dublin.

HISTORY OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST BEGINNINGS

"The spacious times of great Elizabeth."
TENNYSON, *A Dream of Fair Women.*

THE East India Company may be said to have come into existence on the first day of the seventeenth century, for the Association of Merchant Adventurers, formed in 1599, received a charter from Queen Elizabeth on 31st Dec., 1600. This charter is given at length in *The First Letterbook of the East India Company*, 1600–19, edited by Sir George Birdwood and William Foster, where it fills twenty-six pages (pp. 163–189). Only four years later we hear of the first interloper, Sir Edward Michelborne, who sailed to the East under a licence from King James I. in 1604. On 31st May, 1609, the King granted a second charter to the Company.

Nearly twenty years before the formal incorporation of the Company, an attempt was made by London merchants to trade with the East. In 1582 four ships were fitted out for a voyage to Cathay and the East Indies, the *Leicester* galleon, commanded by Luke Fenton, who as Admiral led the whole expedition, with William Hawkins as chief officer; the *Edward Bonaventure*, commanded by Luke Ward, Vice-Admiral; the *Francis*, and a small vessel called the *Elizabeth*. This expedition was a failure, and never got further than the Atlantic, returning to England in May, 1583. Luke Ward's journal is published by Hakluyt.*

* Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East India, China and Japan*, Vol. I, 1513–1616; pp. 76, 77, No. 189, 24th March, 1582; p. 80, No. 201, 1st May, 1582; p. 90, No. 229, 1583.

The first medical officers in the employment of the E.I. Co. were Surgeons on board ship. The names of the Surgeons who served in this voyage have been preserved—John Banester in the *Leicester*, Lewis Attmer in the *Edward*, and Robert Myssenden in the *Francis*. Banester made a report on the health of the crew during the voyage to the Earl of Leicester, one of those who had shared in the expenses of the adventure. Altogether the *Leicester* lost 45 men, including three died of wounds and four drowned, out of about 125.

Three vessels sailed for the East Indies in 1591, under a charter from Queen Elizabeth, commanded by George Raymond, in the *Penelope*. This vessel parted company from the other two in a storm, and was never heard of again. The two remaining ships, under James Lancaster in the *Edward*, completed the voyage, visiting Nicobar and Ceylon. In 1596 Benjamin Wood sailed for China and the East, with three ships, fitted out chiefly at the expense of Robert Dudley, bearing a letter from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor of Cathay. This expedition never returned.

The Company's first fleet sailed for the East in December, 1600. It consisted of four ships, the *Malice Scourge*, purchased from the Earl of Cumberland, and rechristened the *Red Dragon*, under Captain James Lancaster, who was in command of the whole expedition; the *Hector*, Captain Middleton, second in command; the *Ascension*, Captain William Brund; and the *Susan*, Captain John Howard. To each ship were appointed "Surgeons twoe and a Barber." With them also went a small victualler, the *Guift*, which was broken up and abandoned when the stores on board her had been consumed.

On 11th Dec., 1600, orders were given by the Court to Alderman Hollyday to pay to Ralph Salter, Surgeon of the *Red Dragon*—

"the somme of thertie and two pounds sterlinge being allowed unto him by composition for the furnishing of his chest with all kinde of necessaries and remedies belonging to a chirurgion, to be used in this viage; upon paiment of which money he is to take his acquittannce."

And on the 15th Dec. Alderman Baninge was directed to make similar payments to the Surgeons of the other three ships.*

25*l.* sterling to James Lovering, Surgeon of the *Hector*.

20*l.* sterling to Christopher Newchurch, Surgeon of the *Ascension*.

* Sainsbury, *Calendar*, Vol. I, p. 114, No. 279, of 11th and 15th Dec., 1600.

20*l.* sterling to John Gammond, Surgeon of the *Susan.*

The names of a few other Surgeons on board the Company's early ships have been preserved, chiefly by notices recording their deaths.*

In Oct., 1607, Mr. Comber was entertained as Surgeon for the fourth voyage, and in Nov. George Sheather as Surgeon's Mate. The latter was found incompetent and discharged before starting. This shows that, from the first, the Company at least tried to provide competent medical officers. In Jan., 1607/08,† Lawrence Pegion was hired as Surgeon for the *Ascension,* at 33*s.* 4*d.* per month, and £17 to furnish his chest to sea, and Thomas Yonger as Surgeon's Mate at 20*s.* per month. On 22nd June, 1608, Anthony Marlowe, on board the *Hector* at Delisha, on the coast of Sokotra, writes to the Company :—

" The 19th present at night, being never sick, died Mr Blastock, our Master Surgeon, to our much discomfort."

In a list of casualties, the Surgeon's full name is given as Thomas Blastock. A letter to the Company from Edward Cocks at Bantam, dated 12th Jan., 1612/13, in a list of casualties in the fleet, gives the name of Edward Reeve, chirurgeon, died 24th March, 1611/12. On 12th July, 1613, Captain T. Best, at Achin, writes to Surat that Ralph Standish, Surgeon of the *Osiander,* is dead. Henry Pattison, writing to Bantam from the factory at Tecoo or Tiku, on the south-west coast of Sumatra, on 28th July, 1617, reports the death of Mr. Byll or Bell, master chirurgeon of the *Unicorn.*

Other names which occur in the records during the first twenty years are Thomas Wotton, Surgeon of the *James,* in 1614 ; Dr. Paiton in the *Clove,* in 1614 ; Samuel Bond in the *Attendant,* in 1614 ; George Power on the *James,* in July, 1617 ; Lawrence Welldo, in the *Globe,* reports her arrival in Plymouth Sound on

* Various entries in Sainsbury's *Calendar,* and in *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East,* edited by F. C. Danvers and W. Foster.

† Up to the year 1752 the year began on 25th March, and all days from 1st Jan. to 24th March were counted as belonging to the previous year. In Sept., 1752, eleven days were omitted, thus assimilating English dates to those used on the continent, and from 1st Jan., 1752, the year was considered to begin on that day. Many writers nowadays modernise the dates, giving them as they would be given now, not as when they were actually written. Others give both years, as done in the text here, and this seems the safest way ; it is also a way frequently used in the original records.

23rd Aug., 1617; John Neve, in the *Globe*, in Oct., 1617; William Wiley, in the *Peppercorn*, in Oct., 1617; Ralph Harries, in the *Anne*, in Oct., 1619, in the *Hart*, in Feb., 1620, and subsequently in the *Mary*, in 1627; and — Ellis, in the *Unity*, in March, 1620.

It may be as well to give a few dates about the settlement of other European nations in India.

The Portuguese were the first European nation to visit and settle in India. On 8th Jan., 1454, Pope Nicholas V. granted to King Alfonso V. of Portugal an exclusive right to all countries which might be discovered in Africa and eastwards, including India. Bartholomeo Diaz doubled the Cape for the first time early in 1487. The first explorer to reach India was Vasco da Gama, who arrived at Calicut on 26th Aug., 1498. Pedro Alvarez Cabral discovered Brazil on 21st April, 1500, having been driven far out of his course to the west, when on the way to India, *viâ* the Cape. Much about the same time the Spaniards began to push their discoveries westwards. Columbus sailed on his voyage of discovery on 3rd Aug., 1492, and discovered Hispaniola, now Haiti, before the end of the year. On 4th May, 1493, Pope Alexander VI. issued a bull granting to Spain all countries discovered more than a hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde islands; in 1494 the line between the Spanish and Portuguese claims was changed to one drawn 370 leagues west of those islands. The Spaniards exploring westwards, and the Portuguese going east, came into collision before long, the actual meeting taking place in the Moluccas, in 1527. Each claimed that their own side was within its rights, and certainly there was a good deal to be said in favour of each side. Goa was captured by the Portuguese in 1510.

The first Portuguese explorer to visit Bengal was João da Silveira, in 1518. The first Portuguese fort at Hugli is said to have been built about 1537 or 1538, but it was not till about 1575 that they made a regular settlement there. Their fort at Hugli was captured in 1632, in the reign of Shah Jahan, and the survivors taken as prisoners to Agra. They were allowed to return, but from that time on had no pretension to independence in Bengal. When the other European nations began to trade with India, the only Portuguese possessions with which they came into contact, and conflict, were those on the west coast, where to this day Portugal still holds Goa, and a few minor settlements.

The Dutch entered the field about the same time as the English. The seven northern provinces of the Netherlands declared their independence of Spain in 1580. Philip II., king of Spain, succeeding also to the throne of Portugal in that year, forbade the Dutch merchants to trade with Lisbon. The Dutch, in consequence, determined to trade direct with India *viâ* the Cape. The first Dutch Company trading to the East was founded in 1595. The business was found so profitable that several other Companies followed, which in 1602 were combined into one, the Dutch East India Company.

The first Dutch fleet, of four ships, sailed for the East under Cornelius Houtman in 1595. He reached Java in 1596, and in that island founded their first factory, Bantam, on 3rd July, 1596. Their factory at Jakatra was started in 1612, and close to Jakatra, about 1620, was founded their Eastern capital, Batavia.

Their first factory in India itself was founded at Pulicat, about 1610. By 1614 they had also factories at Masulipatam, Negapatam, and Pettapolli. Their factory at Surat was started in Aug., 1616.

According to Orme, the Dutch first visited Bengal about 1625, and after the expulsion of the Portuguese from Hugli in 1632, settled there, and founded Chinsura.

The French made their first attempt to trade with the East at a much earlier date. In 1503, in the reign of Louis XII., two ships were fitted out by some merchants at Rouen, which sailed from the port of Havre in that year, and were never heard of again. No further efforts were made for a century, until, on 1st June, 1604, Henri IV. granted a patent for fifteen years, to a Company to trade with the East. This Company, however, does not appear to have done anything A second Company was formed by Richelieu under letters patent of 24th June, 1642, as "La Compagnie des Indes." It devoted its attention chiefly to Madagascar. The third Company was formed, under the same name, by Colbert in 1664. Their first factory in India was founded at Surat, in 1668, by François Caron.

In the beginning of 1670 they established a factory at Masulipatam, under a *farman* from the King of Golkonda, dated 5th Dec., 1669. From 1672 to 1674 they held St. Thomé, south of Madras. In April, 1674, a French officer, named François Martin, bought for the Company a piece of ground south of the river Coleroon,

to which was given the name of Phulcheri, which was gradually corrupted into Pulicheri and Pondicherri.

The third French Company was superseded by a fourth, got up by John Law, under a royal decree of May, 1719. This fourth Company came to an end in 1769.

Chandannagar was first occupied by the French about 1673, but abandoned before 1676. In 1688, under an edict of Aurangzeb, they reoccupied the place, this time permanently, and in 1697 built there Fort Orleans.

In 1701 they abandoned Surat, and Chandannagar was placed under Pondicherri, which thus became the French headquarters in the East.

The Danish East India Company was formed in 1612, the first Danish ship reached India in 1616, and was wrecked off Tranquebar. The captain, Rodant Crape, made his way to the Court of the King of Tanjore and from him got a grant for the Company of a strip of land at Tranquebar. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the Danes effected a settlement on the Hugli, at Gondalpara, in what is now the south-east corner of the French territory of Chandannagar; to this day the place retains the name of Danemardanga. In 1755 they moved to Serampur, under a grant from Alivardi Khan, then Viceroy of Bengal. The Danish possessions in India, Tranquebar, and Serampur were sold to the British in 1845, for the sum of twelve *lakhs*.

CHAPTER II

EUROPEAN SURGEONS IN THE SERVICE OF ORIENTAL POTENTATES

"To Agra and Lahor of great Mogul."
MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, Book XI, line 391.

DURING the seventeenth century, a number of European medical men found employment as Surgeons or Physicians at the Courts of various Indian and other Eastern rulers. Among these pioneers of medical science in the East were men from several different nations—Britain, France, Italy, Holland.

One of the first, in point of time, was the Scotsman, George Strachan,* who served as Surgeon to the Arab Emir Feiad in Arabia Deserta, in 1615–1618. Others, however, have left less transient impressions on the sands of time, especially Bernier and Manucci.

François Bernier was born on 25th Sept., 1620, and took the degree of M.D. at Montpelier on 26th Aug., 1652.† He reached Surat towards the end of 1658 or early in 1659, and in March, 1659, entered the service of Prince Dara Shikoh, eldest son of Shah Jahan, as his Surgeon. Dara had already lost his throw for empire, when defeated at Samugarh, near Agra, on 8th June, 1658, by the troops of his brothers, Murad and Aurangzeb. In March, 1659, he was on his way to Sind, where he was betrayed, taken prisoner to Delhi, and there murdered on 29th Aug., 1659.

Bernier was in Delhi from July, 1663, to Jan., 1664/65, when he went in Aurangzeb's train to Lahore. In Dec., 1665, he travelled to Bengal in company with Tavernier. They parted company at Rajmahal on 6th Jan., 1665/66, Bernier going on to

* See Chap. VI, *Early History, Surat, Persia, Bombay, and the West.*

† These notes on Bernier are taken from the *Chronicle* prefixed to his *Travels* in the edition of 1891, *Constable's Oriental Miscellany*, Vol. I.

Kasimbazar, after which he visited Masulipatam and Golkonda in 1666–67. He left Surat in 1667, returned to Europe through Persia, and died at Paris on 22nd Sept., 1688.

Nicholas Manucci * was born at Venice in 1639. In 1653 he left Venice for the East. At Smyrna he fell in with an English traveller, Lord Bellamont, who took Manucci into his service. They were at Ispahan in 1654–55, and reached Surat in January, 1655/56, whence they proceeded towards Delhi. Bellamont died at Hodal, between Mathura and Delhi, on 20th June, 1656. Manucci reached Delhi, and took service with Prince Dara Shikoh, as an artilleryman on rupees eighty monthly. After Dara's defeat at Samugarh, Manucci fled to Agra and joined the army of Aurangzeb. He again joined Dara at Lahore, and commanded the Prince's artillery at Bhakkar. After Dara's betrayal and murder, he adopted medicine as a profession, apparently without any training or knowledge, at Agra. In 1663 he visited Hugli. In 1664–65 he served as a captain of artillery in the Dekkan, under Raja Jai Sinh, of Jaipur. After this he practised medicine at Lahore for about seven years, 1671–78, and served as Physician to Shah Alam, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, from 1678–82. He was at Goa in 1683–84; and reached Fort St. George in 1686. There he married the widow of Thomas Clarke, a servant of the Company, and spent the remainder of his life between Madras and Pondicherri, practising as a Physician. His wife died in 1706; he survived her by several years. In Cotton's *Inscriptions on Tombs and Monuments in the Madras Presidency*, p. 3, he is said to have died at San Thomé about 1709. In the introduction by Irvine to the *Storia do Mogor*, the date of his death is given (p. lxvii) as about 1717.

In 1701 the Government of Fort St. George employed Manucci, whom they call Dr. Manuch, to conduct negotiations with and offer a present on their behalf to Daud Khan.† When the English were considering the despatch of an Embassy to the Court of Delhi, it was at one time proposed to send it from Madras, with Manucci as one of its members. He was by that time,

* The information about Manucci is taken from the introduction to his work, the *Storia do Mogor*, or *Mogul India*, 1653–1706, translated and edited by W. Irvine, B.C.S., retired, *Indian Texts Series*, four volumes, London, John Murray, 1907–08.

† *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. XI, 1701, *Cons.* of 17th Jan. and 3rd Feb., 1700/01.

ever, an old man of seventy, and in the end the Embassy was sent from Calcutta, under Surman, in 1714.*

In his work Manucci mentions meeting several other European surgeons in India. An Armenian, called Sikandar Beg, was Surgeon to Suleiman Shikoh, eldest son of Dara, in 1658. Shah Jahan's own Surgeon was a Persian, named Mukarram Khan. In 1663 he met at Agra a Dutch surgeon, called Jacob Minues, who had fled from Goa, after killing a man there. Another Dutch surgeon, Gelmer Vorburg, is mentioned as writing from Assam in the same year. Other European surgeons who were met or mentioned by Manucci are Luis Beiçao, with Raja Jai Sinh in the Dekkan in 1664; a Venetian, Angello Legrenzi, at the Court of Shah Alam at Aurangabad, in 1679; D'Estremon, with the King of Golkonda, in 1684; and a Frenchman, Mons. Cattem, in Bengal, in 1700.

Tavernier speaks of a French physician, named François de la Palisse, *alias* St. Jacques, as being at the Mogul Court; and Claudius Malle, of Bourges, as Surgeon to the Governor of Allahabad, both about 1666.

The Fort St. George *Cons.* of 1684 record, on 12th Sept., the despatch of a letter to Monsieur Estremon (D'Estremon), Surgeon to the King of Golkonda, asking his help in procuring them a *farman* permitting them to coin rupees; and his answer; promising to do his best to help them. Manucci mentions D'Estremon's death in the same year, 1684.

The same *Cons.*, in July, 1693, record a correspondence between the President of Madras and Johannes Potuliet, from his name probably an Armenian, Physician to the Nawab of the Karnatik, who tried to help the English to get a *farman* from the Emperor at Delhi for free trade on the Coromandel Coast.

When Surman's Embassy was at Delhi, from 1715 to 1717, the Emperor Farakh Siyar had a Frenchman, Mons. Martin, in his service as Physician. Martin served in that capacity under the Emperors Bahadur Shah (Shah Alam), Farakh Siyar, and Muhammad Shah, successively, and died at Delhi in June or July, 1728.

Malcolm, in his *History of Persia*, mentions Friar Bazin as Physician to Nadir Shah, the King of Persia, who took and sacked

* See Chap. IX, *William Hamilton and the Embassy to Delhi.*

Delhi in 1739, when he carried off the famous Peacock Throne from the Moguls. Bazin joined Nadir Shah at Darband in 1741, and remained with him till he was murdered in 1747.

Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan had several European medical men in their service. Jean Martin, a Frenchman, deserted from Haidar to the English at Vaniambadi, on 8th Dec., 1767, in the first Maisur war. He afterwards served for thirty years in the Madras Medical Service. His career is described in Chap. XXXIV, *Courts-martial.*

A very interesting work, published in 1788, *Memoirs of the War in Asia, from 1780 to 1784; including a Narrative of the Imprisonment and Sufferings of our Officers and Soldiers, by an Officer of Colonel Baillie's Detachment,* mentions three European surgeons in Haidar's service. The book is anonymous, the author's name is not given on the title page, but Wilson, in his *History of the Madras Army* (Vol. II, p. 130), states that, from internal evidence, it appears to have been written by Lieutenant Alexander Read, A.D.C. to Colonel Baillie. On page 20 he states that on 12th Sept., 1780, the prisoners met an English surgeon, a Dr. Lloyd, formerly of Madras, who gave them some help.*

"At this time Lieutenant Bowser saw Dr Lloyd, whom he had formerly known at Madras, coming out of Hyder's tent. He instantly requested one of the guards to call the Doctor, and, after making himself known to him, begged that he would obtain an order that his small party might be sent to Colonel Baillie and the other officers. With this request the Doctor complied, without the smallest delay."

This Dr. Lloyd is also mentioned in the *India Gazette, or Calcutta Public Advertiser* of 31st March, 1781, which quotes an extract from a letter, dated 6th March, from Kadalur.

"There is a Doctor Lloyd come over to us from Hyder's camp, who informs us that Hyder is very much distressed for provisions and stores of every sort, and that his Fighting men do not exceed ten thousand."

It would be interesting if more could be ascertained about the career of this English surgeon, of whom we catch but these two glimpses.

On page 27 the author of the *Memoirs* states that the prisoners

* For Colonel Baillie's defeat at Perambakam on 10th Sept., 1780, see Chap. XXXII, *War Services.*

were attended at Arni by a surgeon, Monsieur Castro, who "shewed us great humanity and attention"; and on page 40, that in December, 1780, at Seringapatam, they were treated by a surgeon there, Monsieur Fortuno.

The Monsieur Castro mentioned above is evidently Jean Castaréde. The *Madras Mily. Cons.* of 21st July, 1789, contain a memorial from Castaréde asking for an appointment in the Madras Medical Service, a very laudatory certificate from some of the officers who, as prisoners in Maisur, had been treated by him, and letters from Surgeon-General James Anderson, and from General Horne, Commander-in-Chief, recommending his appointment. The Madras Government considered themselves debarred from appointing him by the orders of Court, but gave him a donation of five hundred pagodas. Apparently his case was referred home to the Court of Directors, for he was appointed as Assistant-Surgeon in the Madras Service from 2nd June, 1790. He must have been at least forty when appointed. He died at Kadalur on 1st Feb., 1798. His name is given in Dodwell and Miles' *East India Medical List* as John Casterade, but his own signature is Jean Castaréde.

The author of the *Memoirs* also mentions a French officer, Captain Pimoran, called by Castaréde Chevalier Pemorain, as having been very kind to the prisoners; and says that Pimoran was afterwards killed in the siege of Arcot.

The original papers are as follows :—

"*Cons.*, 21 July, 1789. Present, the Honorable John Holland, Esq., Governor, President; James Henry Casamaijor and Edward John Holland, Esquires. Minutes of last Consultation read and approved. Read the following Letter from General Horne :—

"The Honorable John Holland, Esqr., Governor in Council, Fort St. George.

"Honorable Sir, I beg leave to lay before the Board the Accompanying Memorial from Mr Casterede, late a Surgeon in Tippoo Sultaun's Service, and to submit to their Consideration the propriety of Establishing a future provision for a person who has so eminently Shewn a Distinguished and humane Conduct to the Officers and Soldiers Captured by Hyder Ally on the 10th September, 1780.

"Although Mr. Anderson observes that the Honorable Court of Directors has excluded any Medical Appointments in the Line of the Service, yet I am hopeful that the Honorable Board in the present Instance may be induced to deviate from this Resolution from a desire of Rewarding unusual Merit, and as an encouragement to other Men to pursue the same line of Conduct, should any Officers or Soldiers hereafter fall into a similar Situation.

" I beg leave further to remark to the Honorable Board that exclusive of the Certificate given to Mr Casterede by the Officers present who experienced his humanity and Attention during their Imprisonment that I have frequently heard his Meritorious Conduct enumerated by several other Gentlemen, and as he is particularly well informed of the Situation of the Mysore Country as well as its Political Government, I conceive much advantage to the Service may be derived from Monsr. Casterede's Abilities and Attendance on the Officer Commanding the Army in the event of future War with Tippoo Sultaun. I am with ye highest respect, &c., &c. (signed) Mathew Horne. Fort St. George, July 20th, 1789."

" To Brigadier General Horne, Commander-in-Chief on the Coast of Coromandel. The Humble Memorial of Jean Castarede Surgeon.

" The Testimony of the undernamed Gentlemen I most humbly hope will entitle me to some Countenance and patronage from the Honorable Board (through your Countenance and support). In Consequence of the Services I had in my power to render to the Wounded Officers and Men of the unfortunate Detachment of Colonel Baillie's which consisted of 28 Officers of Different Ranks and 135 Privates, that I was ordered by Hyder Ally Caun to attend, and which, under the Providence of God I effected a perfect Cure of, having in the Course of six Months perfectly established every Individual of the above Number in an entire State of Health.

" It must be allowed and is well known to every Individual in that unfortunate Situation the Difficulties I had to encounter with, were very unfavorable to my wishes. The Scarcity and badness of Provisions, and the very unwholsome and Aldulterated Water, I was Obliged to Administer to my Patients being in fact the least of these Obstacles, I had to surmount however the tender Anxiety and Diligence I exhibited and felt on this Melancholy Occasion, in a great Measure overcame the accumulated Ill advantages that opposed my efforts, and I ultimately triumphed in the happy Contemplation of restoring to their former health all those brave men entrusted to my Charge. I had not even so much as Medecine Ointments, or Linnen allowed me by the Circar for the Wounded, And was Necessitated out of my own small pay to provide the same, and what remained of it I chearfully shared with poor Distressed Soldiers to provide them with the bare Necessaries of Life which their own Miserable Pittance would by no means afford, at that Time in their Pityable Situation; and in order to Alleviate their Sufferings by every Exertion of Mine, and even at the risk of my own Life and Family, I frequently went from the Prisoners at Arnee to Arcot to lay before the Chevalier Pemorain the Miserable Situation of the English Prisoners and am happy to have it to say, that by the pecuniary relief I brought them from Mr Pemorain I consider myself highly instrumental in preserving their Existence, as otherwise most every one of the Prisoners must have fallen Sacrifice to the wants of the Common Necessaries of Life.

" It has been my Misfortune to have been compelled to serve Hyder 19 Years without a Glimpse or Chance of escaping from his Tyranny and Oppression, and but very recently was favored by fortune to get from his Tyrant Son Tippoo (with my Wife and Children) by a French Vessel, that was then at Mahé, but Obliged in the prosecution of my endeavours to Escape, to leave every part of my property behind me, and since my Arrival at Pondicherry, after the best part of my Life has been devoted to

Slavery, I found myself without the least Provision made for myself and family. In this Melancholy Situation (hearing that several of the Officers on whom I attended in their Captivity were at the Presidency) and Convinced from a Number of Examples of the Generosity and liberality of the English Government particularly to those who had the smallest plea to their Countenance, I am induced Sir from your well known Character as Patronizing the Distressed to Solicit your Intercession with the Board of Madras (if you think my Conduct entitles me to any mark of Distinction) to be employed in the Medical Line in any Capacity they may Judge fit having practised that profession upwards of 19 Years in India, acquainted with its several branches, and particularly the Disorders incident to the Climate.

" Should I be so fortunate as to succeed in this Application I have only to say that by a Zeal and Attachment to the Service I shall endeavour to prove deserving of Commendation and further hope to be Serviceable to my Employers in a political Line, whenever they may judge fit to Call on me, having a very Extensive Knowledge of the Maysore Country, its Government &c., from being long Resident and Constantly employed with Tippoo's Army. And Your Petitioner as in Duty bound will Ever Pray, (signed) Jean Castarede."

" We the undermentioned Officers do beg leave to recommend to the Consideration of the Honble Board and patronage of Brigadier General Horne, Mr. Jean Castarede Surgeon being an humane, meritorious and deserving, Man, and by whose Exertions we and all the Prisoners confined in the Prison of Arnee do consider ourselves most highly indebted to, for the Assistance and support he afforded Us, by endeavouring to alleviate our Misfortune by every Exertion in his power, even at the Risk of his Own Life and Property and therefore as in Gratitude Bound for his Essential Services (which both Officers and Soldiers most liberally experienced) we are truly Interested in some Provision being made for him by Government in the line of his profession for which Act of Liberality we are fully Convinced he Will prove himself truely deserving (signed) Richard Chase, Captain; Thos. Bowsen, Captain; Jas. Turing, Captain. In behalf of themselves and the other prisoners who survived their Captivity."

" I see the Name of this Petitioner mentioned with great respect in the Memoirs of the late War and from the above Certificate it is evident Government are under great Obligation to the petitioner for putting it in their power to make some return for his Distinguished and humane Conduct towards our Countrymen who had been so unfortunate as fall into the hands of so Cruel an Enemy.

" The Honble the Court of Directors have forebid any future Appointments in the line of the Service, yet this case seems to me to surpercide every plan or Arrangement, and calls for immediate and effectual Notice, not only in Justice to Humanity, but likewise with a view to the political Advantage that may be derived, from retaining a person who is so well acquainted with Maissore, and the Diseases of India as Mr Castarede must be.

" I therefore recommend his being taken into the Service as a Surgeon and considered supernumerary not to rise. (Signed) James Anderson, Physician General, Fort St. George, July 17th, 1789."

" The Board are of opinion that the Services performed by Mr Castarede entitle him to the Consideration of Government, and as those Services are certified in a Satisfactory Manner from the foregoing Papers, it is Agreed that they be rewarded by a Donation of Pagodas 500, to be paid by the Military Paymaster General.

" With respect to the idea suggested of appointing Mr Castarede a Supernumerary Surgeon, the Board observe that the late Orders of the Court of Directors, regarding Medical Appointments absolutely prohibit their adopting the above Recommendation.

" Agreed that the above be communicated to Brigadier General Horne."

Jean Carere, a Frenchman, was in the service of Muhammad Yusuf, Governor of Madura, during the siege of that place by the English in 1764. He deserted to the English, along with Captain Riquet, on 26th Feb., 1764, was appointed Assistant Surgeon on 13th Aug., 1764, became Surgeon on 20th April, 1767, and died in March, 1780.

A Frenchman, Jean Baptiste de St. Hilaire, was Physician to Bakr Ali Khan, Governor of Vellore, and nephew of Nawab Saadat-Ullah in 1716; and afterwards was living in Madras.

In the *Madras Country Correspondence* for 1740 it is recorded that a Dr. Gordon, Surgeon to Mahfuz Khan, eldest son of the Nawab of Arcot, had confined an Englishman there. Gordon is again mentioned in 1748, as conducting affairs for the Company in these parts, and as imprisoned at Kadalur.*

Many other European surgeons were from time to time in the service of the Nawab of Arcot, or Nawab of the Karnatik, as he was also called. Nawab Muhammad Ali, Nawab Wallajah, succeeded Nawab Anwaruddin in 1749, and reigned forty-six years, dying on 13th Oct., 1795, aged seventy-eight. His second and favourite son, Amir-ul-Umara, predeceased him in 1788. His eldest son, Umdat-ul-Umara, succeeded him in 1795. When Seringapatam was taken in 1799, papers were found there, which were considered to prove a treasonable correspondence between Tipu and the Nawab, and the Madras Council determined to dethrone him. Umdat-ul-Umara was then seriously ill, and no steps were taken until after his death in 1801. In that year Azim-ud-daulah, son of Amir-ul-Umara, succeeded his uncle as titular Nawab, and was granted a large revenue, but the Karnatik was virtually annexed.

Surgeon Alexander Boswell served Nawab Muhammad Ali as

* *M.P.L.*, No. 122 of March, 1740, Nos. 1998 and 2014 of 1748.

Surgeon for many years, his services being lent to the Nawab by the Madras Council, till he retired on 12th Feb., 1776. Two other well-known Madras surgeons served as surgeons to the Nawab's two sons. In a petition contained in the *Madras Mily. Cons.* of 24th March, 1777, Surgeon William Gordon sets forth his services for the past eighteen years; among others he says that after the first Maisur war he was appointed Surgeon to Amir-ul-Umara. In the *Mily. Cons.* of 27th Nov., 1780, it is noted that Surgeon Thomas Davis, Surgeon to Umdat-ul-Umara, applied to resign his post and to rejoin the Army. In the following year Davis was appointed P.M.O. of the Army, with the title of Surgeon-Major.

In Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* (Vol. III, p. 55), it is stated that in 1778 Nawab Muhammad Ali had eight European medical men in his service—two physicians called De Maloa, father and son; and six surgeons, Robert Storey and Job Bulman, residing on Choultry Plain, Dr. Weston, of San Thomé, Dr. Robert Bird, Dr. James Dort, of the Luz, and Dr. Plott, then a prisoner in jail for debt. Of these eight, three—Weston, Bulman, and Bird—were subsequently appointed members of the Madras Medical Service. Surgeon William Ruddiman was subsequently deputed to attend the Nawab in Madras, *Mily. Cons.* of 28th Feb., 1787.

Sir Paul Jodrell, who took the M.D. at Cambridge in 1786, and became F.R.C.P., London, in 1787, was Physician to the London Hospital from December, 1786, to November, 1787, when he resigned, in order to go out to Madras as Physician to the Nawab. Before leaving he was knighted on 25th Oct., 1787. His appointment was hardly a success. He had frequently to appeal to the Madras Council to urge the Nawab to pay his salary. In 1790 he brought an action for libel against the *C. G.*, and got five hundred rupees damages. In 1793 he asked to be regarded as one of the Nawab's family, and so exempt from arrest for debt, a request which was refused. He died at Madras on 6th Aug., 1803.

John Martin Honigberger, a native of Kronstadt, in Transylvania, after a varied career in Turkey, Egypt, Syria, and Persia, made his way to India, reached Lahore early in 1830, and served as Physician to Ranjit Sinh for four years. In 1834 he went to Europe, but returned to Lahore early in 1839, a few months before the death of Ranjit Sinh, which took place on 27th June, 1839. He served the Sikh Darbar for the next ten years. In 1846, after

the first Sikh war, Sir Henry Lawrence, Resident in the Panjab, founded a hospital at Lahore, and put Honigberger in charge. In 1849, after the annexation of the Panjab, he was granted a pension by the British Government, and returned to Europe. He recounted his experiences in an interesting work, *Thirty-five years in the East*, Baillière, London, 1852.

Within our own times the late Amir of Afghanistan, Abdur Rahman, employed two English doctors. Dr. J. A. Gray was in his service from 1889 to 1894, and made his life at the Court of Kabul the subject of a very readable book, *My Residence at the Court of the Amir*. Subsequently Dr. Lilias Hamilton, probably the only lady who has figured in such a capacity, spent some time in the Amir's service as medical attendant on the ladies of the Court.

Many instances are noted in the records of requests made to the English by Indian princes and governors for the loan of medical officers to treat themselves or their followers. A few such cases may be quoted.

The *Fort St. George Cons.* of 10th Dec., 1694, record that Dr. Samuel Browne had been sent, at the request of Nawab Karim Khan, to treat his wounds; and having done so with success, had returned, bringing a letter from the Nawab to the President, and also, as a present to the President, a Turkey horse for which the Nawab had paid a thousand rupees.

Again, the *Fort St. David Cons.* of 30th July, 1737, note that Andrew Munro, then surgeon at Fort St. David, had been sent to treat Bakr Ali Khan at Vellore.

The *Bombay Cons.* of 30th Dec., 1745, relate that Dr. Trotter, who had been sent to Puna to attend Baji Rao, at his particular request, had returned, and had presented an account for Rs.681 extraordinary expenses. This account was pronounced very reasonable, and orders for its payment were passed.

CHAPTER III

SURGEON GENERAL JOHN WOODALL*

"A citizen of credit and renown."

COWPER, *John Gilpin.*

JOHN WOODALL was born about 1556, the son of Richard Woodall, of Warwick. Of his early life little is known. He served as Surgeon to Lord Willoughby's regiment in 1591, and spent the next seven years abroad, partly in medical study, in Germany, Poland, and France. In 1599 he established himself in practice in Wood Street, London, and was admitted a member of the London Company of Barber Surgeons, of which he became Warden in 1627, and Master in 1633. On 19th Jan., 1616, he was appointed Surgeon to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and held that office till his death.

When plague broke out in London in 1603, Woodall, who had gained experience of the disease on the Continent, worked hard during the epidemic. He had a secret remedy of his own, which he called *aurum vitae.* In his works he states that he had himself twice recovered from plague.†

He was appointed "Surgeon General" to the East India Company in 1614.‡ The first mention of him in the Company's records is in the *Court Minutes* of 23rd Sept., 1614, when he was sworn to provide competent surgeons, and to fit up their chests properly. He himself gives the following account of his appointment, but mentions no dates.§

* The information about Woodall is taken chiefly from an article entitled *John Woodall, Surgeon-General*, by W. Foster, published in the *Indian Medical Gazette* for Jan., 1909; partly also from his own works, from Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers*, and from the life by Dr. Norman Moore in the *Dictionary of National Biography.*

† Edition of 1655, p. 330. This edition consists of several prefaces, *The Surgeon's Mate, Viaticum, being the pathway to the Surgeon's chest*, and *A Treatise on Plague. The Surgeon's Mate* was first published in 1617, the *Viaticum* in 1628. A combined edition was published in 1639, and another in 1655.

‡ The *Dictionary of National Biography* says in 1612.

§ *Works*, 1655, preface, pp. 8, 9.

" Thus much in generall by way of Preface. Now the Author in this following Treatise desires to excuse himself, by way of Apologie, to the Chirurgicall Reader, for his over-forwardnesse in the unfolding to the vulgar what he hath hereafter done by his explaining of a Surgeon's Chest; which he never intended, untill, (nolens volens) he was put upon it, who, having in his younger daies spent divers years in travel in forraign nations, for the gaining of knowledge and experience in his calling, setled himself in London, where, according to the weak talent of his education, he endeavoured to obtain some answerable perfection therein, that so by doing good he might give the better account of the dutie of his calling, by cursing * of such as committed themselves to his weak skill; in which endeavours before he was (in his oune opinion) worthie thereof, it pleased the honourable Societie of Merchants trading to the East Indies, in the beginning of the Trade, to make choice of him; and to appoint him Surgeon generall for all their imployments, as well by Sea as Land; reposing in him also the credit and trust for ordering and appointing fit and able Surgeons, and Surgeons Mates for their ships and services, as also the fitting and furnishing their Surgerie Chests with medicines, instruments, and other appurtenances thereunto. Which credit and weightie charge, so neerly concerning the lives of their servants reposed in him, instigated him to imploy all his endeavours to answer their so great trust imposed on him: For the effecting whereof, hee had no better way to recompence them, than by reducing their Surgeons' Chests, with all the particulars thereof, into an order and method, which was never undertaken before by any, although very requisite: but being once done, it would not only benefit them, but also be a perpetual good for the service of his Majestie, and the Commonwealth for by want hereof the said East India Companie, and many of their servants, as also many other publike actions abroad of great consequence, have suffered much; and namely, by unworthy impostors under the names of Surgeons, (to the dishonour of God, and scandall of the true professors of the art of Surgerie, by many miseries undergone both by the hardie Seaman, and valiant Souldier,) For remedie whereof, and in want of some more learned and expert then himselfe, he undertook the work; the said honourable Company being ever most willing, without limitation or grudging, to beare the reasonable charge thereof, and to give approbation of the Authours weak endeavours (which otherwise could never have been done) who (through God's mercie and their favourable acceptance thereof) hath performed the said charge, and continued their servant (to their contents) for full twentie foure yeares alreadie: Yet notwithstanding, his dutie (by reason of the trust reposed in him by his said honourable Masters) was not therein fulfilled; for he was (if he would fabricate a new invented Surgeons Chest) also tied in Conscience to instruct all and every Surgeon (that was to make use thereof in their services) in the knowledge and use of all such medicines and new inventions as were of his production and induction."

Two pages further on in this preface, he states that his work has been favourably received. This note also incidentally shows that, at the time of the Rochelle expedition of 1626, the Medical

* *Cursing* in text, evidently a misprint for *curing*.

Departments of the Army and Navy might be filled by the press-gang.

" So that it * hath gotten credit, and it is with all Surgeons common in use, yea, even in his Majesties service, being first made use of in the *Rochell* expedition, and the Author then having the charge of pressing, furnishing, and ordering of his Highnesse whole Navie and Land services, with Surgeons, and Surgeons' Mates, with all their provisions."

Another interesting note, on pages 2 and 3 of the preface to the *Viaticum*, states that the king, Charles I., increased the pay of Surgeons in his ships from nineteen shillings and fourpence a month to thirty shillings. Apparently they also got head-money. On page 313 of the *Viaticum* he gives a description of the *Trafine*, and of its uses, especially in military surgery. He claimed to have himself invented the trephine; but its use, in some form or other, is centuries older than Woodall's time. Indeed, marks of the use of the trephine, or of some similar instrument, have been found on prehistoric skulls.

In the following year, 1615, he was charged with gross abuses. But, as no action was taken on the charges, they do not appear to have been well founded. An abstract of a letter from Richard Baker at Saldania (Saldanha Bay) to the Company, dated 20th June, 1615, contains the following charge :—†

" Mr Woodall's great abuses in the chirurgeon's chest, putting divers boxes of one simple, whereas he writeth in their superscriptions to be diverse; drugs rotten, unguents made of kitchen stuff. Boys that have no skill thrust into place of chirurgeons. He is to be accounted guilty of the death of so many men as perish through his default."

The unskilful boys were Woodall's apprentices, part of whose pay as Surgeons he himself drew. In Jan., 1617/18, are recorded his directions as regards preservation of health on board ship, to be delivered to the commanders of all the Company's ships, and by them observed on the voyage.‡ This is obviously a reference to the first edition of *The Surgeon's Mate*, published in 1617. In the *Court Minutes* of March 26th and 27th, 1618, his salary from the E.I. Co. was increased from £20 to £30 a year. §

* The author's work, *The Surgeon's Mate.*

† Danvers and Foster, *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, Vol. II, p. 184. Also Sainsbury, *Calendar of State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 413, No. 991.

‡ Sainsbury, *Calendar*, Vol. II, p. 103, No. 241.

§ *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 141, No. 306.

On 15th Oct., 1620, the factors at Jakatra sent home the following complaint against Woodall.*

"The Surgeons' Mates in the fleet, and the head Surgeon in the *Bear*, good for nothing; neither understand anything belonging to surgery. Woodall wrongs the Company by entertaining insufficient men, never trained up in that faculty, who affirm they are bound to give him two-thirds of their wages."

It appears to have been Woodall's practice to appoint his apprentices as Surgeons of the Company's Indiamen, himself meeting the expense of fitting them out, and in return drawing a part of their pay;—the above complaint says two-thirds, he himself admitted one-sixth. A further entry on the subject occurs in the *Court Minutes* of 1st and 13th Oct., 1624.†

"1*st Oct.* 1624. Information having been given that Mr Woodall has shipped 12 servants into the Indies, whose wages he is to receive, ordered that he be warned to attend the next Court.

"13*th Oct.* 1624. Examination of Woodall, charged with making his own gain by thrusting his servants upon the Company; he admits he has seven apprentices as Surgeons' mates in the Indies, but has had 20, who are dead; that they are set out at his great charge, and the benefit he make is but their two months' pay yearly, and that such as live to return prov the ablest for that employment by reason of their practice, as will appea upon examination of skilful Surgeons to whom he refers, with that his submitting trial the Court was satisfied."

This arrangement seems to have been approved by the Cour in Dec., 1619, the order of that date being repeated in 1627.‡

"5*th Oct.* 1627. A former order in December 1619, for Woodall surgeon, to have two months' pay yearly of all his servants' wages in th Indies, confirmed."

In 1621 the Company published a volume of standing orders, a copy of which may be seen in the Library of the India Office. The duties of the Chirurgion Generall are given on pages 32, 33.

"THE LAWES OR STANDING ORDERS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 162 pp. 32, 33.

"*Chirurgion Generall.*

"The said Chirurgion and his Deputy shall have a lodging or a place in the Yard, where one of them shall give attendance every working day, from morning untill night, to cure any person or persons who may be hurt

* Sainsbury, *Calendar*, Vol. II, p. 392, No. 911.
† *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 416, No. 628; and p. 424, No. 643.
‡ *Ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 406, No. 527.

in the service of this Company, and the like in all their ships riding at an anchor at Deptford and Blackwall, and at Erith, where hee shall also keepe a Deputy with his chest furnished, to remaine there continually, untill all the said ships be vayled down from thence to Gravesend.

"They shall also cut the hayre of the carpenters, saylors, caulkers, labourers and any other workemen in the Companies said yards and ships, once every forty dayes, in a seemely manner, performing their works at breakfast and dinner times or in raynie weather, and in an open place where no man may loyter or lye hidden under pretence to attend his turne of trimming.

"They shall discover unto the Clarke of the Yard and to others who shall be in places of authority, all such persons whom they shall finde decrepit, lame, uncleane or unable to the Companies service, that they may be forthwith dismissed from the same.

"In consideration of the afore-written attendance and performance, it is ordered that every carpenter, saylor, labourer, or other workeman whatsoever in the said yards and ships, shall pay two pence every moneth out of his wages to the said Chirurgion generall.

"And the said Chirurgion generall shall assist the Committees to hire unto the shipping and voyages of this Company skilfull and honest Chirurgions and their Mates, at such reasonable rates of wages as possible he may; and he shall acquaint and shew them from time to time all such medicines and things as shall be furnished into the chests of which they are to take charge for the voyages.

"He shall use diligence to furnish up all the said chests in such due times that they be hereafter brought unto the Companies house fourteene dayes at least before there shall be occasion to ship them, that so every perticular thing may be seene and allowed by those Committees, doctors, apothicaries or any others whom the Court of Committees shall please to appoint for that purpose.

"He shal at the returne home of the Companies ships from the Indies receive, and also give a receipt to be accomptable to the said Company for, the chirurgions chests, tooles, medicines and ingredients: of all which he shal take due accompt of the ship chirurgion when he delivereth up his chest."

Presumably Woodall's apprentices did the hair-cutting, while he himself pocketed the twopences. Shaving is not mentioned in these orders, but on page 2 of *The Surgeon's Mate*, he writes—

"But let me friendly tell the Surgeon's Mate, it is the credit of a yong Artist to take a vein smoothly and neatly, as also to shave well is praiseworthy."

In 1620 Woodall invested £1000, a large sum of money in those days, in the Company's stock. He was also a shareholder in the Virginia Company.

To our modern ideas, £20 or £30 a year does not sound high remuneration for a Surgeon General, but apparently there were

many medical men in London who envied Woodall his appointment, and made efforts to oust him, with a view to taking his place. The *Court Minutes* of 3rd July, 1619, note a proposal that the Surgeons of Indiamen should be chosen with the approbation of Surgeon's Hall, instead of by Woodall, but the motion was not accepted.* The *Minutes* of Feb., 1619/20 contain the following notes :—†

"14*th Feb.* All the Surgeons' chests viewed by the Master and Wardens of the Apothecaries.

"16*th Feb.* The Surgeons' chests to be more carefully looked to hereafter. Woodall and an apothecary appointed to provide the Surgery, the 'physical things' to be sent and seen by Dr Atkins, one of the Company, a very honest and sufficient gentleman and great adventurer, the chests at Gravesend to be examined by Woodall.

"18*th Feb.* Things provided by Woodall for the Surgeons' chests to be shown to Drs Terye and Raven, and if approved, to be sent down to Gravesend."

In Nov., 1621, the Committee resolved to purchase themselves the drugs required. On 17th May, 1622, we find—

"Opinion of Dr Winston ‡ that the last Surgeon's chest sent to Surat had a much greater provision than was necessary; the Indies hath drugs in far greater plenty and perfection than here." §

In July, 1623, the *Court Minutes* contain the following notes ||—

"9*th July.* Petition of Woodall, the Company's Surgeon, against any other being allowed to provide the surgeon's chest for the *Charles*, debate thereon, and resolution that a trial medicine chest for 100 men, with the prices, be provided by those that will undertake it."

Further proceedings on this subject are recorded in the *Court Minutes* of Sept. and Dec., 1623, and of Feb., 1623/24, as follows. It will be seen that medical etiquette came to Woodall's assistance. In those days a physician held a position superior to that of a surgeon or apothecary. ¶

"5*th Sept.*, 1623. Surgeons' chests having been provided for the *Charles* by Drs Atkins and Winston, and also by Mr Woodall, against whom objections are made, the Company do not hold it just to displace an old servant

* Sainsbury, *Calendar*, Vol. II, p. 283, No. 700.

† *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 351, No. 808.

‡ Thomas Winston (1575–1655), one of the leading London physicians of the time, was M.A., 1602, M.D., 1608, of Cambridge, also M.D., Padua (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

§ Sainsbury, *Calendar*, Vol. III, p. 39, No. 87.

|| *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 122, No. 301.

¶ *Ibid.* Vol. III, pp. 149–151, No. 327; p. 186, No. 351; p. 243, No. 404; p. 244, No. 409

before they have heard him; the chests to be viewed by the Master and Wardens of the Apothecaries, the Master and Wardens of the Surgeons, and certain physicians, who are to give their judgments on both chests.

"*10th Sept.*, 1623. Drs Atkins and Winston, having had their Surgeon's chest viewed and allowed by the College of Physicians, will not come into contestation by Surgeons, as a thing ill becoming their calling; the Court, however, resolved to view both it and Woodall's.

"*12th Sept.*, 1623. View to be taken of both the Surgeon's chests provided by Drs Atkins and Winston, and Mr Woodall, at which Drs Mountford, Mayerme, and Hudson, the Masters and Wardens of the Apothecaries and Surgeons, and such of the Surgeons now returned * as can be found, are to be present.

"*5th Dec.*, 1623. Report of the Surgeon's chest prepared by Mr Woodall; ordered that Woodall receive £40 by way of imprest for that service, and that the Committees crave the help of both surgeons and physicians to view the things proper to their several faculties.

"*3rd Feb.*, 1623/24. The business of the Surgeons' chests taken into consideration; those furnished by Wheatley and Woodall viewed; proposal that Sir William Pady and Dr Raven be joined with Drs Atkins and Winston as examiners.†

"*9th Feb.*, 1623/24. The order for the Surgeons appointed for this fleet to attend Dr Atkins suppressed by Woodall. Information of Mr Deputy that he had spoken with a learned physician, who wondered that physicians should take upon them to set down surgeons' proportions, the same not being proper to their art, save only for matter of physic, it was therefore thought very fit that in matters of physic they consult with physicians, and for matters of surgery the surgeons give satisfaction to the committee."

Early in 1625 Woodall found himself in serious trouble. Sir Thomas Merry, one of the servants of the King, owed him some money, and Woodall served a writ upon Merry in the royal palace of Whitehall. Thereupon the Lord Steward committed him to prison. Woodall asked the help of the Company, who preferred a petition for his release. The Lord Steward set him at liberty for a fortnight, that he might see to the surgeons' chests for the next fleet, but after doing this work, he was again committed to gaol. The *Court Minutes* of 23rd Feb., 1624/25, contain the following note on the subject.‡ The result is not stated, but probably he was eventually released, on making suitable apology.

"Mr Woodall being remanded to prison by the Lord Steward, to the hazard of his utter undoing, Sir H. Handford requested the Company to labour for his deliverance. It was conceived that this last commitment was through some private enemies of Woodall, and though the Court

* *I.e.* Surgeons of Indiamen, returned from the Indies.

† For disputes about examination of Surgeons, see Chap. XXII, *Appointment to the Service, Exams.*

‡ Sainsbury, *Calendar*, Vol. IV, p. 34, No. 65.

desired his release they willed he should use his own best means first, and if that succeed not they will move the Lord Steward for his release."

On 7th March, 1626/27, the Company resolved to send three hogsheads of red wine to the ships in the Downs, on the advice of Woodall, and of Ralph Harris, Surgeon of the *Mary*, that red wine was very useful, and "physical" for men sick of the flux, or dysentery.

The *Court Minutes* of 9th May, 1627, contain the following petition from Woodall.*

"Petition of Woodall, Surgeon, showing that formerly he had been allowed a labourer's pay in Blackwall yard, and 2*d.* per month out of every workman's wages there for curing and healing those hurt, which had both been detained these three years past, and desiring consideration for his cost and care; 30*l.* bestowed upon him in full recompense of all charges and pains to that day."

In May, 1628, the Company ordered a general reduction of salaries, and Woodall suffered among others, his pay being reduced from £30 to £20 a year. This salary was paid him for his services in selecting Surgeons for employment on board ship, and for fitting out their medicine chests; for the contents of the chests he was, of course, separately paid. The *Court Minutes* of 10th, 15th, and 31st Dec., 1630, contain the following notes on his pay and allowances.†

"10*th Dec.*, 1630. Request of Mr Woodall for an allowance of 8*s.* p[er] week to find a Surgeon to live at Blackwall and give attendance in the ya[rd] and ships, and for some satisfaction for almost three years during whi[ch] he has cured many hurt in their service; to look out when he received 30[l.] and to bring a note of his cures and charges.

"15*th Dec.*, 1630. Gratuity of 20*l.* to Mr Woodall, Surgeon, for [his] years' extraordinary service in curing divers of the Company's servan[ts] hurt aboard ship or in the yards, and for boat hire, etc.

"31*st Dec.*, 1630. Two petitions read of divers of the better sorts of t[he] Company's workmen and officers, namely, shipwrights, caulkers, joine[rs] sawyers, labourers, and men of all sorts belonging to their ships, prayi[ng] they may have a Surgeon to attend them upon all occasions, and promisin[g] to allow him monthly 2*d.* or weekly ½*d.* to be deducted out of the wages of each man, as well master or servant. Ordered that Mr Woodall or some surgeon by his appointment attend this service, and that thei[r] officers on land and pursers aboard carefully gather said contribution of each man in pay aboard their ships in harbour and in or near their works in Blackwall, and be answerable to Mr Woodall for the same."

* Sainsbury, *Calendar*, Vol. IV, p. 348, No. 440.
† *Ibid.* Vol. V, p. 94, No. 106; p. 95, No. 109; p. 101, No. 120.

He received another gratuity on 6th Dec., 1633, as recorded in *Court Minutes* of that date.*

" Petition of Woodall, the Company's chirurgeon, showing that it is near three years since he received any gratuity for healing their servants, since which time he hath cured above 50 persons, many of great diseases, as broken legs and arms, broken sculls, bones out of joint, and other great wounds and bruises, and disbursed money for their diets, paid women to attend them, and otherwise put to charge by water and land and carrying them to hospitals, and curing them there ; the Court conferred upon him a gratification of 30*l.*, which he thankfully accepted."

In 1635 the Company were struggling hard to make ends meet, and had to retrench in every possible way. At Christmas, 1635, the list of officials was revised, salaries were again cut down, and some were struck off, of whom Woodall was one, as shown by the *Court Minutes* of 8th May, 1840.†

" Mr Woodall at this Court peticioned that his wages might bee restored which was taken away from him ever since December, 1635, representing the cures hee hath performed since that time, having cured above 50 persons, and also that hee had contrived a booke of chirurgery for the good of the East India voyage : in consideracion whereof the Court was pleased by erection of hands to bestowe upon him 60*li.* for all demands whatsoever from December, 1635, untill Midsummer next."

Though no longer a salaried official, Woodall was still employed in fitting up the surgeons' chests, and several payments on this account are from time to time recorded. Another charge, apparently the last, was made against him in the Court of Committees of 9th Nov., 1642.‡

" The Court is informed that Mr Woodall used to have the old chirurgery chests with their contents, for which he allowed the Company the price they cost, but now they are denied him ; he is called in and asked whether he did not ' new boyle the salves againe,' and so make the Company pay for them twice, this he denies ' upon his reputacion,' but confesses that he used them at Christ's Hospital § to cure the poor. Hereupon he is granted permission to receive the chests as formerly ; but is told that, whereas the ships used to stay out thirty months and sometimes longer, now they will only be out about half that time, so he must proportion his surgery chests accordingly."

* Sainsbury, *Calendar*, Vol V, p. 497, No. 520.

† *A Calender of the Court Minutes, etc., of the East India Company*, 1640–43, by Ethel Bruce Sainsbury, p. 40.

‡ E. B. Sainsbury, *Calendar*, p. 284.

§ Christ's Hospital, probably a mistake for St. Bartholomew's, where Woodall was Surgeon.

Woodall was now getting a very old man, well over eighty, and past work. The *Court Minutes* of 17th May, 1643, record his resignation.*

" John Woodall being very sick and weak, and therefore unable to serve the Company any more, his nephew, Henry Boone, is entertained as Chirurgeon in his place."

The *Court Minutes* of 23rd June, 1643, contain a last petition for help from Woodall, but this request met with no sympathy.†

" Mr. John Woodall made his humble request to the Court that, in regard hee is growne old and beddrid and not able to followe his calling, and his children being growne to men's estates, lying very heavy upon him, the which, with the many losses and misfortunes that have befallen him in his estate, inforced him to bee a suytour to the Court that they would bee pleased towards the repayre of his languishing necessities and his better support now in his declyning and dying dayes to bestowe somewhat upon him.

" The Court taking his said request into consideration, and understanding that upon the inquiry of some of the committees that hee is not in necessity, but hath a sufficient estate, did by erection of hands deny to bestowe anything upon him."

The *Visitation of London in* 1633–35 records that Woodall had then four children living, three sons and one daughter. It also mentions that he claimed to use the arms of the family of Uredall.

Two months after the last entry in the *Court Minutes*, that of June, 1643, he was gathered to his fathers. Richard Smyth's *Obituary*, printed as Volume 44 of the Camden Society's publications, contains the following entry :—

" 1643, August 28. Old Mr Woodhall, the Surgeon, died."

Henry Boone was employed for many years by the Company in much the same capacity as Woodall, though he does not appear to have received the title of Surgeon General. The third volume of Miss Sainsbury's *Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company*, covering the years 1644–49, contains many references to Boone. Payments to him of £200 for chirurgery chests are noted by the Court of Committees on 17th April, 1644, on 3rd Jan., 1644/45, on 24th Dec., 1645, and on 18th Dec., 1646 ; £800 in all in less than three years. On 30th July, 1647, Boone was admitted to the freedom of the Company by service, paying twenty shillings to the poor-box. On 28th Sept., 1647, he was ordered to write out directions for the preservation of the chirurgery chests while at sea.

* E. B. Sainsbury, *Calendar*, p. 323.

† *Ibid.* p. 328.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY HISTORY; THE ISLANDS; AMBOYNA

> "Never was isle so little, never was sea so lone,
> But over the scud and the palm trees an English flag was flown."
> KIPLING, *The English Flag.*

To our generation India is a definite entity, the vast country or sub-continent which extends from the Himalayas to the sea. Our forefathers, three centuries ago, knew no such definition. What is now our Indian Empire then contained numerous more or less independent states. One indeed stood pre-eminent, the kingdom of the Great Mogul, the Badshah of Delhi, Agra, and Lahore. But much of southern or peninsular India was never included in the Delhi empire; on the other hand, the sway of that monarchy extended over Kabul and Kandahar, which are not now considered part of India. Even in the middle of the nineteenth century, Burma was a foreign country; not, as it now is, a province of India.

The early ventures of the East India Company were not directed specially to India, but to the East Indies; this term including Burma, the Malay Archipelago, Siam, and even countries as far east as China and Japan. For the first quarter of a century it may be said that the islands of the Malay Archipelago, rather than continental India, were the chief aim and seat of the E.I. Co., as well as of the Dutch. Their factory at Bantam was founded nearly ten years before that at Surat, their first foothold in India itself. Men had then no reason to suppose that England would develop a great empire on the mainland of India.

The Company's first voyage was to the islands, in 1601–03, under Lancaster, where he founded the factories at Achin in Sumatra, and at Bantam in Java, in 1601. Captain Hippon, in the seventh voyage, founded a factory in Siam in 1610–11. Numerous other factories were started in the islands during the

next ten years. Bantam was formally made a Presidency in 1619, Thomas Brockedon being the first President.

These factories, as a rule, had each a medical officer of some sort, or were supposed to have one. They must often have been left without any; for, when a Surgeon died, the interval before a successor could be sent from England, or obtained from one of the Company's Indiamen, was long. Often too the medical officers available must have been inferior men, like "Lawrence the Surgion" in the following extract, who was an apprentice, receiving only a subsistence allowance, while his nominal wages were paid to his master.

Sir Henry Middleton, who commanded the second voyage in 1604, on returning from Bantam to England, left orders to Gabriel Towerson and the other factors there, dated Bantam, 1st Oct., 1605, in which occurs—*

"Onelie you are to paye no wage to Lawrence the Surgion and Edward Ellimore, who be not their owne men but servants & therefore they must att all tymes be soe plied † by you of all such thinge as they shall necessarie wante & the rest of the wages to be reserued to thuse of their mrs whome they serue."

A letter from Bantam, written by William Nicolls on 14th Jan., 1613/14, speaks of Thomas Symons, Surgeon's Mate there, as having been sick two-thirds of the time. In Jan., 1617/1[illegible] Richard Honnsell, on board the *Unicorn*, writing to Capt[illegible] George Bell, President at Bantam, requests his directions the removal of the Surgeon of the *Hope* to the *Unicorn*, and sa[illegible] that there are in the *Hope* Thomas Symons and two oth[illegible] Surgeons.‡

The *Court Minutes* of the E.I. Co. for 2nd–4th Nov. 16[illegible] contain the following application :—§

"Petition for employment of Samuel Saltingston (Salstonhall) brough[illegible] up under Sir Richard Saltingston who he served seven years, since whic[illegible] time he has practised physic in Ireland and York, to be entertained [illegible] factor at Bantam for seven years, and do his best in those arts of Sur[illegible] and physic."

On 31st Jan., 1616/17, Richard Cocks, writing to the E.I. C[illegible] from their factory at Firando in Japan, says that Richard Wickham

* *The First Letterbook of the East India Company*, 1600–19, pp. 91–94.
† *Soe-plied, i.e.* supplied.
‡ Sainsbury, *Calendar*, Vol. II, p. 102, No. 239.
§ *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 332, No. 785.

Commander of the *Advice*, goes in place of Mr. John Totton, the former commander, who is too ill to go, and so has been detained; and Robert Hawly, the chirurgeon, has been detained to look after him.*

The *Court Minutes* of the E.I. Co. of 12th Nov., 1619, contain a note—†

"Great defect of drugs and surgery stuff at Bantam, for the comfort and cure of men, store to be provided for Bantam, usual for four great ships; also two Surgeons extraordinary, one to remain at Bantam, the other at Surat, with convenient drugs and surgery for each factory."

On 11th Feb., 1619/20, Philip Bradshaw, appointed Surgeon for the factory at Bantam, asks for a gratuity. On 17th March of the same year he was recommended by Woodall for the post of Chief Surgeon at Bantam. Bradshaw's appointment was not a success. On 14th Dec., 1623, Thomas Brockedon writes to the E.I. Co. from Batavia—‡

"The surgeon's provisions and 'physical drugs' would be much more beneficial if there were a sufficient man to administer them; more need of a physician than a Surgeon; and the one at present here, named Bradshaw, is such a continual drunkard that nothing can reclaim him, so that though he have reasonable skill, that beastlike vice overthrows all his other good parts."

On 7th Aug., 1621, John Jourdain, at Patani, writes to Edward g at Siam—§

' Has spared Thomas Spettie, the surgeon of their house, to go in the k, but he must return again. Entertain him as he shall carry himself."

On 9th Feb., 1622/23, Richard Fursland writes from Batavia the E.I. Co. that he is sending home, among others—‖

"Also Richard Wood, Pickering, and Spottis, Surgeons, honest men, ng in the country, for whom at present they have no employment."

On 25th Oct., 1623, Robert Pickering, Surgeon, who had reached ngland, petitions the Company for employment.¶ Spottis may e the same as Thomas Spettie, at Patani eighteen months

* *Letters received by the East India Company from their Servants in the East*, V, p. 70.
† Sainsbury, *Calendar*, Vol. II, p. 321, No. 765.
‡ *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 202, No. 368; and Vol. II, p. 350, No. 806; and p. 363, 823.
§ *Ibid.* Vol. II, p. 446, No. 1070.
‖ *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 109, No. 264.
¶ *Ibid.* Vol. III, p. 224.

before. One wonders why the drunkard, Bradshaw, was not dismissed and sent home, instead of one of these three Surgeons of good character.

In 1621 the English and Dutch entered into an agreement to share the trade of the islands. The English then abandoned Bantam, and settled a factory at Amboyna in Feb., 1620/21. The Dutch then got completely the upper hand of the struggle for trade between the East India Companies of the two nations in the Malay islands, though the English still, on sufferance, remained in occupation of some of their factories. The famous massacre of Amboyna occurred on 27th Feb., 1622/23. On Feb. 11th Abel Price, Surgeon of the English factory at Amboyna, was made prisoner in the Dutch fort, charged with having attempted, when drunk, to set fire to a Dutchman's house. He was tortured, and under torture confessed to a plot, probably imaginary, on the part of the English, to attack and murder the Dutch. The English officials were seized, all were tortured, and on 27th Feb. most of them were beheaded. The lives of a few were spared. Those who suffered were Captain Gabriel Towerson, the English Agent, Samuel Colson, Emanuel Thompson, Timothy Johnson, John Wetherall, John Clarke, William Griggs, John Fardo, Abel Price, and Robert Browne; also Augustine Perez, a Portuguese born in Bengal, and nine Japanese.*

In June, 1624, a petition to King James was submitted Thomas Johnson, Haberdasher to the King, as follows. T is the only mention of Timothy Johnson being a medical office

"That his only son Timothy, assistant surgeon in a factory in t Indies, was wrongfully accused, tortured, and put to death amongst oth of the King's subjects in the East Indies by the Hollanders there, and estate of 1000*l.* lost to the petitioners. Prays that His Majesty will ca the States of the Low Countries to make restitution of his son's estate."

The *Narrative* of the massacre was forwarded by Morri Abbott, Governor of the E.I. Co., and the Committee, to Carleto Ambassador at the Hague. Correspondence on the subjec between England and Holland was continued for several years but no reparation was ever made.

In 1673 Dryden wrote a tragedy, printed and acted in t

* Sainsbury, *Calendar*, Vol. III, p. 303 *et seq.*, No. 499. The original narra of the massacre, at great length, will be found here.

† *Ibid.* p. 296, No. 483.

year, called *Amboyna, or the Cruelties of the Dutch to the English Merchants*, probably the worst of his numerous plays. It was written in order to excite public feeling against the Dutch, then at war with England. The actual facts of the massacre are bad enough, but are much exaggerated by the poet.

On 6th Nov. 1630, George Willoughby, Agent at Masulipatam, writes to the head factory at Surat that six factors and a surgeon are required at Jambi, and a surgeon at Bantam, both factories at that time subordinate to Masulipatam. In Jan., 1631/32, William Hoare and the Council at Bantam write to the Company, enclosing a list of officers in that factory and in those subordinate it, which shows Richard Alcocke as appointed chirurgeon at am, from Surat, and at Jambi Richard Wilson, who had Surgeon's Mate in the *London*. Willoughby's letter was d on, after some delay. The *Court Minutes* of 20th Nov., 3, record—*

"Ordered, on information of the great want of Chirurgeons and hirurgery to the southwards, that Woodall send an experienced man to antam and another to Jambi, and make ready two chests of Chirurgery are besides the ship's provision, taking care they be wholesome and rderly packed."

The Company's power in the islands, severely shaken by ch competition, never recovered from the effect of the Amboyna acre. The Dutch Company, which received more support its Government, was too strong for the English. In 1624 English Company abandoned most of its factories in the lay islands, Japan, etc.; only a few, Achin, Jambi, Japara, Macassar, being retained. The factory at Bantam was re-ablished in 1628, in 1630 reduced from a Presidency to an ncy, subordinate to Surat, and on 11th Oct., 1633, again made lependent of India, while on 23rd Dec., 1633, the title of President s conferred on the Agent, George Willoughby. Madras was bordinate to Bantam from its foundation in 1640 up to 1653, ecame an independent Presidency. In 1677 the Javanese e factory and murdered the Agent. In 1682 the Dutch the factory at Bantam, after which it was finally ied.

sides those mentioned above, many other factories in the ls and in the further East were, from time to time, during

insbury, *Calendar*, Vol. V, p. 76, No. 91; p. 249, No. 261; p. 488, No. 513.

the seventeenth century, established and occupied by the E.I. Co. As some of these factories were founded, abandoned, and re-occupied more than once, to give correct dates is a matter of much difficulty, and to do so is hardly apposite to the present subject. The following list gives the more important factories, in occupation at one time or other, with approximate dates; but is by no means exhaustive.

In Sumatra.

Achin, at N.W. angle, founded in 1601 by Lancaster, re-settled 1615.

Indragiri, in middle of N.E. coast, founded prior to 16[illegible] accidentally burned, and abandoned, in 1622.

Jambi, in middle of N.E. coast, trade in 1613, re-establi[illegible] 1618, dissolved 1680–81.

Tiku, on S.W. coast, trade in 1605, founded 1615, dissol[illegible] 1617.

Priaman, on S.W. coast, trade in 1605, founded 1615, re[illegible] established 1685–86.

Padang, on S.W. coast, founded 1649–50.

Indrapore, on S.W. coast, founded 1650.

Bencoolen, on S.W. coast, founded 1685, Fort York buil[illegible] 1685–87, and Fort Marlborough 1715; ceded to Holland[illegible] 1825, by treaty dated 17th March, 1824.

In Java.

Bantam, at West end of North coast, founded by Lancas[illegible] in first voyage in 1601, finally abandoned 1682.

Jakatra, at West end of North coast, Dutch factory captu[illegible] 22nd Jan., 1618/19, Batavia built and fortified by Dutch[illegible] Jakatra in 1620.

Japara, in middle of North coast, founded 1626.

In Borneo.

Sukadana, at South-west corner, established 1609, [illegible]lished 1618, abandoned 1623.

Banjarmassim, at South-east corner.

In Celebes.

Macassar, at South-west corner, founded July, 1613.

In Moluccas.

Ternate and *Tidore*, small islands on West of group.

Amboyna, small island off South-west corner of Ceram, founded Feb., 1620/21, abandoned after massacre of 27th Feb., 1622/23.

Puloway.

Poleroon.

In Malay Peninsula.

Patani, on East coast, now Kelantan State, founded 1612, taken by Dutch 17th July, 1619, when John Jourdain, Agent of Bantam, and of all factories in the islands and Far East, was killed; re-established 1620, dissolved 1623.

In Farther India.

Ayuthia, the old capital of Siam, on the Menam above Bankok, founded by Captain Hippon on seventh voyage, 1610–11, dissolved 1623; re-established 1662, abandoned 1684, reopened Sept., 1685, closed Sept., 1686.

Pulo Condore, a small island off South coast of Cambodia, established June, 1702, abandoned after the massacre, 1705.

Cambodia, in existence in 1654.

In China.

Amoy, founded 1679, captured by Chinese, March, 1679/80.

Tonquin, founded 1672, dissolved 30th Nov., 1697.

Tywan or *Taiwan*, in Formosa, founded 1670–71, abandoned 2–83.

Canton, founded 1715, dissolved 1834.

In Japan.

do or *Hirado*, a small island a little North of Nagasaki, aptain Saris in the *Clove* on 12th June, 1613, on eighth tablished Nov., 1613, abandoned 24th Dec., 1623.

aki, same dates as Firando.

In Philippine Islands.

anilla, on West coast of Luzon.

After their final withdrawal from Bantam, the English confined their operations almost entirely to the island of Sumatra, where they fixed their headquarters at Bencoolen, on the south-west coast, and there founded Fort York in 1685–87, and Fort Marlborough in 1715.

The names of a few Surgeons serving on the West Coast, *i.e.* Sumatra, during the last few years of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, may be found in the *Fort St. George Factory Records* and in the *Madras Press Lists.*

Walter Chesley came out in the *Sampson* in Feb., 1696/97, being appointed from England as Surgeon for the West Coast. Charges were made against him of having been constantly drunk on the voyage out. He made countercharges against the captain. An inquiry was held, the result of which is contained in the Fort St. George *Cons.* of 1st April, 1697.

"Evidence of passengers demonstrate M[r] Chesley to be a troublesome, pragmaticall, and illgoverned man, and confirms our former opinion that he is not a person fitt to serve the Hon. Comp[a] as Chyrurgeon on the West Coast."

He was also accused of drawing his sword on another person in a punch-house in Madras, and deprived of his sword. He was sent back to England on the *King William* on 28th Sept., 1697.

Richard Blackwall was appointed Surgeon to the West Coast in place of Chesley, in the *Cons.* of 25th Feb., 1696/97. His death there is reported in the *Cons.* of 3rd March, 1700/01. Dr. Blackwall's trial for treason is one of the most interesting episodes in the history of Madras at the end of the seventeenth century. The story is given at length in Chap. VII., *Early History of Madras and the Coast.*

Dr. Coote, removed from Bencoolen for debauchery in 169[illegible]. The *Cons.* of 15th July, 1697, mention William Coote, or Cook[illegible] Surgeon of the West Coast. The name might be read either [illegible] in the manuscript. Probably the same man as William Co[illegible] late Surgeon of Tryamong, whose death there is menti[illegible] letter dated 5th March, 1701/02.†

Francis Collier, or Collyer, Surgeon of the ketc[illegible] appointed Surgeon of Tryamong on 16th Sept., 1701.

* *M.P.L.*, No. 666 of 1697; *Letters from Fort St. George*, Vol. VII, pp[illegible]

† *M.P.L.*, No. 727 of 5th March, 1702; *Pub. Desp. from Court*, Vol. X[illegible] 86–90. Tryamong is probably the factory at Priaman. There is also a Tryamong in Sumatra.

Alexander Read, late Surgeon of the "*Advice* friggott," entertained as Surgeon for Fort York on 22nd June, 1702.

John Davis, Surgeon at Bencoolen from 1700–02. The Fort St. George *Cons.* of 20th Dec., 1702, report that the sloop *Expedition* arrived that morning from Bencoolen, and Dr. Davis came ashore. It was discovered that he, and a man named William Gordon, had run away with the sloop from Bencoolen, and had sold part of her cargo of pepper at Achin. Both were arrested. Davis put in a long statement, complaining that he had served two years at Bencoolen, had bad health, had been badly treated, and had been refused permission to resign, though there had been chances of relieving him. He was released on bail the following month, as was also Gordon a little later. Nothing seems to have been done to them in the way of punishment.

A Surgeon Harrington is mentioned as medical officer of the factory at Eymoy (Amoy) when it was captured by the Chinese in March, 1679/80.*

Dr. Morrington, Surgeon at Taiwan, Formosa, was granted six months' leave in 1682 to take a voyage for the benefit of his health.†

In June, 1702, a factory was established for the New Company o Condore,‡ off the South coast of Cambodia, by Allen ole, who, with many of the other officers, was murdered by , on the night of 2nd March, 1704/05. Most of those who on this occasion were killed in a second massacre on 10th the same year, among them St. (Stephen ?) Paul, the n.§ A General Letter from Fort St. George, dated 7th and ct., 1705, includes as para. 106—‖

apt. Dennet's relation of ye massacre at Pollicondore sent, also D^r^ 's letter to Mr Watts."

amilton ¶ gives the following account of the English factory ssim in Borneo, in the early years of the eighteenth en it was under a Mr. Cunningham, a survivor of

from Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the riat, by G. W. Forrest, Vol. II, p. 400 (*Bantam Letters*).
No. 2011 of 31st Jan, 1683; *Pub. Desp. from Court,* Vol. VI,

is the Malay word for island, *cf.* Pulo Penang.
Hedges' Diary, Vol. II, p. 341.
racts, Letters from Coast and Bay, Vol. I, 1703–15, p. 64.
milton's *New Account of the East Indies*, third edition, Vol. II, p. 144.
nt of the massacre at Pulo Condore is given at p. 205 of the same volume.

the massacre at Pulo Condore. Though "bred a Surgeon," he appears to have been serving the Company as a Factor, not as a medical officer.

The factory, Hamilton states, was at first built on floats formed of great trees tied together, afterwards on piles driven into the ground.

"Captain *Barry*, a very ingenious Gentleman, drew the Plan, but died before the work was brought to any great Forwardness, and Mr *Cunningham*, who came thither from *Pullo-Condore*, when that Factory was cut off by their *Maccasser* Soldiers, came to the Head of the Company's affairs. He was bred a Surgeon, and had turn'd *virtuoso*, would spend whole Days in contemplating on the Nature, Shape, and Qualities of a Butterfly or a Shellfish, and left the Management of the Company's Business to others as little capable as himself, so every one but he was Master."

The History of the settlements in Sumatra, which were retained throughout the eighteenth century, and up to 1825, is referred to in Chap. XXVI, *The Minor Medical Services.*

CHAPTER V

THE LEGEND OF GABRIEL BOUGHTON

> "I cannot tell how the truth may be,
> I say the tale as 'twas said to me."
> SCOTT, *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Canto II, stanza 22.

ONE of the most widely known stories of the early history of the English in India is the legend of Gabriel Boughton, Surgeon of the *Hopewell;* how he was sent for to attend the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jahan, who had been badly burned; how he was successful in effecting a cure; and how, when desired to name his own reward, he asked for and obtained liberty for his masters, the Company, to trade in Bengal, after which the first settlement of the East India Company in Bengal was founded.

This legend is related by Stewart, in his *History of Bengal*, as follows (pp. 251–52).

"In the year of the Hezira 1046 (A.D. 1636), a daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan having been dreadfully burnt, by her clothes catching fire, an express was sent to Surat, through the recommendation of the Vizier [illegible]sud Khan, to desire the assistance of an European Surgeon. In this [illegible]ce the Council at Surat nominated Mr. Gabriel Boughton, Surgeon of [illegible]hip *Hopewell*, who immediately proceeded to the Emperor's camp, [illegible]n the Dekkan, and had the good fortune to cure the young Princess [illegible] effects of her accident. Mr. Boughton, in consequence, became a favourite at court; and having been desired to name his reward, [illegible]ith that liberality which characterizes Britons, sought not for any [illegible]ument; but solicited that his nation might have liberty to [illegible]ll duties, to Bengal, and to establish factories in that country. [illegible]as complied with, and he was furnished with the means of [illegible]ss the country to Bengal. Upon his arrival in that province, [illegible]to Pipley, and in the year 1048 (A.D. 1638), an English ship [illegible] arrive in that port, he, in virtue of the Emperor's firman * [illegible]ileges granted to him, negociated the whole of the concerns of [illegible]without the payment of any duties.

[illegible]*note* by Stewart. "I was not able to find a copy of this firman among [illegible]n records, but Mr. Bruce mentions that it is in the State paper office [illegible]ted Feb. 2nd, 1633/34." No such document appears to be in exist-

" In the following year the Prince Shujaa having taken possession of the Government, Mr. Boughton proceeded to Rajmahal, to pay his respects to his Royal Highness ; he was most graciously received ; and one of the ladies of the *harem* being then indisposed with a complaint in her side, the English Surgeon was again employed, and had the good fortune to accelerate her recovery. Owing to this event, Mr Boughton was held in high estimation at the court of Rajmahal ; and, by his influence with the Prince, was enabled to carry into effect the orders of the Emperor, which might otherwise have been cavilled at, or, by some underhand method, have been rendered nugatory.

" In the year 1050 (A.D. 1640), the same ship returned from England, and brought out a Mr Bridgeman, and some other persons, for the purpose of establishing factories in Bengal. Mr Boughton, having represented the circumstances to the Prince, was ordered to send for Mr Bridgeman ; that gentleman, in consequence, went to Rajmahal, was introduced to the Prince, and obtained an order to establish, in addition to that at Pipley, factories at Balasore and Hooghly.* Some time after this event, Mr Boughton died ; but the Prince still continued his liberality and kindness o the English."

Unfortunately there appears to be but little foundation for the story thus told by Stewart. His dates are also considerably in error. The accident to the Princess Jahanara, eldest daughter of Shah Jahan, who was burned by her clothes catching fire, happened in 1643–44. Boughton's mission to Agra took place early in 1645, too late for it to have any connection with the accident. The Princess appears to have been treated, and cured, by Anitulla, the most famous *hakim*, or Yunani physician, of the time, who was summoned from Lahore for the purpose. The factory at Balasore was established in 1633, twelve years before Boughton went to Agra, as related in Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal.*†

Nicolao Manucci, the Venetian, who landed in India at S in Jan., 1655/56, and remained in India till his death, at Madr Pondicherri, about 1717, in his work on India (*Storia do M or Mogul India*, 1653–1708, Vol. I, p. 219), mentions th to the Princess Jahanara, but says nothing about and gives no date.

" This Princess treated herself to many entertainments, s dancing, and other pastimes. It happened one night whil

* *Footnote* by Stewart. " See *East India Records*, Vol. XIV, p.

† *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal, being the Bengal R sultations for the first half of the Eighteenth Century ; summarized, extr edited, with introductions and illustrative addenda, by C. R. Wilson, M.A Educational Service.* London, W. Thacker and Co, Vol. I, 1895 ; Vol. 1900 ; part II, edited by W. Irvine, 1911.

such like dances that the thin raiment, steeped in perfumed oils, of the Princess's favourite dancing woman caught fire, and from the great love she bore to her, the Princess came to her aid, and thus was burnt herself on the chest."

The unfortunate dancing woman died of her burns.

A good deal about Gabriel Boughton will be found in Yule's notes to *Hedges' Diary* (Vol. III, pp. 167, 168, 183).* Yule quotes the passage from Stewart's history, given above, and says that this is the earliest version of the story in its completeness which he has been able to find, but that he cannot trace it to any accessible authority. Dow's *History of Hindustan* (Vol. III, p. 179) gives the story of the fire accident as occurring in 1643, which is about the time Boughton went to Agra,† but does not mention him as having anything to do with it, but on the contrary, says that Anitulla, the most famous physician of the age, was brought express from Lahore. The mission of Boughton and the fire accident to Shah Jahan's daughter appear to have got mixed up, while the accident may have been located in a camp in the Dekkan on account of the obvious improbability of a surgeon from Surat reaching Agra in time to be of any use.

Yule himself, however, quotes a much earlier, though obviously incorrect, version of the Boughton legend. (*Hedges' Diary*, III, p. 183.) This is contained in a MS. treatise by J. B., Captain of a Company's ship, who was in India in 1670–80. This work shows that the story of Boughton's services to the Company was current within twenty years of Boughton's death. It also shows, as Yule remarks, the inexactitude of even twenty years' tradition. [illegible] seems impossible that Mir Jamla, who did not come to [illegible]till 1659, could have been the patron from whom [illegible]who died several years earlier, obtained trading [illegible]r his countrymen. The error is probably due to [illegible]t Mir Jamla confirmed the grant made by Shah

[illegible]*ary of William Hedges, Esq. (afterwards Sir William Hedges), during [illegible]n Bengal, as well as his voyage out and return overland* (1681–87). [illegible] for the press, with introductory notes, etc., by R. Barlow, Esq., [illegible]ated by copious extracts from unpublished records, etc., by Colonel [illegible]dle, R.E., C.B., LL.D., President of the Hakluyt Society. Printed for [illegible]luyt Society, Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C., 1887. Vol. II, 1888, and [illegible] 1889, Illustrative Documents.

†[illegible]oughton went to Agra in the early part of 1645.

The passage in J. B.'s MS. runs as follows :—

"In the before mentioned places in these three Kingdoms (Orixa, Bengala, and Pattuna)* the English nation in generall hath freedome of inhabiting and tradeing, free from all manner of taxes and customes, in and out, the like priviledges hath noe other Nation besides.

"All which was procured by the Ingenuitie of Mr. GABRIEL BOWDEN (one of our owne Nation) and a very Eminent Doctor of Phisick, sometime Doctor in Ordinary to the great Warriour EMIR JEMLA, who tooke a very great Affection towards him and was most courteous and ffree to him, and especially upon a Notable Cure of his owne Lady performed (Vnder God) by the Doctor, the Nabob callinge for him ordered him att that instant to demand what he would have given him or had most likeinge to, and it shold be granted in Consideration of his Loyal Service and care of the best of his familie. The Doctor highly Surprised with this great Person's Generositie, soone considered upon it, yet soe as not to be greedy of any present Gaine (onely for himselfe) and now in the best of time, requested that the ENGLISH Nation might Settle factories in what parts of the Kingdomes they pleased, and be free off all duties and Customes, which was then 4 per cent. in and the like out for all the goods dealt in, the which was noe Sooner demanded but as readily granted, with *Phyrmands* in the PERSIAN Languadge that the ENGLISH Nation should hold that Priviledge soe longe as they pleased to live and Settle in these dominions, and many Other rewards Liberally bestowed Vpon the Doctor (one beinge very rare among the Mahometants)."

Here this part of the MS. breaks off.

J. B. has since been identified as not J. B., but T. B., *i.e.*, Thomas Bowrey, and his work published by the Hakluyt Society.†

Orme, in his History,‡ written thirty-five years before that of Stewart, gives much the same account, in fewer words (Vol. II, p. 8, Book VI).

"The trade of this country was opened to the English by means of a Surgeon named Boughton, who in 1636 was sent from Surat to Agra to attend a daughter of the Emperor Shaw Jehan, whom he cured, and the Emperor, besides other favours, granted him a patent to trade customs throughout his dominions, with which Boughton proceeded Bengal, intending to purchase goods in this province, and to by sea to Surat. His patent would probably have been lit the Nabob of the province had not wanted his assistance his favourite women, whom he likewise recovered; on wh prevailed on him to remain in his service, giving him an a and confirming the privilege of trade which he had obtai

* *I.e.*, Bihar.

† *A Geographical account of countries round the Bay of Beng* By Thomas Bowrey. Edited by Lt.-Col. Sir Richard Carnac Tem C.I.E., Cambridge. Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1905.

‡ *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indus the year MDCCXLV.* London, Printed for John Nourse, Bookseller in to His Majesty, 2 Vols., 4to, 1775–78.

with a promise to extend it to all others of the English nation who should come to Bengal. Boughton wrote an account of his influence to the English governor at Surat, by whose advice the Company in 1640 sent two ships from England to Bengal, the agents of which being introduced to the Nabob by Boughton, were received with courtesy, and assisted in their mercantile transactions; and the advantages gained by this trial gave encouragement to prosecute the trade."

Wheeler,* in his *Early Records of British India*, repeats the same story, dating it 1640 (p. 149).

The *Calcutta Review* for 1854, Vol. XXIII, No. XLV, contains an article by the late Surgeon Major Norman Chevers, entitled *Surgeons in India, past and present.* This article is nominally a review of Dodwell and Miles' list of the Indian Medical Service, from 1764 to 1838, published in 1839.† The title of Chevers' article, however, expresses the nature of its contents fairly enough, and it is much more than a mere review of a list of names. From it is extracted the following version of the Boughton legend :—

" In the earlier pages of Sir Thomas Roe's narrative, allusion is made to one of his suite, MR. BOUGHTON, who, evidently, must have been the Surgeon to the embassy (he was certainly not the Chaplain), as, upon their touching at Tamara, on the coast of Arabia, on their passage out, it appears that he alone was allowed to visit the house of the Mussalman king, when he was treated with ' cahu,' a black liquor, drank as hot as could be endured, and which is supposed to have been coffee. No further allusion is made to Boughton in Sir Thomas' narrative; but the name not being a common one, and it being difficult to believe that two surgeons of high repute of that name were attached to the Company's service, nearly at the same period, it may be not unfair to guess that this was the Gabriel Boughton who, some say in the year 1636, others in 1644, when surgeon of the Company's ship *Hopewell*, was chosen by the Council at Surat as the person best qualified to attend the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan, who had been frightfully burnt by the accidental ignition of her clothes, and for whose relief, all native skill having failed, her royal father had, by the recommendation of Vizier Assad Khan (probably ' Asaph

* *Early Records of British India: A history of the English Settlements in India, as told in the Government Records, the works of old travellers, and other contemporary documents, from the earliest period down to the rise of British power in India.* By J. Talboys Wheeler, late Asst.-Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department. Calcutta, Office of the Supdt. of Govt. Printing, 1875.

† *Alphabetical list of Medical Officers of the Indian Army, with the dates of their respective appointments, promotion, retirement, resignation, or death, whether in India or in Europe: from the year* 1764 *to the year* 1838. Compiled and edited by Messrs. Dodwell and Miles. Dedicated by permission to the Hon'ble Court of Directors of the East India Company. London: Longman, Orme, Browne & Co., Paternoster Row; W. H. Allen & Co., 7, Leadenhall Street; J. M. Richardson, 28, Cornhill; and W. Thacker & Co., St. Andrew's Library Calcutta; sold also by Dodwell and Miles, 69, Cornhill, 1839. (A very scarce book now-a-days. There is a copy in the library of the Calcutta Medical College. The list of names, however, is very incomplete.)

Chan,' the minister who is so frequently alluded to by Sir Thomas Roe, and who must have been well acquainted with the Surgeon to the embassy), sent an express, requesting the aid of an English surgeon. Repairing to the Emperor's camp in the Deccan, he cured the Princess, and was desired by the grateful Emperor to name his reward. Standing, probably, alone in the world, but with a heart over-flowing with generous and patriotic feeling, this noble gentleman requested that his masters, the Company, might be granted the long sought for and often denied privilege of establishing factories in Bengal, and of trading there free from all taxation. This boon, which Jehanjire had distinctly, nay, almost rudely refused to King James the First and to the Company, through their Ambassador, Shah Jehan at once conceded to the humble Surgeon of one of the Company's vessels. Repairing to Bengal, with a view to secure and carry out the privileges thus granted, Boughton visited Rajmehal (this was nearly about the time at which Gour was deserted), where he was honourably entertained by Sultan Sujah, Subadar of Bengal, the Emperor's third son, and where he gained additional credit and good will, by curing one of the ladies of the Prince's *haram*, of a disease in the side—and, consequently, obtained the fullest aid in establishing the Company's trade in Bengal. Upon Boughton's information, persons were sent out by the Company to occupy the new ports. The Prince desired M[r] Boughton to send for these gentlemen, and, on their arrival, received permission to establish factories at Hughly and Balasore, in addition to that at Pipley, which had already been thrown open by the Emperor's firman. We wish we could add, that Boughton received the full reward of his generosity, in living to see his masters' power firmly grounded in Bengal, as the foundation of the mightiest colony that the world has ever known, and in dying under his father's rooftree, with tall sons and fair daughters around his bed. This, however, was not to be, he died in India, not long after the opening of the ports. Do the ruins of Rajmehal still enshrine that honourable dust, or have the waves of the invading river swept it down to that ocean, which was the only fitting sepulchre for so large and pure a heart ? "

Dr. Chevers' suggestion that the Boughton who accompanied Sir Thomas Roe was Surgeon to the Embassy, and was probably Gabriel Boughton, is mistaken. The dates are sufficient to show the improbability of the theory. Roe set sail for India, from Tilbury, in the *Lion*, on 2nd Feb., 1614/15, and sailed from India for England in the *Anne* on 17th Feb., 1618/19. His voyage to India was, therefore, more than twenty years before the earliest date (wrongly) alleged for Boughton's mission to Agra, 1636, and thirty years before the actual date, 1645.

The Boughton who accompanied Roe was a private adventurer, named Humphrey Boughton, who died at Barhanpur on 25th Nov., 1615, just two months after Roe's arrival in India.*

* *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615–19, as narrated in his journal and correspondence.* Edited from contemporary records by William Foster, B.A., London. Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1899, 2 volumes (p. 32 and p. 100).

Sainsbury, in his *Calendar* (Vol. I, p. 356; No. 839), quotes from the *Court Minutes* of 16th Dec., 1614—

"Mr. Boughton renews his suit for a passage to the East Indies, for the purpose of travelling in China and other unknown parts, to see and learn the manners and fashions of those nations for his own instruction; he offers to carry letters from the King or Company and to spend 300*l.* or 400*l.* a year out of his own means."

Roe appears to have had two surgeons attached to his embassy, probably not at the same time, but one after the other. The first was named Greene. In a letter from Roe to Thomas Kerridge, chief factor of Surat, dated at Amadavaz (Ahmadabad) on 18th Dec., 1617, he writes "Greene, my surgeon, returns this fleete."

There are several references to Greene in Sainsbury's *Court Minutes*, none of them much to his credit. Sir Thomas Roe in his letter dated 16th Feb., 1617/18, to Sir Thomas Smyth, writes :—

"Greene, my Surgeon, and one Hill, late servant to Sir John Scott, have obtained passages; the former is a slanderous, drunken, malicious knave, the latter a vain idle boy." (Sainsbury, Vol. II, p. 131, No. 276.)

Again, in the *Court Minutes* of 13th Aug., 1619—

"Suit of Greene, the Surgeon, who went forth with Sir Thomas Roe, 'abused himself in his service, and returned with disgrace,' for part of the money for his goods, stayed till the ambassador's return, which is like to be very shortly." (Sainsbury, Vol. II, p. 290, No. 726.)

And in the *Court Minutes of* 15th Oct., 1619—

"Petition of Christopher Greene, who went forth Surgeon with Sir Thomas Roe, and returned in the 'Bull,' but was discharged from the Company's service in the Indies, for favour, Sir Thomas Roe pleading for him." (Sainsbury, Vol. II, p. 302, No. 752.)

Greene's successor was less fortunate, and did not live to return to England. His death is thus described by Roe's Chaplain, the Rev. Edward Terry, at page 226 of the book which he wrote after his return, describing their travels in India.

"The City Amadavar (at our being there with the King), was visited with this pestilence in the month of May, and our family was not exempted from that most uncomfortable visitation; for within the space of nine dayes seven persons that were English of our family were taken away by it; and none of those which dyed, lay sick above twenty houres; and

the major part well, and sick, and dead, in twelve houres. As our Surgeon (who was there all the physician we had) and he led the way, falling sick at midday and the following midnight dead. And there were there more that followed him, one immediately after the other, who made as much haste to the grave as he had done; and the rest went after them, within that space of time I named before. And, as I before showed, all those that dyed in our family of this pestilence had their bodyes all set on fire by it, as soon as they were first visited, and when they were dying, and dead, spots of a black and blue colour appeared on their breasts; and their flesh was made so extreme hot by their most high distemper that we who survived could scarce endure to keep our hands upon it. It was a most sad time, a fiery trial indeed. . . . All our family (my Lord Ambassador only excepted), were visited by this sickness, and we all, who through God's help and goodness outlived it, had many great blisters, filled with a thick yellow watery substance, that arose upon many parts of our bodyes, which, when they brake, did even burn and corrode our skins, as it ran down upon them."

Both Jahangir himself, the Emperor, and his third son, Prince Khuram, afterwards the Emperor Shah Jahan, were attacked by this plague, but recovered. Jahangir says, in his *Tozak*, that it was widespread, but not generally fatal. It would be interesting to know what this disease really was, which was so fatal to the members of Roe's suite. It certainly cannot have been cholera, nor does it correspond in its symptoms to the plague, as we have seen it in our own time, three centuries later.

The name of the unfortunate Surgeon does not seem to have been recorded.

Bruce, in his *Annals*, p. 406, gives an account of Boughton which is more in accordance with the facts than those previously quoted.

"The Surgeons of the English Indiamen had acquired for their skill in curing the disorders of the principal Mogul officers, a reputation, which made them known at Court. Assalat Khan, a nobleman of high rank, applied to the Presidency of Surat to recommend a Surgeon to reside at Agra, and they selected Mr. Gabriel Boughton, Surgeon of the Company's ship *Hopewell* for that duty, who was afterwards appointed Surgeon to the Emperor. His success gave the English an influence in the Mogul's Court, which, in the sequel, we shall find to be the source of the valuable privileges which the London Company acquired in Bengal."

Grose, who went to India in 1750, in his *Voyage to the East Indies*, published in 1772, speaking of the native physicians at Tranquebar (Vol. I, p. 280), makes a reference which seems

confuse the deputation of Boughton to Agra with Sir Thomas Roe's Embassy.

" Their physicians are not in so great esteem as those of the missions. The great people in the Indies never fail, when they can have an European physician, to prefer him to their own ; even the Mogul employed a Surgeon, who came to Delhi in the retinue of an envoy, from the English East India Company."

A work named *Ledger and Sword*, by Beckles Willson, gives Boughton's story shortly, and states, without giving any authority, that Boughton is said to have been educated at Guy's Hospital (Vol. I, p. 244).

Both Bruce and Stewart describe Gabriel Boughton as Surgeon of the *Hopewell*, though Wilson, in his *Early Annals*, says that there is no record of his having been Surgeon of that vessel. The fact that Gabriel Boughton was " late Chirurgeon of the *Hopewell* " is, however, clearly stated in the letter, dated 3rd Jan., 1644/45, from the President at Surat to the Company in London, which is quoted below. This appears definitely to settle the question.

A ship named the *Hopewell*, Captain Carew, took part in Frobisher's third voyage to the North-west, which started from Harwich on 31st May, 1578. (*Hakluyt, Everyman's Library Edition*, Vol. V, p. 231.) Another ship called the *Hopewell* (or possibly the same), Captain William Crafton, of 120 tons, sailed from Gravesend on 8th April, 1597, in an expedition under Charles Leigh to Cape Breton (*ibid. Hakluyt*, Vol. VI, p. 100). Neither of these, however, appears to have been the vessel of that name which afterwards formed part of the East India Company's fleet. This vessel was built about 1626. In the *Court Minutes* of the E.I. Co. of 7th Oct., 1626, is a note to the effect that, two pinnaces should be named the *Speedwell* and the *Hopewell*. (Sainsbury, Vol. IV, p. 249, No. 365.) This vessel, apparently just built, as she was only named in the latter part of 1626, appears to have been the one in which Gabriel Boughton served. Her arrival in Swally Roads, near Surat, presumably on her maiden voyage, is noted in a letter from Francis Stockton, of the ship *Exchange*, in Swally Roads, dated 17th Dec., 1627. (Sainsbury, Vol. IV, p. 429, No. 566.)

The *Hopewell* continued in service for barely twenty years, a very short life for a ship of those days, which did not come to

an end by wreck or fire. In a letter from President Breton at Swally Marine to the Company, dated 31st March, 1645, a postscript states—

" The *Hopewell* has now been pronounced past repair." *

The name of one of Boughton's predecessors in the office of Surgeon of the *Hopewell* has been preserved. The *Court Minutes* of 13th Nov., 1633, contain a note about a petition by—

" Rebecca widow of John Wilson, who died Surgeon in the *Hopewell*, for remission of freight on cassia lignum " (Sainsbury, Vol. V, p. 486, No. 511).

No record of Gabriel Boughton's appointment to be Surgeon of the *Hopewell* appears to be in existence now. His appointment to that post is not mentioned in the *Court Minutes of the E.I. Co.*

Curiously enough, the *Hopewell* is connected with the first visit of the English to Bengal, in quite a different way, through a different individual, not Gabriel Boughton, Surgeon, but William Bruton, quartermaster. In March, 1633, John Norris, agent at the English Factory at Masulipatam, despatched a party of eight Englishmen in a country boat to the court of Agha Muhammad Yaman, Viceroy of Orissa, who gave them permission to trade in Orissa, and under this permission they founded factories at Balasore and Hariharpur. One of this band of eight, the first Englishman to visit Bengal, or at least Orissa, was William Bruton, quartermaster of the *Hopewell*, who wrote an account of the expedition.†

The history of Gabriel Boughton's appointment to and connection with the *Hopewell* has lately been exhaustively treated by Mr. W. Foster, of the India Office, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL, Part DXI, for Sept., 1911, from which the following account is taken.

* The E.I. Co., like the Navy, liked to retain old names in their fleet; and often, when a vessel was lost or broken up, gave its name to the new ship which took its place. Another *Hopewell* sailed from Surat to Siam in 1661. In this vessel, about 1670, Constant Phaulkon, the famous Greek adventurer who became Chief Minister of Siam, went out as steward's mate. See also Chap. VIII, *Early History, Bengal and the Bay*, under Henry Watson.

† *News from the East Indies of a voyage to Bengalla, written by William Bruton, now resident in the Parish of St. Saviours', Southwark, and now lately come home in the good ship called the* Hopewell *of London. Imprinted at London by I. Okes,* 1638. (Reprinted in Volume VIII of a collection of voyages and travels published by Osborne in 1752, and also in Vol. V, of the enlarged edition of Ha[illegible] in 1809–12.)

"The reference made by Stewart, in his footnote, quoted above, 'see *East India Records*, Vol. XIV, page 22,' has hitherto been a mystery. There is no such series now at the India Office, nor is there any evidence of such a series having existed at the East India House.

"A document has lately come to light among the records in the India Office, included among *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. XXX, p. 35. This volume is one sent home from Madras in 1688, for the information of the Company, and contains copies of letters received at Madras between July, 1687, and the following February. The document is dated February, 1684, *i.e.* the date which would now be called February, 1685; but is included among letters received in September, 1687. Two other copies of this document are contained in the *Orme MSS.; Orme, India*, Vol. VII, p. 1726, and *Orme, Various*, Vol. XII, p. 1[3]. This document, from internal evidence, appears to be that on which Stewart based his account of Boughton. It cannot, however, be identified in any way with the reference which Stewart gives, so the deduction that it was his authority is only a guess.

"This paper is a memorandum, on the origin of English trade in Bengal, written by a Bengal officer, probably by John Beard, who became Agent in Bengal in October, 1684, and died at Hughli in August, 1685. He seems to have depended on hearsay for the earlier part of the story, and some of his statements are inaccurate; *e.g.* the date, 1636, in the first few words. Andrew Cogan, here called Cockaine, did not become Agent on the Coromandel Coast till the autumn of 1639; and it was in August, 1643, that the *Hopewell*, with Cogan on board, sailed from Madras for Bantam, where she arrived the following November.

"The document itself runs as follows:—

"'A Breif Accountt of the Rice * and Tenor of the Honourable English East India Companies priviledges together † their losses of them and their present Case as to the Customs.

"'Feb: Anno 1684.

"'About the year 1636 there was one Gabriel Boughton a chyrurgeon at Madrass in the time of Agent Cockaine ‡ who design'd home for England, and according took his passage upon the *Hopewell*, Captain Gage § commander, and near the Cape mett with very bad weather and in the storm the said ship sprang a leak which to save themselves they threw overboard their lading, and made for the Moritious, where they arrived and mett with the ship *Dolphin*, Captain Proud commander, which ship in bad weather had lost her masts, at which place both ships being fitted they went for Suratt.

"'Mr. Boughton having lost all that he had, tarried at Surat during which stay Assut Channe,‖ the Emperour's Buxy, writt to Suratt for a chirurgeon to come to court, the Emperour's daughter by accident haveing her clothes sett on fire was burnt, for the cure of whom a chirurgeon was sent for. Mr Boughton went and performed the cure, he was much made off and allowed 7 rupies per diem and invited to serve the Emperour, but

* Rice, *sic*, probably the word should be *rise*.
† The word *with* apparently omitted.
‡ Agent *Cockaine*, should be Cogan.
§ Captain *Gage*, should be Yates.
‖ *Assut Channe*; Stewart has Assad Khan; it was really Asalat Khan. Assad Khan was a different man.

Mr Boughton did not like to stay; and after some time travelled most part of India, and at last came down into Bengall. The prince Shaw Sujah then residing at Rajamaule, Mr Boughton went thither, he had been there but a little while when he was taken notice off, by a great person that had seen him at the Emperour's court while he was performing the cure upon the Emperour's daughter, and at that time there was one of the princes concubines, which woman the Prince greatly loved, had a great pain in her side, and could find no cure. The said great person acquaints the Prince that there was a chyrurgeon in the town that had wrought a great cure on the Emperour's daughter, upon which the Prince sent for Mr Boughton who undertoke the cure and succeeded curing the woman in a very short time, upon which Mr Boughton was in very great favour and allowed by the Prince 10 rups per diem. This Prince Shaw Sujah was the present Emperours elder brother, and had given him by his father the government, and all the revenues of the provinces of Bengalla and Orissa, he offers Mr Boughton if he would trade, he should be free from paying of custom and all other duties and gave Mr Boughton two neshauns to that end. Mr Boughton thereupon came down to Piply and by a Moors ship then bound for Suratt writ to the President there and gave an account of all goods and merchandize that he could learn were here to be had, the President received the letter and about two years after came a ship from England whereof was commander Captain Brookhaven and upon the account of Mr Boughton's neshauns was free of all duties, he was at Hugly and bought severall goods and returned. And after two year came the second time, and brought Mr Bridgman Cheif, and severall others to settle factories, and upon their arrivall Captain Brookhaven writt to Mr Boughton, being then with the Prince at Rajamaule, that he was come to settle factories. Mr Boughton forthwith sent down his servant James Price to Hugly to fetch Mr Bridgman up to the Prince, who accordingly went up, and was presented by Mr Boughton to the Prince, to whom Mr Bridgman made a present of some rarities, and Mr Boughton took that opportunity to speak to the Prince for his neshauns for Mr Bridgman to trade freely without the paying of custome, or any other duties. The Prince gave it upon Mr Boughton's request, upon which neshaun Mr Bridgman settled factories at Ballasore, Hugly, &c., which lasted till the United Company broke up. When the United Company broke up there was one Mr Paul Walgrave, Cheif of Bengall, who went from Ballasore over land to Metchlepatam, and in the way was rob'd and lost the Princes neshaun with severall perwannas grounded upon it. There was at that time a Company that went under the name of Maurice Thompsons Company here, for whom there was Mr Billadge, Gardon, and Chamberlaine, to whom joyned Mr Blak, one that was the old Companies servant. But they haveing neither neshaun nor perwanna, and Mr Boughton dying about that time, they apply themselves to James Price, that was Mr Boughtons servant and well acquainted at the Princes court, to endeavour to procure the Princes neshaun; which said James Price undertook to do them what service he could, and went up with Mr Billadge from Ballasore to Rajamaulle, and did sollicite for the Princes neshaun now in our hands, which they and this present Company after them had and did hold those priviledges during the Prince Shaw Sujahs time. But it was but little time before the King, the youngest brother by severall stratagems got the crown, which no sooner he did posse[illegible]

he sought Shaw Sujahs (his brothers) life, sent a great army down to take him. Shaw Sujah fled to Arracca, where tis said he was kill'd.'"

* * * * *

The above passage, which contains all the references to Boughton, is less than one-third of the whole document, which goes on to describe the duties exacted by Aurangzeb's Viceroys in Bengal, Mir Jamla, Daud Khan, and Shaista Khan.

Mr. Foster's account of the voyage of the *Hopewell*, and of the quarrels between her Master, Andrew Trumball, and her Surgeon, runs as follows. But, as the name of the Surgeon is not given, it can only be conjectured that Boughton held the post.

"Assuming that, as our narrative declares, Boughton sailed with Cogan from Madras, the question arises whether he merely joined the ship at that place, or whether he had taken part in her earlier cruises. The former theory is more consonant with the text; but the entire absence of any reference in the extant records to his being employed on shore at Madras rather favours the view that he had been the ship's surgeon from the start, though no trace of his appointment can be found in the home records of the Company. On this hypothesis, it will be of interest to note that the *Hopewell* sailed from the Downs on the last day of 1641, with Andrew Trumball as her master, and Francis Day in charge of her cargo. She was bound for Fort St. George, and duly reached that place on July 5th, 1642. A fortnight later she sailed for Masulipatam and thence to Balasore, in the Bay of Bengal, where she spent three months, returning to Madras in December. On the 30th of that month she departed for Gombroon in Persia, arrived there in March, and got back to Madras on May 19th, 1643. There had been continual disputes between Day and Trumball, and charges of cruelty were brought against the latter by many of the officers and crew, with the result that the Agent and Council at Fort St. George ordered the master on shore and sent the ship down the coast to Tranquebar without him. On her return (August 1643) Trumball was reinstated; but this produced a fresh hubbub, and Day positively refused to venture on board again. At last a solution was found for the difficulty: Cogan himself took command of the vessel for the voyage to Bantam, while Day remained at Fort St. George as Agent in his place. The scanty records of the time include several documents relating to the charges against Trumball. One of these (*O.C. Duplicates, No.* 1624) contains the latter's answer, in June 1643, to certain accusations made by Day (not now extant) which evidently alleged, among other things, that the master had used the surgeon of the *Hopewell* 'in a cruell horrid manner.' To this Trumball replied that:—

"'It is not soe. But the above said chirurgeon having caused my servant to enter 8 pound in the pursers books to him for curinge (as he said) the runninge of the reynes, I questioned with him why he would have any dealinge with him that was my servant and not let me know of it, and to cause him to enter any money, which he, beinge another man's servant, could not doe. I said moreover, if he [had] acquainted me with it, he should have made him satisfaction. His reply [was] now it was

entred in the booke, he had satisfaction. Whereupon I demanded whose the medecines were that he did use. He tould me the Company did lay them in for his use. I tould him, if the Company did lay them in for his use, yet they did not permitt him to sell them at such high rates. He made me answere verie proudly he would make what rates he thought fitt, and that it did not belonge to me to examine him in those particulers. I further asked him why he caried the medecines ashore now wee had no sicke men there. He replied I should never know; which mov'd me, seeinge his infinite pride, to strike him 3 or 4 blowes with an inch rope; which I thinke was noe more then I might doe.'

" Further on in the same document Trumball alludes to his having on another occasion ' had some words ' with the surgeon, who had refused to come near him, though his foot was giving him ' extreame paine.' There is also a reference to some complaint that Trumball sent his sic men ashore at Balasore without seeing that they had proper shelter an food; in reply to which he protests that he left the matter in the hands o the ' chirurgion,' who ' never asked any thinge of me; but (as I afterwar knew) tooke care to gett his owne chest and lumber into the boate.' none of these instances, however, is the name of the surgeon given, an so, unless some further evidence is forthcoming, it must remain doubtful whether they really relate to Boughton or to some predecessor of his.

" After this digression, we return to our examination of the narrative. The *Hopewell* sailed from Bantam for England in January 1644, under the command of Captain Andrew Yates (not Gage); but she had not got far on her way when she was forced by bad weather and her leaky condition to put into the island of Mauritius. There, as stated in the narrative, she met the *Dolphin*, which had left Surat at the beginning of the year and had likewise been badly damaged in a storm. After refitting as best they could, the two ships went on to Madagascar and the Comoros; but then, finding themselves in no condition to complete the voyage to Europe, they made their way to Surat, which was reached in September 1644.

" Thus far the narrative appears to be in the main correct, though it must be confessed that in the extant records no trace can be found of Boughton's participation in the voyage. At this point, however, the story runs right off the rails—how far may be seen by comparing the following extract from a letter addressed to the East India Company by their President and Council at Surat under date of January 3rd, 1645 (*India Office Records: O.C.* 1905), which gives the true story of Boughton's deputation to Agra. In excusing themselves for making a larger demand than usual for medical stores, the President and his colleagues explain that an unexpected call has been made upon their resources in this line:

" ' Assalaut Ckaune, a very great Vmbra, gratious with the king, and our very good freind, having long importuned us to supply him with [a] Chirurgeon wee Consideringe how advantageous itt may be unto you, and having a fit oportunity, one Gabriel Boughton, late Chirurgeon of the *Hopewell* being thereunto very well qualifyed and being willinge to stay, wee have thought fitting to designe him to that service, wherewith Assal[aut] Ckaune is so well pleased that lately when M[r] Turner was to leave Agra he accompanied M[r] Tash and M[r] Turner to the King, who honord them more then ordinary in a long conference he held wth them dismissing them with vests, and sending unto the President a ffirma dagger, which not being yett received we know not what the form

import or the Latters valew, but shall hereafter advise, and if the dagger be of any considerable worth it shall be sent to you with the jewell before advised the Prince lately sent unto the President, both expected by Mr Turner.'"

Vmbra here evidently stands for *umra*, the plural of *amir*. Asalat Khan was *Mir Bakshi*, or Paymaster General of the Empire, and an especial favourite of the Emperor Shah Jahan. He is said to have died in 1647. The above passage is also quoted in Yule's Notes to *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. III, p. 182.

Boughton, then, appears to have gone from Surat to the Emperor's Court at Agra at the end of 1644 or early in 1645. In the following year he visited Balkh in Central Asia. A letter written by Boughton from Balkh was received at Surat on 22nd Dec., 1646. This letter has only recently come to light. It is the first entry in the *Surat Inward Letter Book*, Vol. I, 1646–47, preserved among the Bombay records. Mr. Foster, who identified the letter, contributed a very interesting article upon it to the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLI, Part DXIX, May, 1912, from which these facts are taken.

The letter bears no date, except the word "4th," but from internal evidence it appears to have been written on 4th Oct., 1646, thus reaching Surat, *via* Agra, in a little over two and a half months. Much of the letter is illegible. From it, however, can be gathered that Boughton had gone to Balkh, or, as he writes the name, Balucke, with Asalat Khan, who had been appointed Governor of that province. There was with Boughton at Balkh another Englishman called Barnes, who was anxious to get an appointment in the Company's service. Boughton and Barnes were probably the first Englishmen to visit Balkh.

Nothing of Boughton's life for the next four years is known with certainty. Apparently he returned from Balkh to the Court at Agra, and, after the death of his special patron, Asalat Khan, in 1647, attached himself to the Emperor's second son, Shah Shuja, Viceroy of Bengal. Tradition says that he cured the favourite wife of the Viceroy of some complaint in her side (perhaps pleurisy); this story seems to rest on the authority of the document of February, 1684/85, and of Bowrey's work, both quoted above. It appears certain, however, that [illegible] in high favour with Shah Shuja, presumably on account [illegible] professional skill and success. Our next certain knowledge

of Boughton shows him at the Viceregal Court at Rajmahal at the end of 1650.

Yule (*Hedges' Diary*, Vol. III, pp. 184, 185) quotes the following extract from the—

" Instructions for MR. JAMES BRIDGMAN, Chiefe, MR. EDWARD STEPHENS second, WILLIAM BLAKE and FRANCIS TAYLER, Assistants, in the ffactories of BALLASOR and HUKELEY for the hon'ble *English East India* Company." Dated at end " BALLASOR, 14th December 1650." (*O.C.*, No. 2186.)

" You know how necessary it will bee for the better carrying on the trade of these parts to have the Prince's *ffirman*, and that MR. GABRIEL BOUGHTON, Chirurgeon to the Prince promises concerning the same To putt matters out of doubt it is necessary that you forthwith after our departure, and the settlement of business here and at HUKLEY, proceed to RAJAMALL with one Englishman to accompany you; where being come consult with MR. BOUGHTON about the business, who hath the whole contents of the DUTCHES last *ffirman*, and together endeavour, (if possible) that (according to MR. BOUGHTON'S promise) the Company may have such a *ffirman* granted, as may outstrip the DUTCH in point of Privilege and freedome, that soe they may not have cause any longer to boast of theirs. You know what I have written to MR. BOUGHTON about it, who (without doubt) will bee very faithful in the business, and strive that the same may bee procured, with as little charge as may bee to the Company knowing that the lesse the charge is the more will bee the reputation, according to his owne advice in his last vnto me; what you shall present, or expend in the business I cannot advise, however, what you doe, lett it bee done with joint consent, and I pray you bee as spareing as may bee in a business of this Import."

A few months later we find the Masulipatam agency offering Boughton a *peshkash*, or propitiatory present (*Hedges' Diary*, Vol. III, p. 187). As Colonel Yule points out, it is curious to find an agency of the Company offering *peshkash*, an offering usually made to a superior, to one who was, nominally at least, a servant of the Company, and a servant of lower standing than their own. No doubt, however, the present was made to him in his capacity as Surgeon, not to the Company, but to the Viceroy of Bengal. The letter from the Masulipatam agency to Mr. James Bridgman etc., at Balasore, runs as follows [*O.C.* 2210] :—

" Dated Metchlepatam, the 25th February, 1650 " * (*O.C.* 2210). " Alsoe you may take notice of 3 Guze of scarlett and 16 yards of gould and silver lace in Wm. Benis his Coustody the which demand of him and present as a *piscash* from vs to MR. GABRIELL BOUGHTON whoe being the Prince's Servant will be doubtlesse a great help vnto you to gain his *ffirmaund*, which wee cannot coniecture wil be difficult to bee obtained, considering the very great present you have given already, farr in value exceeding what vse to bee given in preceeding yeares. '

* *I.e.*, 25th February, 1651, according to modern reckoning.

That Bridgman succeeded in obtaining a *farman* from Shah Shuja, presumably by the aid of Boughton, is shown in a letter from Madras dated 14th Jan., 1651/52 (*O. C.* 2246), quoted by Foster, which says, speaking of Bengal—

"Our freinds there have bin at the expence of 3,000 rups. at least to ocure the Princes firmand for free trade in his dominions; which, if it n bee mainetained in its full vigour will in short time quite the charge."

The loss of this *farman* is narrated as follows in a letter from adras to the Company, dated 10th and 22nd Nov., 1656 (*O. C.* 579), also quoted by Foster:—

"Mr George Gawton, who hath also settled a factory in Ballasore, with eight or nine assistants, and procured a new phirmand for trade, that of Your Worships being lost, togither with all the Bay accompts and papers, by Mr Waldegrave; who, being very sicke at the ships departure, could not come by sea but followed after by land, bringing the said phirmand, accompts, etc., with him, without leaving coppies behind in the factorie, recommended to the broker Narrana his charge, as hee ought to have done (having sent none by the ships) in regard of the dangers incident to soe long a journey and the troubles on the way, some of our English, etc., people having byn robbd and wounded not many months before betweene Verasheroone and Vizagapatam; which last place Mr Waldegrave, accompanied with Capt. Durson and Thomas Wilson; etc., servants having passed, about two daies journey on this side were sett on by other theeves, wounded, and robbed of all about them to their very clothes; in which disaster the said papers were lost, and could never since bee heard of, though Mr Waldegrave himselfe staied some daies behind to make enquiry after them, and Mr Winter since by our order sent purposely others to looke for them."

That Boughton did really obtain a *farman* in favour of the Company from Shah Shuja seems to be proved by the following extract from the *Court Book* of 1674, Vol. XXIX., dated 4th Sept. in that year. The passage is quoted by Sir R. Temple, at p. 234 of his edition of Bowrey's *Geographical Account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal.*

"On reading a report from the Committees for the Coast and Bay touching the phirmands * granted to the Company for trading in the Bay of Bengala, according to an order of Court, dated the — of — † We have discoursed with Mr Bridges and others concerning the Phirmaund or patent for trade granted the English by the Prince of Bengala; and we find that it was first procured by one Mr Bowden a Chyrurgeon, and gave the English onely libertie to trade paying custom according to the King's

* In this passage the word *farman* is twice spelt *Phirmand* and thrice *Phirmaund.*

† Dates left blank in the original.

phirmand, but was altered and made to pay no custom according to the King's phirmaund. That afterwards there was another Phirmaund thought to be more advantageous to the trade of the English procured by Mr Ganton and Billidge."

Little more is known of Boughton with any certainty. Neith the date nor place of his death seems to have been recorded. H was alive in Jan., 1651/52, and died in 1653.

An affidavit by Gaspar de Breu, dated Pipli, 1st Oct., 165 speaks of Boughton as alive in Jan., 1651/52. This is the late date at which he is known to have been alive. He was dea before Aug., 1653. Paul Waldegrave, Chief at Balasore, in letter to the President at Surat, dated 17th Aug., 1653 (*O.C.* 2336) says that news had reached Bengal that the *Mayflower* and anothe small vessel, which had left Balasore for Persia nearly two years before, had arrived at Gombroon, that the goods had been sold, but that no money had so far been received on their account. He further states that Gabriel Boughton, Edward Stephens, and James Bridgman were chiefly interested in this venture, and that the Commander, Henry Cherry, was reported to be dangerously ill at Gombroon.* The letter goes on—

"Mr Boughton had a great share therein, who died in debt to one Churmull, a shroff in Puttanah [Patna] betweene 5 and 6,000 rups. with its interest; and from whome wee have often received very many troublesome solicitacions for payment or securitie for that debt, hee [Boughton] being then under the nocion of the Companies servant and did their bussinesse in Puttanah that yeare."

Boughton married a native woman, who survived him over twenty years. After his death she married William Pitts. In May, 1657, the Factors at Fort St. George wrote to the Company in England (*O.C.* No. 2610)—

"Your servants in the Bay are much troubled by one W who having married a Mogullana, or Morish woman, the re Boughton, becomes thereby interressed in the Adventure he Junckes that went under Bridgman's name and were sei Surrat President, which said Adventure was provided wit up at Interest of the Moores, who are very importunate for J

* *The Diaries of Streynsham Master, 1675–80, and other contem thereto.* Edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bart., C.I.E. *In Series*, John Murray, 1911. Two volumes, large octavo. Gaspar affidavit is mentioned in Vol. II, p. 61. Boughton's venture to Per *Mayflower* is summarised in the introduction, Vol. I, p. 177, his wido on p. 178. Cherry died at Ispahan on 25th Sept., 1653.

us, and tis to bee feared will force a payment, as they did formerly for Mr Edward Steevens Debt, and all that our friends could alleadge to deferre present satisfaction was that Ditto Pitts had written to England about it, and twas not reason he should demaund it in both places."

The Fort St. George *Cons.* of 16th Oct., 1655 (*Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. I), record the determination of the Madras Factors to withdraw all Company's servants from the factories in Bengal, and give permission to William Pitts to live in the Company's house at Hughli. Pitts died in 1673–74. He was alive in 1673, and is referred to as dead in Oct., 1674. After his death, his widow, the "Mogullana," who had survived both Boughton and Pitts, married a third English husband, Richard Moseley, a dyer in the Company's service at Kasimbazar, who had formerly been a soldier at Fort St. George. On 31st Oct., 1676, Moseley was claiming £1885 1*s.* 3*d.*, as due to his wife, Boughton's widow, by the Company, on account of the above venture to Persia.

No other relative of Boughton's, except his native wife, seems to be known.

Whatever may have been Boughton's services in obtaining a *farman* for the Company, long before his time the Company's servants at Surat had tried to obtain liberty to trade, free of custom, with Bengal. In 1619 they threatened to withdraw from their Indian trade altogether, and also to carry out reprisals on Indian shipping, unless redress were granted them, and claims paid for compensation for certain injuries, indigo stolen from a caravan in 1619, forced loans, debts, etc. Many ships, the property of Indian merchants, were actually captured. The Surat Council and the Mogul Governor of Surat came to an agreement in 1623, some claims were paid, others dropped, among the stipulations then made was one demanding the right of free trade throughout the Mogul's dominions, including Bengal. (Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1622–23, pp. xxxiii, 309.)

"10th *November* 1623.—At a consultation held on board the *Blessing*. Terms of agreement with the Surat authorities. Among them 'They' (*i.e.* the English) 'shall be permitted free trade as well in the ports of Surratt, Cambaya, Goga, Sinda, and Bengala, as in all other citties and places within the dominions of Jangere Paudshah, without prohibition of any comoditie to bee brought in or exported out of the Kingdome, neither limitation confininge them either unto places, times, or quantities, where,

when, or how much of any merchandize, gould, or rialls they shall so bringe in, carrie away, or transport from place to place within or without the aforesaide dominions.' "

Such a grant from the Governor of Surat was, of course, of no value for Sind, Bengal, or any other place outside the Surat Governorship. The Company hoped to obtain a confirmation of the grant from Jahangir himself, valid throughout his whole dominions; but it does not appear that any such confirmation was ever given by the Emperor. In fact, the story of Boughton is itself sufficient to show that no valid grant of an earlier date was in existence. For the above grant would have covered more privileges than Boughton is supposed to have obtained in the most exaggerated form of the legend.

In *The Seven Cities of Delhi*,* a most interesting history of that city, there occurs a singular confusion between the stories of Gabriel Boughton and William Hamilton (p. 231).

" In 1716, Farukhsiyar fell sick, a Scotch surgeon, Gabriel Hamilton, was summoned to attend him, and effected a cure."

It was, of course, William Hamilton, who attended on and cured Farakhsiyar. Nor was Hamilton summoned to attend the Emperor. He went to Delhi as a member of Surman's Embassy, which left Calcutta in April, 1714, and reached Delhi about July, 1715. His attendance on, and cure of, the Emperor were only a happy chance for Farakhsiyar, for the Company, and for Hamilton himself.

To conclude, there appears to be no foundation whatever for the legend that Boughton cured the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jahan, when she was accidentally burned. There is no authority for the statement that he obtained a *farman*, or grant, in favour of the Company, from the Emperor. But it is certain that Gabriel Boughton really existed, that he was surgeon of the *Hopewell*, that he was sent from Surat to Agra, to Shah Jahan's court, about the early part of 1645; that he visited Balkh in 1646; that he went on to Bengal, and was a member of Shah Shuja's retinue at his court at Rajmahal, between 1645 and 1650; and that he died in India before the end of 1653. That

* *The Seven Cities of Delhi*. By Gordon Risley Hearn, R.E., London, W. Thacker and Co., 2, Creed Lane, E.C.; Calcutta and Simla, Thacker, Spink and Co.; Bombay, Thacker and Co., Ltd., 1906.

he got a *farman* from Shah Shuja in favour of the Company seems also practically certain.

The date and place of Gabriel Boughton's death are unknown. No stone marks his resting place, no memorial to him is in existence. His name is not even mentioned in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. But History records his services to the Company and to his country.

CHAPTER VI

EARLY HISTORY; SURAT, PERSIA, BOMBAY, AND THE WEST

"Once, two hundred years ago, the trader came
Meek and tame."
KIPLING, *Departmental Ditties, A Tale of two Cities.*

THE E.I. Co.'s first factory in Western India was that founded at Surat in Jan., 1612/13, by Best and Aldworth. By the end of 1617, they had five factories in the Mogul's dominions—Surat, Broach, Barhanpur, Ahmadabad, and Agra.* Half a century later Bombay was added to the list. Douglas, in *Glimpses of Old Bombay and Western India*, pp. 249, 250, states—

"In 1538, ten years after its acquisition by the Portuguese, Bombay was rented in perpetuity to Garcia d'Orta, a physician and professor of Lisbon, who lived in India from 1534 to 1572. Garcia paid a yearly quit rent of about £85 (1432½ pardaos). In 1563 he wrote a work *Dialogues on Simples and Drugs*, in which he mentions the island under the names of Bombaim and Mombaim. He was a friend of Camoens, author of the *Lusiad*, who was in India at the same time."

In Malabari's *Bombay in the Making*, pp. 21, 22, the date of the grant to d'Orta is given as 1541. Had the descendants of the Portuguese physician been able to retain their property till the present day, they would have been rich men. The island of Bombay was ceded by Portugal to England, as part of the dowry of Katharine of Braganza, wife of Charles II., by the treaty of marriage, dated 23rd June, 1661, and ratified two months later. In 1668 Charles II. handed over the island to the Company.

Surat was a Presidency of the E.I. Co. from 1613 to 1678, and again from 1681 to 1686. From 1629 to 1635 Surat was the chief seat of all the Company's possessions in the East. 1678

* Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1618–21, p. v.

the seat of Government was transferred to Bombay, in 1681 it was retransferred to Surat, and in 1686 Bombay again became the headquarters of the Western Presidency, and has remained so ever since. A picture of the English Factory at Surat, in 1638, taken from the 1658 edition of *Mandelslo's Travels*, forms the frontispiece of Foster's *English Factories in India*, 1634–36.

For a few years, during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the Company's factories in Persia, though subordinate to Surat, were almost as important as those in India.

The Company's first factory in Persia was founded in 1616 by Edward Connock at Ispahan, under a grant from Shah Abbas. Connock died near Jask on 24th Dec., 1617, and was succeeded by the Second in Council, Thomas Barker, who died towards the end of Nov., 1619, and was succeeded as Chief by Edward Monnox. In that month Robert Jefferies, one of the Surat Factors, was sent from Surat to Persia, to rank next after Barker and Monnox. Along with them the Rev. Matthew Cardro was sent, as Chaplain of the factories in Persia. Jefferies quarrelled with Monnox, Cardro, and Strachan, the Surgeon, and accused Strachan of having poisoned Barker, and Robins, another factor in Persia. There do not seem to have been any serious grounds for this accusation. Jefferies was dismissed by Monnox on a charge of treason, and sent a prisoner to Surat, where he was restored to the service.

George Strachan, the most picturesque figure among the Company's early medical officers, was Surgeon to the factory at Ispahan from 1619 to 1621.* He was a native of Mearns, Kincardine, Scotland, and was entered in the Scots College at Rome in 1602. He was at Constantinople in 1612, at Aleppo about 1615, then took service as physician, though apparently unqualified, with Emir Feiad, an Arab chief. By 1618 he was at Bagdad, and joined the Company's factory at Ispahan in June, 1619. In May, 1620, he went through a severe attack of fever at Shiraz. In that year he was accused by Jefferies of having poisoned Barker, the late chief at Ispahan. Both Jefferies and Strachan were dismissed, both were reinstated a few months later. In Oct., 1622, he arrived from Ispahan at Gombroon,

* The chief authority for Strachan's career is an article entitled, *Some little known travellers in the East*, by the late Sir Henry Yule, in the *Asiatic Quarterly* for April, 1888. See also Foster's *English Factories in India*, 1618–21, p. 41, 249, 252, and Sainsbury's *Calendar*, Vol. II, 1617–21, many entries.

the modern Bandar Abbas, had another attack of fever there, and in Nov. left for Lar and Ispahan. What became of him afterwards does not appear to be known.

The *Court Minutes* of 8th Jan., 1618/19, contain a letter from Libby Chapman, at Aleppo, dated 18th Sept., 1618, recommending Strahanna, a Scotsman residing at Bagdad, for employment as physician. At a *Cons.* held at Ispahan on 20th June, 1619, Thomas Barker, President, Edward Monnox and Will Robins, Merchants, agreed to entertain Strachan to act as physician, and to give help by his knowledge of languages, at twelve *tomams* per year. (One *tomam* = £3 6*s.* 8*d.*)

"As for his language, which is Latine, ffrench, Italian, Hebrue, and greecke, but chiefelie the Arab, wherein he is verie perfect, may be verry behouefull and much helping with the affaires of the Companie."

On 16th Oct., 1619, Barker reported Strachan's arrival to the Company, in a letter summarised by Sainsbury as follows :—

"Arrival of George Strachan, a Scottish physician, who long lived with Fyant, King of those Arabs who inhabit the desert, from the confines of old Babylon to Aleppo, and was in such favour with the King that he gave him his brother's widow to wife, but hearing that it was the King's intention to force him to be of their diabolical sect he fled to Bagdad, and has done the Company good service, also in setting free William Nealson, have entertained him in the Company's service at 16 ryals per month, not only as a physician, but for the language in which he excels."

On 25th March, 1620, Strachan himself wrote to the Company about his duties and his pay. His letter is summarised by Sainsbury.

"Certifies to his having been retained in the Company's service last year by the deceased Thos. Barker and the rest of the factors, much against his inclination, as he was passing through Persia to the court of the Great Mogul. Wishes to know what he can hope for yearly. Laying aside physic, which is the principal cause of his entertainment, not only can he serve the Company by his language in this place, but also by the friendship which he has with the Arabian and Venetian merchants in Babylon and Aleppo, and his facility for conveying letters to the consul at Aleppo. Saved William Nealson two years ago from burning, together with his letters. Can also choose in the buying of all drugs which the country affords. Demands and hopes to obtain 100*l.* a year."

On 8th May, 1620, William Bell, at Shiraz, wrote to Edward Monnox at Ispahan—

"The bearer, Strachan, has had a violent burning fever, and fifteen fits already, which have much weakened him, and he much fears [redacted] here it will cost him his life, for he has been very grievously hand[redacted]

A little later, probably in Aug., 1620, Strachan wrote to Monnox a letter thus summarised by Sainsbury—

"That he may have justice, and his innocent and honest life restored to him free from the malicious craftiness of this wicked man, or else license to go out of this house and the Company's service."

The "wicked man" is Jefferies. Strachan's letter is endorsed—

"Copy of a Consultation held in Ispahan, the 27th August, 1620, whereby Robert Jefferies and Mr Strachan are both of them dismissed from the service of the Right Honourable Company."

Sainsbury also gives the following entry, dated Ispahan, 29th Aug. to 8th Sept., 1620—

"Declaration by Pietro Chevart and Estefano de Sant Jaque that they had heard two Portuguese friars report that Strachan had poisoned William Robins and Thomas Barker, the late agent, and that he would poison all the English in Ispahan."

This declaration is endorsed by a protest, signed by Jefferies, that he was warned to be careful of—

"that idiot Strachan, the only councillor and director of the silly agent Signor Monox."

After his dismissal from the Company's service, Robert Jefferies wrote to the Company from Surat on 14th March, 1620/21, bringing his accusations against Monnox, Strachan, and Cardro the Chaplain, and states that, because he had endeavoured to reform the factory at Ispahan, and to expose the intolerable corruption of Monnox, he had been dismissed, owing to—

"a trynall trecherye begotten against me by our critical agent Edward Monnox, our carnall minister, Mr Cardro, and Stracan, our infernall phesition, the world, the flesh, and the divell."

In this very lengthy letter Jefferies gives Monnox and Cardro full measure of abuse, and does not spare the Surgeon.

"And Stracan our Antechristian Phesitian, for his fflattering, lying, dissimulation, inconscionable stores of purloynment, with his tentarhookes of deere penniworthes of plaisters and purges, sowing dissention in the ffactory, his scandalous reporte of poyzoning the Company's servants as the late Agent and William Robyns, his discouering all the passages of our business to the ffryers in Ispahan, through his confession and disloyall service to the Company, intercepting of their letters. How can he be otherwise, being marryed to a More in Arabia, from whom he tooke his

runnagate raunge, leaving wyfe and family to prosecute the divell's commission in doing evil, continewally despizeth his owne country, and yts church, and confesseth to have the dispensation of the Pope to dissemble his Religion in all his Pilgrymage. Whose plague infection to remove from our ffactory (by irresistible reasons to the Agent besides costeth the Company 100*l.* per annum), hath wrought him to act the devill, to make a compleate number of my cappitall Aduersaries."

On 4th March, 1620/21, at a *Cons.* held at Surat by President Kerridge, orders were passed for Strachan's removal, on relief by Thomas Quince, a Surgeon sent out for Surat, "though here bee already a suffitient Surgeon," whose transfer to Persia is ordered—

"for excuseinge the chardge, and supplying the place, of an unnecessary physition ther entertayned."

Kerridge reported these orders to the Company in a letter from Surat a month later, dated 10th April, 1621—

"Two chirurgions enterteyned in Surat, the one whereof wee will send for Persia to acquite the charge of the Scottish physition."

On 24th Jan., 1622/23, William Bell wrote from Kuhestek in Persia to Surat :—

"M[r] Strahand is longe since dismissed the Companies service."

Strachan appears to have remained in Persia till Nov., 1622, or possibly a few months later. From his education in the Scots College at Rome, and from various references to his association with friars, it is evident that he was a Catholic. He was also a Scotsman; and for both reasons had probably little in common with the other servants of the Company, all Englishmen and Protestants. He had married an Arab woman, a Musalman, though it does not appear probable that he had himself been converted to Islam. He was evidently a first rate linguist. Of his professional abilities nothing can be said.

A letter from President Freeman, on board the *Discovery* at Swally, to the Agent and Factors in Persia, dated 20th Dec., 1638, states that he thinks a Surgeon unnecessary at Ispahan, as fevers and fluxes, both in India and Persia "are most familiarly cured by the natives of each or ether, to whome nor meanes nor skill is wanting." He promises, however, to supply from the stores at Surat any physic, unguents, or plasters required.*

* Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1637-41, p. 87.

On 21st May, 1619, Thomas Kerridge wrote from Surat to the Factors at Broach—

"Your latter letter importinge the sendinge of our Surgeon to your Governor was seconded by one from himselfe to the same effecte; whom we may very well spare for the small use we have of him in respecte of ourselves, but a dangerous cure, which (unknown to us) he undertook upon a poor man that hath an impostume, will require his speedy return, or endanger the man's life, which wee pray you signifie unto the Governor. We pray you further to have an especiall care to keepe him sober, that wee be not through him generally skandallised by these infidells, which, excepte you looke very narrowly to him, (if any stronge drinke be stirringe) you will hardly performe."

On 18th Feb., 1619/20, Kerridge reported to the Company—

"A goulden chirurgion permitted to return, having been dismissed the Company's service, they have taken his gold and given him bills for £305."

Golden here means wealthy. The Surgeon's name was Richard Saunders. Probably he was the Surgeon referred to in the preceding extract.

From 1619 to 1623 the English at Surat were involved in a serious dispute with the Mogul Government, as related in the preceding chapter.

In 1625 a suggestion was made that a Surgeon should be added to the staff of the English Factory at Agra, but nothing appears to have come of this proposal. President Kerridge wrote from Surat, on 8th Sept., 1625, to John Bangham at Court, *i.e.* at the Mogul's court at Agra—

"Hears that he wishes for a Surgeon; should this be the case, the best in the fleet shall be sent up, or one shall be written for expressly from England."

From their first arrival, the English had been pretty constantly at war with the Portuguese settlements in India. In Jan., 1634/35, President Methwold of Surat and the Viceroy of Goa made a treaty of peace, subject to confirmation in Europe by the Courts of St. James' and of Madrid, Portugal being at the time under the sovereignty of the King of Spain. This treaty had not been confirmed up to the year 1640, when Portugal declared herself independent of Spain. It was ratified in May, 1642, by a treaty of peace between England and Portugal, which has never since been broken.

Towards the end of 1635, two vessels were sent from Surat to

trade with the port of Laribunder, called by the Portuguese Diul-Sind, in Tatta or Sind. This port had only once before been visited by an English ship, when in 1613 the *Expedition* landed Sir Robert Sherley there, but was refused leave to trade. A letter from Methwold at Surat to the Company, dated 28th April, 1636, states that William Walgrave, who came out as Surgeon of the *William*, had been transferred to the *Hopewell*—

" and she left him in Sinda, to cure the Governor of an infirmitie, wherein he hath begun to give him much ease."

On 21st Nov., 1630, the Factors at Surat wrote to the Commanders of Indiamen at Swally—

" Your chirurgion's dyet of Burned Wine to men sicke of the flux is by the physitions of this country held rather poysonous then cureable, which some of us in our own experience have found true." *

On 28th April, 1636, Methwold and the factors at Surat, writing to the Company, give thanks for medical chests sent out in the *Crispiana*, and say about drugs—

" but being farr fetcht and longe kept, applied by an unskilfull hand, without the consideration of the temperature of a man's body by the alteration of climats, they peradventure produce small or contrary effects, and therefore wee for our parts doe hold that in things indifferent it is safest for an Englishman to Indianize, and, so conforming himselfe in some manner to the diett of the country, the ordinarie physick of the country will bee the best cure when any sicknesse shall overtake him." †

President Methwold's diary, from 8th Aug. to 11th Oct., 1636,‡ gives two instances of surgical cases treated by Robert Surtees, Surgeon of the Surat Factory.

" *Oct.* 1st. A younge Bramene about the age of 14 yeares, washing himselfe in the river not farr from the customehouse, a fish or crocadile (I conceave rather a sharke) sheered off his right arme in the middest betwixt the elbowe and shoulder ; who being the only childe of his mother, a poore widdowe, I commanded the Surgion to undertake the care for God's sake ; who sawed of the boone, being shatered, and clipping of some torne flesh and then, applyeing such powders and other meanes as the case required, he bound it up very hard to stoppe the bledinge, all which the boy indured with manlike patience.

" *Oct.* 11th. Aboute ten of the clocke at night, our doores being shutt, they were beaten at with importunity, and our Surgion in all hast intreated to come to a Banian called Cullian Vesse,§ a great farmer within this

* *Surat Letter Book*, 1630.
† Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1634–36, p. 210.
‡ *Ibid*, pp. 301, 304. § Kalyan Vaisya.

government, or rather an undertaker betwixt the rustickes and the Governor concerning the payment of their rents, who had received a greate wound upon his heade and another upon his legge. Robert Surtis went and not longe after retourned, haveinge used his best meanes but dispairing of the cure; and accordingly before midnight the Banian dyed."

A list of the staff of Surat Factory, dated 1st May, 1636, shows Robert Surtees as Steward and Surgeon. Seventy years later, Edward Jarry doubled the same two appointments, from 1703 to 1705.

Edward Elcocke, who was serving as Surgeon of the *William* in 1633, was appointed Surgeon for Surat at a Court of Committees on 13th March, 1634/35, to reside there for three years at £3 per month.* A letter from Agent Pinson at Masulipatam to President Methwold at Surat, dated 26th Sept., 1637, states that Elcocke was sent in the preceding year from Masulipatam to Bantam in the *London*, that he has now returned, and will sail in the *Blessing* to take up his post at Surat. A letter of 4th Jan., 1638/39, from Surat to the Company, reports that Edward Elcocke, "having expired his covenants," and having been relieved by Richard Vincent, will sail for home in the *Mary*. This letter further states that Elcocke "is a very able man in his quality." †

Another letter from Surat to the Company, dated 29th Dec., 1640, reports that George Sephton, Surgeon of the *Crispiana*, died on 17th Nov., that Richard Vincent goes home as Surgeon of that ship, and that William Pearce, her present Surgeon, takes Vincent's place at Surat.‡

A letter from President Breton at Swally Marine to the Company, dated 3rd Jan., 1644/45, makes the report of the appointment of Gabriel Boughton to Agra, which is quoted in the preceding chapter. The same letter further states that William Pearce, "chirurgion of our house" at Surat, was allowed to go home last year, that John Tindall was taken ashore from the *Dolphin* to fill his place, and that Tindall is now going to England on the *Crispiana*, John Anthony taking his place as Surgeon at Surat. Tindall, however, seems to have remained at Surat for another year, for in the *Cons.* of 27th Dec., 1645, he is permitted to take a passage to England in the *Eagle*.§

* Sainsbury, *Calendar of Court Minutes*, 1635–39, p. 36.
† Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1637–41, pp. 31, 117.
‡ *Ibid.* pp. 281, 296.
§ *Ibid.* 1642–45, pp. 236, 311.

A letter from Robert Cranmer and the factors at Basra to Surat, dated 22nd Sept., 1645, announces that their Surgeon, Lee, is anxious to go to Surat on the *Endeavour*, but cannot be spared, " and the rather by reason that the Governour's kinsman and Ally Agha were his patients." *

Of all the Surgeons who served in the Western Presidency during the seventeenth century by far the best known is John Fryer. He was born about 1650, and took the degree of M.B. at Cambridge in 1671. The *Court Minutes* of 11th Sept., 1672, record his appointment to the Company's service.

" The Committee for Shipping are desired to consider the entertainment of M[r] Frier a Chyrurgeon for Surat who is recommended by M[r] Canham to be a skilfull and experienced artist in that profession, and to doe therein as they shall find him deserving."

Fryer sailed for India in the *Unity* in Dec., 1672, the Surat factory being informed of his appointment in the following letter from Court dated 13th Dec., 1672—

" We have enterteyned M[r] John Fryer as Chirurgeon for Bombay at 50*s.* per month, to commence at his arriveall, and have furnished the Chirurgery Chest now sent according to the directions of M[r] Ward."

He reached Bombay on 9th Dec., 1673, and remained there nearly a year; was transferred to Surat in Sept., 1674, returned to Bombay on 4th April, 1675, and served there for two years. The *Bombay Diaries* of 23rd April, 1675, contain the following order to him.

" Ordered that M[r] John Fryer Physitian doe gett himselfe ready so soone as possible he can to goe up to Juneah in order to the cureing Muckles Ckaun's Neece, and that he be pd. 125 Rups. to beare his Charges which he is to endeavour to gett againe of Muckles Ckaun."

He was then sent to Persia, reaching Gombroon on 22nd March, 1676/77, and Ispahan on 7th Aug. Returning to India, he arrived at Surat on 6th Jan., 1678/79, and applied for the post of Surgeon to Surat Factory, in place of Thomas Pearse, going home.

" Honourable, etc[a] Councill.

" Being forced by Sickness to leave Persia, and thereby both myselfe and servant Daniell Trenchfield becoming destitute of employment (notwithstanding still retained in the hon[ble] Company's Service) and at my arrivall in India finding M[r]. Thomas Pearse Chyrurgion for Surat ffactory

* Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1642–45, p. 284.

returning for England, I thinke myselfe obliged to proffer myselfe to your hon^{r} etc^{a} hoping you will consider me, as the next person to succeed in that office, wherefore I become your hon^{rs} etc^{a} Petitioner—John Fryer."

The above application is undated, but is prefixed to the *Surat Cons.* held at Swally Marine on 24th Jan., 1678/79. In these *Cons.* the following orders were passed.

"It will be necessary that wee next consider of a Chyrurgion, who * are left destitute of any by Doctor ffryer's coming away, whom we have gratifyed with the employment of Chyrurgion of this ffactory; † as being one of the hon^{ble} Company's imediate servants; and seeing that the Company are displeased at the Commission and sallary formerly agreed to be allowed Doctor Thomas Wilson, as Physitian of Bombay; wee doe conclude that for the present (having here noe other fiting person) to make Choyce of him as Physitian there ‡ at the sallary paid M^{r} ffryer, to commence from the P^{mo} instant; until such time as they shall further signifie their orders in relation to him."

Fryer served as Surgeon of Surat Factory for three years, till he resigned, and sailed for England on 19th Jan., 1681/82, reaching Folkestone on 20th Aug., 1682. In 1683 he received the degree of M.D. at Cambridge. In 1697 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, being the first of the Company's Surgeons to gain that distinction. He died on 30th March, 1733.

Fryer is still remembered through his work, relating his travels in the East, published in 1698 under the following title :—

A new account of East India and Persia in Eight Letters, begun 1672 *and finished* 1681. By John Fryer, M.D., Cantabrig. and Fellow of the Royal Society. Illustrated with Maps, Figures, and Useful Tables. London. Printed by R. R. for Ri. Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard. MDCXCVIII.

His work has recently been edited for the Hakluyt Society, by W. W. Crooke, B.C.S., retired, the first volume having been issued in 1909. Much of the above information is taken from the introduction to this edition.

In this work Fryer speaks of Surgeons at Bombay (p. 68, original edition of 1698), and at Surat (p. 85), but, curiously, mentions no other Surgeon by name. On page 118 he says that a Dr. N. G. had sent an account of the manufacture of *ghi* to the Royal Society. The only medical officer serving in the Western Presidency at the same time as Fryer, whose name

* *Who;* the Factories in Persia. † *This ffactory;* Surat.
‡ *There;* the Factories in Persia.

begins with a G., seems to have been James Grudgfield, some particulars about whom are given below.

In Forrest's *Selections from Bombay State Papers* * are preserved the names of some of the early Surgeons at Bombay. The letters are from Surat to Bombay.

" 10*th Jan.*, 1670/71. It having pleased God to deprive us of Mr Powell, your Chirurgeon at Bombay, and his mate; and being wholly distitute there at present, we thought good to entertaine Bennet Chirurgeon's mate of ye ship Antelope with ye Capt. consent for the supply of the Island at (*blank*) per month. Mr Robert Ward, who hath so long served Chirurgeon of your house in Surrat, hath much importuned for his discharge and having proposed Mr Tho Pierce Chirurgeon of ship Ffalcon to supply his place, the Capt. also giving his consent, we have thought good to gratify Mr Ward's desires, in granting him passage on ship Falcon."

The name of the *Falcon* is differently spelt on the two occasions on which that ship is mentioned. In the next extract Pr. is an abbreviation of President.

" 1*st March*, 1670/71. You may entertaine Dr Bird in the quallity the Comp^a^ sent him out, allowing him the same wages the Comp^a^ allotted him, wch if he is unwilling to accept of, let him officiate until the Pr. coming downe, and then he shall be considered of."

Dr. Bird served in Bombay for over sixteen years, going home in April, 1686. The *Surat Cons.* of 16th Oct., 1677, mention " Dr. Thomas Wilson, Physitian Generall," and " Mr. John Bird, Chyrurgion Generall " at Bombay.

Thomas Wilson's appointment is mentioned in another letter from Surat to Bombay, dated 24th Aug., 1676.

" Wee are glad to reade y^t^ ye Honble Company have sent out soe able a Physitian as Doctor Willson is reported to be, who, wee hope, will prove a great benefitt and happiness to ye Island."

The name of Samuel Carleton appears as Surgeon at Surat in April, 1676. A letter from Court to Surat, dated London, 15th March, 1676/77, and preserved, curiously enough, not among the Surat records, but in *Records from Fort St. George, Despatches from England*, 1670–77 (printed at Madras, 1911, pp. 101, 103), disapproves of the title of Physician General bestowed upon Wilson; and also orders the removal from the service of John

* *Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat. Home Series, Vol. I.* Edited by G. W. Forrest, Bombay 1887, (pp. 46, 58, 101).

Kidson or Kittson, who had been appointed Apothecary at Bombay, a post the Court thought unnecessary.

" As to Doctor Willson, wee write you on w^t terms he went, & therefore doe not allow ye moneys you paid him : our letters ought to be your Rule, and not ye affirmacons of other Psons of what quality Soever, if he likes not to stay on ye termes he first went, he may returne. But wee totally disapprove of ye Comission you have given him, and doe require you imediately to recall it : & know not what could induce you to so imprud^t an act, wee having able Chirurgions of our owne, & by this Comission you bind y^m up to his directions & orders, & make a monopoly of it.

* * * * *

" You order Mr Kidson to be entertain'd as an Apothecary at a Salary, & doe send home ye petty Chirurgions, by whome you say ye Island is oppressed, give us an acc^t who these are and how they went out, you ought not to let any remayne on ye Island to ye Inconvenience of ye Inhabitants. Wee cannot approve of any pay to be allow'd to Mr Kidson, being not entertayned by us & wee having Chirurgions sufficient upon ye Island : If he will not remaine on ye tearmes he went out at he may returne wee shall not allow of any wages you paid him, he going out as a free Man upon his owne acco^t & not in our Service."

The *Bombay Cons.* of 9th Sept., 1678, cancel Wilson's title, and order Kitson's dismissal. The latter, however, was still in Bombay in 1680.

" Doctor Thomas Willson, who by a Commission from the President was appointed Physitian in Chiefe, was sent for and acquainted with the Honble Comp^s Order, and his Commission called in and his Acco^t ordered to be made up, and what Money he hath Received on Acco^t Sallary to be paid Back into the Honble Comp^s Treasurie, and he to be allowed noe more than what he agreed with the Honble Comp^a for which was to have their Table, and Lodging.

* * * * *

" Ordered that Kitson the Apothecary be Discharged the Honble Comp^s Service according to their Appointment."

When Fryer, on his return from Persia, was appointed Surgeon at Surat in Jan., 1678/79, Wilson was sent to Persia to take his place as Surgeon to the Factories in that country.

In Nov., 1680, Ensign Daniel Hughes of the Bombay garrison was accused of having killed Joshua Adams, a soldier, by striking him on the head. Adams died on 10th Nov. The case came before the Council on 12th Nov., and is recorded in the *Cons.* of that date, with the evidence of the Surgeons, which cleared Hughes. It is given at length below, being of some medico legal interest, as

probably the first case of the kind in India any record of which has survived. This case is thirteen years earlier than the post-mortem report on Mr. James Wheeler by Dr. Bulkley, at Madras, in 1693.* In the latter case, however, a regular autopsy was performed; whereas in this case the Surgeons appear not to have opened the body, but only to have reflected the scalp.

" Att a Councill the 12th of November, 1680.
The Worpll John Child, Deputy Governor.
Mansell Smith, Francis Day, John Hornigold.

" Ensigne Daniell Hughes, some dayes past, being provoked ther'to by abuses that hee recd from Joshua Adames, did strike the said Adames sevll blows with a Cane, which wounded him in the head, and sevll other parts of his body, att which time Adames was ill of a Flux of which it being thought that he would die, a report was given out, that if he died it was Occasioned by the wounds that hee had received; Which the Deputy Govr &ca, taking into consideration thought it fitt to confine Ensigne Hughes till it was seene how it would please God to deale with Adames, who deceasing On the 10th instant, The Chirurgions were ordered to goe and View the Body of the said Adames, and to bring in an attestation under their hands what their Opinions were as to Adames his dyeing, Which accordingly they did, and which is as Followeth.

" 'Wee the Chirurgeons on the Island Bombay, by the Command of the Worpll John Child, Deputy Govnr of the said Island, &ca Councill were ordered to View the Body of Mr Joshua Adames Gentleman of the Armes to the Youngest Company of ye said Island, who having received some wounds on the head, and the Person dyeing some twelve Days after, in answere to a falce Report related thereon, viztt. That by Occasion of the Blows on the said Mr Adames his head hee had nine Fractures in the Cranio, or scull, and that hee had a feaver when he came wounded to the Hospitall by reason of his wounds which put him into a flux, and that they were the cause of his Death; Therefore according to the abovsaid command wee went to the Deceased Persons Chamber, & before sevll Persons besides our selves made incision one the deceased Persons head, and tooke of the scalpe from the hinder part allmost to the ffront, And shewed his Cranium, or scull to allmost Twenty psons besides ourselves but finding there neither Fracture, Fissure, nor any other cause by reason of the blowes neither had a feaver from that time till hee dyed. Our opinions was that his Death was caused by a violent fflux which he lay languishing under more than a yeare. To the truth whereof wee have sett our hands, and are willing to take our Oathes, when called thereunto, The 10th of November, 1680.

" 'John Bird, John Stavely, Richard Paul, John Kittson, James Grudgfield.'

" The foregoing certificate being deliver'd in according unto order, it was considered of, and thought convenient that the subscribers thereto should be sworne to what they had given under their hands wch they did this day before us.

" Jo Child, Mansell Smith, Fras Day, Jo Hornigold, Henry Smith."

* See Chap. VII, *Early History: Madras and the Coast.*

This case is also of much interest, as showing that in Bombay there were, on 10th Nov., 1680, no less than five medical men. Bird, the Chief Surgeon, and Kitson, ex-apothecary, have already been mentioned. Nothing more seems to be known of Staxely and Paul; probably they were Surgeons of Indiamen. James Grudgfield is mentioned in the *Cons.* of 14th June, 1676, as Assistant in the dispensary, his pay being then increased to sixteen Xeraphins a month (about £1 4s.), for good work. Later on he went to Madras, was appointed Surgeon at Vizagapatam on 12th July, 1683, transferred to Kadalur in 1684, and died at that station in 1688.*

In a letter to Surat, dated 27th March, 1686, the Bombay Council complain of the neglect of their Surgeon, Dr. Stallworthy, (or perhaps Hallworthy, the name might be read either way), possibly the first, certainly not the last, member of the Service who has come to grief over a woman. He was dismissed on 24th April, 1686, and in his place was appointed Dr. Robert Micholl, who was Surgeon at Bombay during the siege of the settlement by the Siddhi, which lasted from 15th Feb., 1688/89, to 22nd June, 1690.

" Doct^r Stallworthy hath been for this many months so bewitched to Mrs Gape's black wench, wch has rendered Him uncapable of manageing ye Hospitall, out of respect and kindness, wee have used all means to reclaime Him, but all is in vaine, and he still persists in his ffolly, in so much at none will trust their Lives in His Hands, and are apprehensive that severall Souldiers have dyed thro' His neglect, therefore Have suspended Him, till wee know yor Ex^cys &c. pleasure, and desire that you would send us by ye first convey^a anoth^r, for wee would rather have none than Him.

" Wee Have prevailed wth Doct^r Bird to officiate a month, whome wee judge ye best man in India for this place, and it would be a greate Sattisfaction to all in gen'rall if he would accept of it."

Surat General Letter to Bombay, dated 24th *April,* 1686.

" Wee are truly Concerned that D^r. Staleworthy should behave Himselfe so very ill, as you advise, and seeing you positive to have none rather than Him, wee would not press on you to continue Him, but for yor Sattisfaction discharge Him of ye R^t Honble Comp^a Service, and have entertain'd one Mr Robt Micholl, an able Chirurgeon, and a sober ingenious man, a Comission for ye Imploy of Chirurgeon Gen^ll of ye Garrison and Island of Bombay Hee hath, and is to receive 4 shilling p. day to be paid Montly, wee should gladly have entertained Dr Bird, if a line from Him or you had come to sattisfie us of His Desires for ye Imploym^t and reddyness to

* See Chap. VII, *Early History; Madras and the Coast.*

accept it with thankfullness, but do not think it becomes us to Court any to except of that, or any other beneficiall and comfortable Imployment."

John Maxwell was appointed Surgeon, on £30 a-year, to the New English Company's first factory at Surat, in 1700. On 15th April, 1701, he was sent to Barhanpur with the "Lord Ambassador," Sir William Norris, who had been sent to India in the interests of the New Company. In a letter dated 21st July, 1702, Jarry mentions John Mill as Surgeon to His Excellency the Ambassador.

On his return to Surat, Maxwell was dismissed, from 1st May, for misconduct, and Edward Jarry appointed in his place. A letter from Sir Nicholas Waite to the English Company, dated 15th Feb., 1703/04, states that Maxwell returned to Surat and there continued his "lewd debauched life," until expelled. He then went to Cochin, where he made a living by informing pirates of the movements of expected vessels.

In the *Surat Cons.* of 5th May, 1701, Edward Jarry, late Surgeon of the *Harwich* man-of-war, lost in China, was appointed Surgeon to Surat Factory in Maxwell's place.

"Resolved . . . the Surgeon by name Edward Jarrey be entertained at £30 p. ann., and no longer than he shall be found sober, able and diligent in his business, and that Thos Hutton Covenant Servtt to John Maxwell lately discharged for his ignorance and misbehaviour is appointed assistant to said Edward Jarry, at £5 p. ann. until more proficient in his practice."

In the *Surat Cons.* (English Company) of 24th Feb., 1702/03, Jarry was appointed to act as Steward of the Factory, in addition to his duties as Surgeon, in place of Samuel Dudley, Steward, who had died of smallpox. He was still doing this double duty in June, 1705.

"And having considered of a proper person to offitiate as Steward till ye next years shipping when all matters will be under direction of ye United Stock, is a place of trust requires dilligence & such ffactors whose behaviour ought to have sd Imployment being rather Inclyn'd Improving themselves in acctts for being proffitients serving ye Compa as Merchts must recomend Mr Edward Jarry Surgeon you all know a Sober dilligent man if he'l accept it & may not interfear for not performing ye Care & Duty of his Imployment in which should he be found remiss then to apoint some other person.

* * * * *

"And that Mr Edward Jarry be apointed Steward taking charge of all ye Company's plate faithfully performing all other matters incumbent

upon said Imployment till ye Albemarle be dispatcht & then come to such a resolution as may be agreeable wth ye Comp^as^ Interest."

Thomas Hutton, mentioned above, was appointed Surgeon's Mate at Bombay in the *Cons.* of 6th Jan., 1704/05. Later in 1705 he was Second Surgeon. He went home sick, as Surgeon's Mate of the *Mocha* frigate, about Sept., 1707.

In the beginning of 1701 Dr. Thompson, of the Old or London Company, was sent from Bombay to attend the Siddhi's wounded men. He asked leave to take with him the black hospital assistant, but Dr. Skinner, the Senior Surgeon, objected, though at the time there were only three sick men in hospital.*

Ambrose Thompson was appointed to Bombay in or about 1700. He is mentioned as dead in the *Cons.* of 24th Feb., 1702/03. Dr. James Skinner is also mentioned as dead in Dec., 1702.

The *Surat Cons.* of 28th Dec., 1702, note the appointment of Robert Bartlett as Surgeon of Bombay.†

" Mr Robt Bartlett, who came out of England, Doctor of ye Prosperous, wch ship was run away wth by pyrates at Madagascar, coming privately by way of Swalley from on board ye sloop wch ye Gov. seized (whereby he escaped ye misfortune wch ye rest of his companions fell into of being imprisoned), offered his service to us. And for so much as ye island of Bombay is destitute of a Physetian by ye death of Dr Skinner, and ye island very sickley, and a great many poor people and souldiers leying in danger of perishing for want of ye helpe and advice of a Doctor, wee resolved to entertain him in said station, allowing him four pound per month to be paid in Xs att 20^d^ to ye X^s^ according to ye custome of ye island ; and ye same allowance for his diett as Doc^r^ Skinner was allowed, with ye usuall assistance belonging to ye Hospitall, leaving it to his own choice whether his time sho^d^ commence here or att his arrivall att Bombay, wth this proviso, y^t^ if it commences here, then he is to bare his own charges downe, but if not till he is arrived upon ye island, then his charges sho^d^ be borne by ye Comp^a^ ; but he being destitute of money and ffriends, wee agreed to lend him eighty rup^s^ to supply himselfe wth necessarys, wch money wee order ye Deputy Govr &c^a^ to deduct out of his wages ; and ye island being in great necessity wee gave him orders to prepare himselfe to go over land wth all speed."

Bartlett's name also appears in the records as Barclay and Berkeley. The *Cons.* of 30th July, 1705, note that, after serving three years, he was going home as Surgeon of the *Eaton* frigate, John Elderfield, Surgeon of that vessel, being appointed to take his place at Bombay.

* Letter dated March, 1700/01, from the Deputy-Governor to Sir John Gayer, quoted in Anderson's *English in Western India*, p. 339.

† Forrest, *Selections*, Vol. I, p. 245.

Surat seems to have been without an English medical officer in 1708, for the *Cons.* of 13th Nov., 1708, record—

"The Generall paid the Banian Doctor forty rupees on acco^{t} o Salary."

The *Cons.* of 8th April, 1707, record the appointment of a Frenchman, John Clausade, as Surgeon at Bombay.

"And that having bin for some time in great want of a Surgeon for this Hospittall and not any English willing to Stay upon this Island, and John Clausade, a French Protestant a Stranger offering his service, shall have from the 1st Ins^{t} sixty Xphin p. Mensem and take place as Second Surgeon in said Hospittall, where he is to reside so long as he apears dilligent and faithful in the Execution of his faculty."

Two years before, another French Protestant had been appointed Surgeon's Mate at Bombay, in the *Cons.* of 6th Jan., 1704/05.

"And that Robert Bartlett sickly be continued at present chief Surgeon for the Garrison dayly if able at the Hospitall at seaventy-two Xphens p. M^{o} Sallery & Diett hitherto allowed by the Honble Old Company to take place next the youngest Liev^{t} and be assisted by — Joyfull a ffrench protestant, said to be a Sober man at forty X^{s} Sallery & diet p. M^{o} to reside in the Hospittall, and Thos Hutton at Thirty X^{s} p. M^{o} to reside in the Hospittall."

Incidentally, the above note shows the very low rank then held by medical officers. The Chief Surgeon ranks next below the junior subaltern, the military officers, in turn, ranking below the civilians.

These appointments of French Surgeons were not a success.* No further mention is made of Joyfull. The *Cons.* of 22nd Aug., 1707, report that Clausade was found inefficient and discharged only three months after his appointment, and that Dr. Henry Staff of the *Mocho* frigate was appointed Chief Surgeon at Bombay. Alexander Christie arrived on the *Abingdon* on 9th March, 1708/09, as Surgeon for Bombay. He was permitted to resign in the *Cons.* of 29th June, 1711, when John Parney, Surgeon of a Bengal ship, was appointed to succeed him. Christie was subsequently employed as Surgeon of Tellicherry Factory, and died there on 26th June, 1736. Daniel Waldo was in Bombay as early as 1701 ;

* For objections made, over eighty years later, to the appointment of a Catholic Frenchman, Joseph Pouget, appointed 10th Sept., 1778, see Chap. XXII, *Appointment to the Service, Examinations.*

he was employed as Surgeon of Surat in 1702–03, and in 1704 was sent to Persia. He afterwards again served at Surat. A Bombay General Letter of 1st May, 1711, in para. 27 reports his transfer from Surat to Bombay. A similar letter of 8th Nov., 1712, in para. 8, reports his departure for England on the *Stringer*. Parney resigned in 1715, practised for two years at Bassein, and in the *Cons.* of 11th Feb., 1716/17, was appointed Surgeon to Karwar Factory.

Charles Savage arrived at Bombay on the *Katharine* on 20th Sept., 1714, to serve as Chief Physician; he died at Bombay on 18th Dec., 1715. Thomas Hall was serving as Surgeon before Savage's arrival; he died towards the end of 1715. John Ellis came out in the *Katharine* with Savage; he joined as Surgeon's Mate, became Second Surgeon on Hall's death in 1715, and Chief Surgeon on Savage's death; he resigned in Nov., 1718. Richard Dyer, Surgeon of the *Queen*, was entertained as Second Surgeon in the *Cons.* of 11th Jan., 1715/16. He succeeded Ellis as Chief Surgeon in Nov., 1718, and resigned in Nov., 1720, going home on the *Tartar*. When Ellis resigned in Nov., 1718, James Crawford, Surgeon of an Indiaman, was appointed Second Surgeon. The list of Bombay Surgeons is carried on for another thirty years in Chap. X, *The First Half of the Eighteenth Century*.

Various references in Sainsbury's *Calendar*, Foster's *English Factories in India*, Forrest's *Selections from State Papers*, etc., give the following names of Surgeons who served in the Western Presidency during the first half of the seventeenth century :—

1621.—Booth, serving in India in 1621, probably at Surat.

1624. Richard Robinson, who had lived eight years in the country, appointed Surgeon of the *Reformation* for the voyage home, 7th Dec., 1632.

1626. George Turner, sent from Surat to Persia, 7th Dec., 1626, to serve either as Surgeon or Factor as required; name in list of Factors serving in India, presented to Court on 13th Feb., 1628/29, "George Turner, an unprofitable Chirurgeon, £40 per annum." *

1628. Gualther Hammond, Surgeon of the *Exchange*, appointed Surgeon at Surat, 8th Dec., 1628, reappointed after a voyage home, 4th Jan., 1632/33.

* For Turner see also Chap. XXIV, *The Sea Service*.

1630. Daniel Walton, Surgeon of the *William*, petitioning for his pay, in *Court Minutes* of 29 May, 1633, says he "was taken ashore by Rastell to be Surgeon of the house at Surat, after whose decease Hopkinson sent him home in the *Blessing*." Thomas Rastell became President in April, 1621, sailed for home 15th Feb., 1624/25, rejoined as President on 26th Sept., 1630, and died 7th Nov., 1631. Joseph Hopkinson was elected President on 29th Dec., 1631, and died towards the end of 1633.

1631. Richard Alcocke, transferred from Surat to Bantam in 1631.

1633. Constantine Younge, Surgeon of an Indiaman, posted to Gombroon Factory 15th March, 1632/33, appointed Surgeon of the *Hopewell*, April, 1636.

1635. Edward Elcocke, was Surgeon of the *William* on 11th Sept., 1633, entertained as Surgeon at Surat, at Court of Committees, 13th March, 1634/35.

1636. Robert Surtees, Surgeon and Steward at Surat in 1636.

1637. George Watts, chirurgeon at Surat in 1637.

1637. William Burton, Surgeon to the Factory founded by Courten's Association at Battacola or Bhatkal, south of Bombay, died there 30th Nov., 1637.

The following list purports to give the names of the Surgeons serving at Bombay from the date of the grant of the island by the Crown to the Company, in 1668, up to 1720. Most of these names have already been mentioned above. The list is very imperfect, especially as regards dates. Some names have doubtless been omitted, as there are blank periods, for which the name of no medical officer can be given. In some cases no record of death or resignation seems to exist. Most of the dates are merely approximate; those of a man's appointment in *Cons.* which may be some time before or after the actual date of joining; others are those of reports of deaths, which may have occurred weeks or even months before. A few dates are exact, *i.e.* that of the arrival of the *Katharine*, with Savage and Ellis on board, on 20th Sept., 1714. And when it is stated in the records that a man died on a certain day, it may be presumed that he did so. The names are not included of men who were appointed Surgeons' Mates, but never rose to the post of full Surgeon; of these there were a good many.

LIST OF SURGEONS AT BOMBAY, 1668–1720

Name.	Date of Appointment.	Remarks.
Lowle, William	—	Surgeon at Bombay, 1669–70
Bywater, Robert	—	" " "
Powell, —	—	Dead, Dec., 1670
Bennett, —	Jan., 1670/71	
Bird, John	March, 1670/71	Went home, April, 1686
Fryer, John	9th Dec., 1673	To Sept., 1674; again 4th April, 1675, to March, 1676/77
Wilson, Thomas	Aug., 1676	Transferred to Persia, 24th Jan., 1678/79
Stallworthy, —	—	Dismissed, 24th April, 1686
Micholl, Robert	24th April, 1686	
Skinner, James	1700	Dead, Dec., 1702
Thompson, Ambrose	1700	Dead, Feb,. 1702/03
Bartlett, Robert	Dec., 1702	Went home, Aug., 1705 —
Hutton, Thomas	1705	Apprentice 1701, Mate, Jan., 1704/05. Went home, Aug., 1707
Elderfield, John	30th July, 1705	
Clausade, John	8th April, 1707	Discharged, 22nd Aug., 1707
Waldo, Daniel	1711	Surat and Persia from 1701. Went home, Nov., 1712
Staff, Henry	22nd Aug., 1707	
Christie, Alex.	9th March, 1708/09	Resigned, 29th June, 1711. Died at Tellicherry, 26th June, 1736
Parney John	29th June, 1711	Resigned, 1715. Appointed to Karwar, 1717
Mitchell, John	6th Oct., 1712	
Hall, Thomas	1714	Dead, March, 1715/16.
Savage, Charles	20th Sept., 1714	Died at Bombay, 18th Dec., 1715
Ellis, John	1715	Mate, 20th Sept., 1714. Resigned, Nov., 1718
Dyer, Richard	11th Jan., 1715/16	Resigned, Nov., 1720
Crawford, James	Nov., 1718	Resigned, Sept., 1731

CHAPTER VII

EARLY HISTORY; MADRAS AND THE COAST*

"Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee."
WORDSWORTH, *Sonnet on the extinction of the Venetian Republic.*

THE early setflements on the Coromandel Coast were usually spoken of collectively as "The Coast"; those in Bengal as "The Bay." These terms continued in use till towards the end of the eighteenth century. The term "The West Coast" was always applied not, as one might expect, to the Bombay Presidency, but to the English settlements in Sumatra, which lay along the south-west coast of that island.

The first voyage to the East Coast of India was made by Captain Anthony Hippon, in the *Globe*, in 1611. Hippon founded the Company's first factory in the Bay of Bengal on 18th Aug., 1611, at Pettapolli, now known as Nizampatam, at the mouth of the Kistna, and shortly afterwards that at Masulipatam. Pettapolli factory was dissolved in 1621, when the English joined the Dutch at Pulicat, where they remained till 11th April, 1623.

In 1625 was founded Armagon, their first settlement on the Coromandel Coast proper. This factory was located at a place called Chenna Kuppam, at the northern end of the Pulicat Salt Lakes, in what is now the Nellore district. When Masulipatam was abandoned in 1628, Armagon remained for a few years the only settlement on the coast. The *Star*, a vessel of 300 tons, sailed from England in Dec., 1629, for the Coromandel Coast, being the first ship sent direct there, except the *Globe* in 1611. In 1630 all of the Company's factories in India and the islands were placed under the President of Surat; Henry Sill was ordered from Bantam as Agent for the Coast, and sailed on 1st April, 1630,

* Much of the information in this chapter is taken from *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 1640–1800, by Colonel H. D. Love; four volumes, John Murray, 1913.

with the *Falcon* and the *Dove*, and established factories at Masulipatam, Pettapolli, Motupali, and Viravasaram, all in or near the Kistna delta. The Golden *Farman*, for trade in Golkonda, was given at Haidarabad on 26th Feb., 1633/34.*

In Feb., 1639/40, Andrew Cogan and Francis Day moved from Armagon to Madraspatam, taking with them the staff of Armagon Factory, and founded the settlement of Fort St. George or Madras.†

Andrew Cogan entered the Company's service about 1615. He served for fifteen years in the islands, at Bantam and Macassar, and returned to England, with a considerable fortune, about 1630. He went out again to Surat, as member of Council, in 1638, and was soon afterwards deputed to Masulipatam. With Francis Day he shares the honour of being the founder of Madras, and from the end of 1640 to July, 1642, he carried on the work of building the Fort, during Day's absence in England and on the double voyage. He left India for good in Aug., 1643, going home *via* Bantam, and reached England in 1644, during the Civil War. He then bought an estate near Greenwich. In 1648 he took part in the rising of the men of Kent against the Parliament; on its failure he fled to the Continent, was impeached, and his estate forfeited. He spent between £30,000 and £40,000 in the Royal cause, and was created a Baronet by Charles II. At the Restoration he returned to England, and died soon afterwards.

Francis Day was chief at Armagon in 1634, and at Masulipatam in 1639. He returned to England in 1641, leaving Madras at the end of 1640, went out again in 1642, and finally sailed for England in Sept., 1644. In 1647 he was fined £500 for private trading. An entry in the *Court Minutes* of 21st Jan., 1651/52, shows that he was then still living.

In 1653 Fort St. George, or Madras, was made an independent Presidency, and remained so until placed under Bengal, when Warren Hastings was appointed Governor-General of India in 1774, and Calcutta became the capital of the whole country.

The Dutch factory at Pulicat, some twenty-five miles north of Madras, was founded about 1610. The Danish East India

* Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1634–36, p. 14, where three translations of this *farman* are given.

† There was another Fort St. George, which was destroyed by the English in 1762, at the French settlement of Mahé, also a Fort George on the island of Bombay.

Company was established by King Christian IV. in March, 1616, their first ship, the *Ooresund*, was despatched in Aug., 1618, and in 1620 they occupied Tranquebar, ceded to them by the *Naik*, or local ruler of the surrounding country.

The first Surgeon on the coast whose name has been recorded is John Clarke, appointed to the Fort of Armagon in *Court Minutes* of 12th Nov., 1630. A letter quoted by Sainsbury, dated 27th Sept., 1632, from Thomas Woodson at Masulipatam to Thomas Colley at Pettapolli, shows that there was then a Surgeon at Masulipatam also, but his name is not mentioned.*

Among the staff transferred from Armagon to Madras in 1640, a Surgeon was probably included, but his name is not mentioned. The first Surgeon at Madras whose name has survived was Edward Whiting or Whiteinge, who appears to have arrived there in 1649, on transfer from Bantam. He had previously served at Jambi in 1645. A letter from Fort St. George to the Company, dated 15th Jan., 1650/51, quoted in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* (Vol. I, p. 99), says :—

> " It shall bee our care providently to dispose of both medicines and instruments in the Chirurgery Chest, rendering our humble thanks both for it and the Surgeon, Edward Whiteinge, at whose arriveall Nathaniel Lumley lay very sick, and the 7th October last departed this life, without making any will in this place."

Charges brought by Henry Greenhill against James Martin, Captain of the garrison of Fort St. George, dated 27th March, 1654, accuse Martin of having challenged Whiting to a duel, which apparently was prevented. A letter from Fort St. George, dated 28th Jan., 1656/57, reports that permission to return to England had been granted to Whiting. He was again at Madras in 1663, when a letter dated 26 Feb., 1662/63, states that he had been ordered from Fort St. George to Bengal as Surgeon to the factories in the Bay.

Whiting's successor as Surgeon at Madras was Robert Cooper, who is shown as Surgeon in a list of the staff at Fort St. George, dated 18th Jan., 1657/58. Cooper had previously been a Factor in Pegu, and was recalled to Madras when the Pegu factory was abandoned in Feb., 1655/56.

Malden's *List of Burials at Madras* notes the burial of Robert Cooper, Surgeon, on 21st July, 1690. But it seems very doubtful

* Sainsbury, *Calendar*, Vol. V, No. 92, p. 78 ; and No. 308, p. 289.

whether this can be the same man, more than thirty years later.

Philip Bradford came out with the recruits of 1665 as Surgeon of Fort St. George. He died at Madras in 1668.

In 1662 John Westrey was serving as Surgeon at Masulipatam. Thomas Morris, Physician to the same factory, died there on 21st Dec., 1675; before his death he declared that his real name was Woodward, of Ripley, in Worcestershire.

John Waldo reached Madras on 14th June, 1670, to serve as Surgeon there. In 1676 a second Surgeon was allowed, and Bezaliel or Bazaleel Sherman was sent out to fill the post, arriving on 7th Aug., 1676. A volume of *Despatches from England*, 1670–77, published at Madras in 1911, on page 25, quotes from a "Company Generall Letter to ye Ffort," dated 24th Dec., 1675, para. 56 of which runs—

"Considering how numerous the People wth you grow, [and] being desirous to use al means for the p^r^servation [of] yor healths we have entertained here Mr Bezaliell Sherman alsoe as Chirurgeon and at the Like Salery wth him already there he carries over wth him his wife Passage free and One [*lacuna* in original] an Apprentice at his Owne Charge and both are to be at his Charge there and he is Obleiged to Bring the s^d^ Apprentice up a Chirurgeon and noe otherwise imployed and to remaine at the Fort."

It is a pity that the name of the apprentice has not survived. The Fort St. George *Cons.* of 19th May, 1677, record—

"Upon the address of the two Surgeons of the ffort, it is ordered that the wages of the said two Surgeons, John Waldo and Bazaliel Sherman from the time of the departure from Gravesend of the Shipps they came by until the time of their landing here be paid them by the purser."

Waldo went home on 27th Jan., 1677/78. A Mr. Waldo was afterwards Surgeon of the *William and John*, an interloping ship which visited Hugli in June, 1683.*

Sherman is mentioned as one of the subscribers, giving ten pagodas, towards the erection of the new church, St. Mary's, founded on 25th March, 1768. *Cons.* of 25th Aug., 1680, report his death—

"Mr Bezaleel Sherman the Chyrurgeon died this day."

As early as 1675 a Mate or Assistant had been allowed to the Surgeons at Madras. The volume of *Despatches from England*,

* Yule, *Hedges' Diary, Notes*, Vol. I, p. 94.

1670–77, quoted above, contains a General Letter to Fort St. George, dated 15th Dec., 1676, in which is enclosed a copy of a letter to the Court from the Rev. Patrick Warner, Chaplain of the Fort, dated 31st Jan., 1675/76, giving a very unfavourable account of the Asst. Surgeon, Henry Mallory.*

"One Mr Mallory formerly Chyrurgeon's Mate in the President now Chyrurgeon's Mate in this place and another Barnes who formerly went to Sea as Master of some Small Vessels, but having wasted the money Intrusted to him lives now Idlely and out of any Imployment. These two are Constant Companions wth any of the Young men in whatever debaucheries they were guilty of, and it gives ground to suspect that they may be guilty of enticeing them thereunto."

It is only fair to state that the official records speak more favourably of Mallory. In 1677 he was commended by the Council as "a very dilligent and able Surgeon." In 1679 he accompanied Streynsham Master in his tour from Madras to the Bay factories. In 1680, after Sherman's death, he was appointed Surgeon in his place. In March, 1681, he was transferred from Madras to succeed Heathfield as Surgeon at Madapollam, and in Oct., 1681, to Masulipatam, where he died on 5th Aug., 1682, as reported in a letter from that factory dated 11th August.

"*Cons.*, 9th *Sept.*, 1680. Mr Bezaleel Sherman the Chyrurgeon of this place being deceased and Henry Malory being a Person capable of the imployment, having served here severall yeares as Chyrurgeons Mate, It is thought fit upon his aplication and request to make his salary 30ll, p. ann to begin at Michaellmas next comeing."

"*Cons.*, 28th March, 1681. Mr John Heathfeild having left his imployment as Chyrurgeon to Madapollam and Metchlepatam Factorys, & come up to this place in Ship Sampson in January last, & from that time has been imployed as Chyrurgeon here, he being an able person his salary is now settled, 36ls p. ann. and there being want of one for ye Factoryes at Madapollam and Metchlepatam It is Resolved and ordered to send Mr. Henry Mallory to be Chyrurgeon to them Factoryes & to take his passage upon ye Eagle."

John Heathfield, who, like Mallory, had served on the *President* Indiaman, was appointed Surgeon at Masulipatam and Madapollam on 25th Sept., 1673. The *Cons.* of 6th Aug., 1679, direct that he is "to reside at Metchlepatam and to remove to Madapollam as occasion requires." In July, 1680, he was allowed to come to Madras for his health, but apparently did not actually

* P. 62. This letter is also quoted in Talboys Wheeler's *Early Records of British India*, p. 71.

move there till Jan., 1680/81, when he was appointed Surgeon at Fort St. George, Mallory being sent to take his place in the northern factories. In Feb., 1681/82, he got sanction for the appointment of an Assistant, whose name has not been preserved. In Jan., 1682/83, the post of Surgeon's Mate being vacant, Samuel Wilmot, Surgeon's Mate of the *Resolution*, was appointed, on five pagodas (about Rs. 17, or a little over £2) per month. Wilmot died on 7th Sept., 1687. On 25th May, 1685, Heathfield was appointed a Factor, on £15 a year, less than half his salary as Surgeon, but, of course, with better future prospects. For over two years he served as "Assistant to the Customer," *i.e.* in the Customs Office of the Fort. The Court of Directors disapproved his appointment as Factor, and he had to resume his former post as Surgeon from 25th July, 1687. During Heathfield's employment as Factor, Wilmot and Plummer were the two Surgeons of the Fort. Heathfield's petition for the post of Factor is contained in the *Cons.* of 25th May, 1685.*

"*25th May*, 1685. Doctor Heathfield delivers in his Petition, (which is entered next after this Consultation) the contents whereof is, that he desires to be entertained as a Factor in the R^t. Honble Comp^as service, which was considered of, and by reason we have occation for sober persons, & he understanding the Portuguese language, & well experienced in business, Itt is thought convenient and agreed to entertain him as lowest Factor att fifteen pounds p. annum, provided the R^t. Honble Comp^a are pleased to confirm the same, and that he attend the Customers business att the Sea side, there being none of the R^t Honble Comp^as Covenant servants in that place att present, & for his security he proposeth Sr Edwd Winter, Mr Edward Read & Mr Nathaniell Cholmley."

(*Petition*) "To the Honble President &c^a Council.

"May itt please y^r Hon^r &c^a 'twas in the year 73 that I was taken prisoner by the Dutch, with the Ship President, att which time I underwent many hardships, besides the totall losse of what itt had pleesed God to bestow upon me, by my endeavours in five years before in the Honble Comp^as service, & after my confinement I was then rec^d into the Honble Comp^as service again as Surgeon, att Mechlepatam & Madapollam, and after seven years service there, was called up to this place, where I have served as Surgeon upwards of fower years, my experience in this time and observations I have made upon the Honble Comp^as affaires I humbly conceive has render'd me capable of serving them in another station, which I am desirous of, in hopes of future preferment, and knowing that itt has been the Custome of your Hon^r &c^a and other Nations to alter the

* The *Cons.* for 1685 are missing from the *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, in the India Office, but may be seen in the *Colin Mackenzie MSS.*, Vol. LIII. They have also been published in the late Mr. A. T. Pringle's *The Diary and Consultation Book of the Agent Governor and Council of Fort St. George*, 1682–85; four volumes, Madras, 1894.

imployment of their servants, I therefore humbly beseech your Hon^{r} &c^{a} to receive me as a Factor, and to give me what imployment you shall think suitable for me, wherein I shall behave and deport myself wth that fidellity care and delligence that my future services shall approve themselves not unworthy of this your great favour & kindness, and as I am in duty bound to be a faithful servant to my Honble Masters, soe I lie under no less Obligation to your selves as my benefactors, then of approving myself with all gratitude and thankfulness. Honble &c^{a} Your most humble & Obed^{tt} Servant, John Heathfield—Fort St. George, 20th May, 1685."

Heathfield died on 2nd April, 1688, aged 43 years 5 months and 27 days, and was buried in the graveyard round St. Mary's Church, where his tombstone may still be seen. The *Cons.* of 15th April, 1679,* note that he had married, at Masulipatam, the widow of Mr. Robert Fleetwood, a servant of the Company, who had died there insolvent. Fleetwood had taken for three years a lease of the town of Narsapuram, a proceeding contrary to the orders of the Company. Heathfield was ordered to give up the farm, which he promised to do, the lease expiring in the following month. His wife, Margery, was godmother to Job Charnock's children born at Madras. In a table showing the quit-rents of houses in Madras, in the *Cons.* of 2nd Aug., 1688, the " widdow Heathfield " is shown as occupying a house in Middle Street, at a quit-rent of two pagodas a year. She must have been left well off, as the only higher quit-rent is that of the President's house in the same street, three pagodas. Besides this house in Whitetown, she also owned a garden house in Peddanaikpetta, which she sold to the weavers of Madras in 1707. She survived her husband for thirty-five years, dying in 1723. In the lists of inhabitants of Madras for Dec., 1701, and Dec., 1702, the name of Theophila Heathfield appears in the list of young women unmarried. Another daughter, Cornelia, married Charles Bugden, a civilian of 1692, and after his death became the wife, in 1713, of another civilian, Richard Horden, who joined in 1702.

Other Surgeons on the Coast during the later years of the seventeenth century, whose names have been preserved in the Fort St. George *Cons.* and elsewhere, are—

1. Edward Bulkley, see below.

2. Isaac Dunn, Surgeon at Masulipatam, 12th Oct., 1682; at Madapollam 17th Nov., 1687.

* *Colin Mackenzie MSS.*, Vol. LII.

3. James Grudgfield, appointed Surgeon at Vizagapatam on 12th July, 1683. The *Cons.* of that date note—

" The Chief and Councill at Madapollam having made itt their request that Dr Grudgfield might be entertained at Vizagapatam ffactory, because they are so far off from thence, that if the Doctor now belonging to both ffactorys should be att Vizagapatam, they might be in great danger of their lives, for want of helpe before he could come to them, the ffactorys being at a considerable distance, which being taken into consideration itt is ordered that the said Doctor do attend Vizagapatam ffactory allowing him £20 p. annum Sallary and no more, and that att all leasure times he assist in the writing businesse."

Grudgfield was transferred to " Coodaloor " on 9th May, 1684. In April, 1688, he was still at that factory, and petitioned for the allowance of four pagodas a month which he had drawn at Vizagapatam for assisting in the clerical work. He died some time within the next five months; for a list of inhabitants of Fort St. George at the end of Sept., 1688, includes the name of Penelope Grudgfield, widow.*

4. John Plummer, Surgeon's Mate of the *Royal James*, appointed to Fort St. George 28th July, 1684, went home on the *Royal James* 6th May, 1688.

5. William Warren, at Madras, in 1684; transferred to Bengal 4th July, 1698, again in Madras in Jan., 1710/11.

6. Francis Perce, Doctor's Mate of the *Rochester*, appointed Surgeon at Fort St. George, 9th Feb., 1685.

7. Henry Watson, arrived 16th June, 1685, served also in Bengal.

8. Mr. Atkins, Surgeon at Masulipatam and Pettipolli, died Feb., 1684/85.

9. Edmund Payntell, appointed to succeed Atkins, 10th Dec., 1685.

10. James Burley, late Chirurgeon of the *Rose*, appointed Surgeon at the Fort 5th Sept., 1687, to succeed Plummer.

11. Bernard Ozler, late Surgeon of the *Loyal Adventure*, which was wrecked at Madras on 7th Oct., 1687, appointed 16th Oct., 1687.

12. Walter Stewart, a physician who had come out as a private soldier, allowed to purchase his discharge and to practise at Madras, 2nd Jan., 1687/88.†

* Grudgfield had previously served at Bombay from 1676–80, at least. See Chap. VI, *Early History; Surat, Persia, Bombay, and the West.*

† For Walter Stewart, see also Chap. XV, *The Double Commissions.*

13. Samuel Browne, appointed 7th May, 1688. See below.

14. Richard Blackwall, appointed 24th June, 1689. See below.

15. Samuel Hart, appointed Surgeon at Hugli 17th Aug., 1686; came to Madras with the other Bengal officials in Feb., 1688/89, and then appointed Surgeon of Fort St. George. The *Cons.* of 29th Dec., 1692, order his discharge, on the arrival of Bulkley from England. Hart continued to live at Madras for many years. His name is shown in the lists of inhabitants, not Company's servants, up to Dec., 1707. He was thrice married. In May, 1693, his name is entered among the freemen inhabitants of Madras, with the note, "Married a Georgian." For several years, prior to and including 1706, he is entered as "Married a Casteez," *i.e.* a Portuguese woman of pure European descent. In Dec., 1707, he is shown as "married an Englishwoman." Two children, Elizabeth and Susanna Hart, are entered in the lists for that month. This is the last list which contains his name.

16. Rowland Jones, Doctor's Mate, died 15th April, 1690.

17. Robert Cooper, Surgeon, died 21st July, 1690.

18. Thomas Faucet, appointed 23rd Nov., 1692. See below.

19. Joseph Royall, or Royer, appointed as Assistant to Dr. Faucet at Fort St. David, 11th May, 1696, succeeded Faucet as Surgeon there in 1699, died there in Aug., 1703.

20. John Cotter, Surgeon at Vizagapatam, in list of Jan., 1696/97. Ten years before, in Jan., 1686/87, John Cotter, Surgeon of the *Dragon*, probably the same man, had been removed from his ship for mutiny. According to the evidence, his crime, though perhaps technically mutiny, seems rather to have been attempted desertion.

21. Edward Rawdon, appointed Mate to Dr. Bulkley, 13th Jan., 1697/98; Assay Master, 29th Sept., 1699.

22. Charles Verrall, apprentice to Dr. Bulkley, 12th Aug., 1700.

23. Michael Gray, Surgeon at Masulipatam, transferred to Fort St. David by order of Court dated 31st July, 1702, and subsequently to Calcutta, 20th Aug., 1705.

A few of these Surgeons deserve somewhat fuller notice—Bulkley, Browne, Blackwall, and Faucet. Further particulars about Warren, Watson, and Gray are given in Chap. VIII; *Early History; Bengal and the Bay.*

The *Cons.* of 18th Sept., 1678, mention a French Chyrurgeon, Francisco Cutineth, living in Black Town: He was called before the Council, who associated Bezaliel Sherman with them to hear the case, to give evidence about the death of a private soldier, named John Ballance, whom he had attended, who died from the effect of blows given by Corporal Henry Law.*

At the beginning of the year 1687 the Council of Fort St. George were anticipating an attack by the troops of the Great Mogul, *i.e.* Aurangzeb, who was then invading Golkonda. The *Cons.* of 21st Feb., 1686/87, contain orders regarding the duties of various members of the community in case of an attack, including the medical officers.†

"Doct^{r} Willmot & Dr Plummer's charge is vizt. To provide and make Salves for wounds, and to bee as sparing of the Small Chirurgery Box on the Rebecca as they can, that we may not want upon great occation.

"There being a sett of large Chirurgeons Instruments att Metchlepatam, which may bee useful here, upon any expedition, Itt is ordered that Mr Freeman &c^{a} bee wrot to, to send them hither."

The *Cons.* of 2nd Sept., 1689, record a payment to a Dutch Surgeon.

"Francis Bett having by distemper and distraction lately wounded himselfe at Porto Novo factory, whereby for want of a Surgeon they were necessitated to call the Dutch Surgeon to his reliefe, & cure, which being charged to him, he requests that as being the Comp^{as} Servt it may be allowed by the R^{t} Honble Comp^{a} wch being consider'd and that twas his owne rash Act, tis order'd that he bear the halfe charge thereof, & that the cheife do allow the other halfe thereof."

The following medical certificate, entered in the *Cons.* of 16th Aug., 1693, is probably the earliest such certificate given in India which has survived.‡

"We the subscribers having according to your Orders visited Mr John Nicks, find him very much indisposed by a Chilly numbness in his feet and hands, and an oppression in his Brest and Stomach which is a hindrance both to his speech and breathing, these symptoms in all probability are occasioned by melancholy, want of exercise, and his being oblidge

* *Colin Mackenzie MSS.*, Vol. LII. The *Cons.* of this year are missing in the *Fort St. George Factory Records.*

† *Factory Records, Fort St. George,* Vol. IV. The passage is quoted in Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time,* Vol. I, p. 169.

‡ *Colin Mackenzie MSS.*, Vol. LVI. The *Cons.* from January, 1690/91, to January, 1692/93, are missing from the *Fort St. George Factory Records.* This certificate, and the note about Francis Bett, are both given by Love, Vol. I, pp. 529 and 564.

to breath a stagnating aire, which except speedily remedid (since it approches his Stomach) may prove of Dangerous Consequence.

" Edward Bulkley, Samuell Browne."

Edward Bulkley was serving at Pettipoli in Dec., 1682. He seems to have gone home from there. On his return to India he was appointed First Surgeon to Fort St. George, in *Cons.* of 29th Dec., 1692.

" Ordered that Dr Bulkeley Chyrurgion (lately come from England) doe enter upon his charge of the Hospitall and take care of the Patients therein, and look after all the medicines and other things carefully, that none be spoyled or wasted negligently, or used for any other end or purpose but those they were intended for. And that he keep an account of all material actions, in a Book that may remayne in the Hospitall, to be examined when needful or required. And Doctor Brown is to be continued a Chyrurgion here as before. And in regard of the supply of Chyrurgions from England there is not roome for the continuance of Dr Hart, he is to be discharged from that Imployment and the Secretary is to acquaint him therewith."

The above extract is also given in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras,* Vol. I, p. 563, where is also quoted a Despatch from England, dated 16th April, 1697, which refers to the appointment of Bulkley, also incidentally mentioning Hart and Browne, and sanctioning the appointment of a coroner at Madras in 1697. The same despatch is quoted by Love at greater length in Vol. II, p. 68, as below.

" When wee understood Mr Heathfield was dead, and that you had entertained Mr Hart as a temporary Surgeon in his Stead, we resolved to Supply you as soon and as well as we could, and accordingly sent you, five or six years since, Mr Buckley, one who was every way very fitly qualified to serve us by his large experience of India as well as here, and as fit for prescribing Phisick as manuall operations; and we suffered him to carry out an apprentice that so he might not Complaine of want of help. And therefore him and him only wee resolve shall receive any Sallery and allowances. . . . And in respect to him wee are willing to allow the Office of Coroner, and such perquisites therewith for sitting on the bodys of any persons that shall come to any untimely end by casuality or otherwise, as you shall think fitting, to be paid by the relations of the deceased, considering the poverty of the Generality of your Inhabitants. The usuall ffee here is 6*s.* 8*d.*, but wee think two Rupees is sufficient where the persons are of Ability. And as for Mr Browne, if it please God our Surgeon at the ffort, or in the Bay, or elsewhere should die, or be moved, Wee are willing Mr Browne should have the first preference to such a vacancy."

On 30th A[illegible] performed the post-mortem examination o[illegible] poisoned by Surgeon

Samuel Browne. His report is given in the account of the case below, in Browne's life. Probably it is the oldest post-mortem report given in India which has been preserved, as the medical certificate by Bulkley and Browne, quoted above, is probably the oldest document of its kind. The *Fort William Cons.* of 6th Aug., 1713, contain a post-mortem report, signed by William Hamilton and Richard Harvey, which is given in Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 134, 135.

Bulkley held the appointment of Surgeon up to 29th Jan., 1708/09, when he resigned on account of ill-health, as recorded in *Cons.* of that date.

" Doct^r Buckley this day deliver'd in a petition for leave to lay down the Company's Service, alledging the reason thereof that he is very much indisposed by the Stone, which he fears will be very suddenly fatal to him, and recommends Mr Robinson Doct^r of the Mountague a fitt person to succeed him in that Employ his petition is entered after this Consultation."

In spite of his ill health, Bulkley was appointed, from 28th Jan., 1708/09, a member of the Council at Madras, as " Land Customer " and sixth of Council. At the end of 1710 he was Store Keeper and seventh of Council, in Dec., 1711, Paymaster and fifth of Council. On 16th July, 1711, he was appointed, along with Messrs. Warre and Hunt, Justice of the Choultry. The *Cons.* of 20th Jan., 1712/13, record his resignation of all his appointments on account of ill-health. A Fort St. George General Letter, dated 29th Sept., 1714, in para. 119, reports his death.

" Mr Edward Bulkley dy'd 10th August much lamented."

He was buried at the bottom of his own garden. His tomb may still be seen, the site is now part of the Western Esplanade of Fort St. George, opposite the entrance to the Medical College grounds.

Two Bulkleys, perhaps his sons, figure as Covenanted Servants at Madras during the next two decades. In the list of Company's servants and inhabitants for Dec., 1711, the name of Thomas Bulkley appears among Freeman inhabitants. In a salary list of Sept., 1716, he is shown as Factor on £15 a year, and on the 27th of that month he paid in 444 pagodas to the estate of the late Edward Bulkley. From 24th July, 1717, he became Junior Merchant on £30, and Senior Merchant on £40 from 25th July,

1720. On 22nd Sept., 1720, he resigned to go to Europe. John Bulkley was engaged as Factor for five years from 21st Aug., 1723, and became Junior Merchant on 9th Aug., 1728. He died on 29th April, 1732. On 30th May, 1747, Philip Bulkley, perhaps of a third generation of the same family, was entertained as writer, in 1749 he received a commission as lieutenant, and was killed at the siege of Conjeveram, as reported in a Letter to Court, dated 15th Feb., 1752.

Samuel Browne, Surgeon of the *Dragon*, was appointed Surgeon at Madras in the *Cons.* of 7th May, 1688.

"Doctor Heathfield being deceased and Doctor J^no^ Plummer gone home upon the Royall James, & the Hospitall being in great want of an able Chirurgeon, Doct^r^ Saml Brown late Chirurgeon of the Dragon being reputed so, & desirous of the employ. It is order'd that he be entertain'd at the same sallary & allowance as his Predecessor Doct^r^ Heathfield had."

Four years later he was superseded by the appointment of Bulkley, on his return from Europe, as first Surgeon. In 1693 he applied to rent six villages near Madras; his request was refused on 7th Aug. On 28th Aug., 1693, he accidentally poisoned Mr. James Wheeler, Sea Customer and member of Council, and Chief Justice of the Choultry. The following account of this unfortunate occurrence is taken from the *Cons.* of 30th Aug., 1693. Bulkley's report of the post-mortem immediately follows the other entries.*

"Word being brought us while at Consultation on the 28th instant, that Mr Wheeler was very sick, and soon after about 11 o'clock that he was dead, we went forthwith to his house, and appointed Mr Mildmay and Mr Vander Anker to take account of the Right Honourable Companies books and papers which were in Mr Wheeler's hands; but on the way thither the following note was delivered up into the hand of the President, viz.

"'Honble Sir. I have murthered Mr Wheeler by giving him Arsnick. Please to execute Justice on me the malefactor as I deserve.

"'Your Honour's unfortunate obed^t^ Servant, Sam^ll^ Browne.'

"Whereupon Dr Browne after examination and his particular relation of the circumstances of his fatall mistake, was by warrant of the Judge Advocate committed, as allso his servant, who negligently powdered Pearl in a stone mortar wherein arsnick had been before beaten, the mixture whereof with the pearl is supposed to be the occasion of his Death; and

* *Colin Mackenzie MSS.*, Vol. LVI. The *Cons.* from 15th October, 1690, to 31st January, 1693/94, except for the period 1st to 26th June, 1693, are missing from the *Fort St. George Factory Records.* The papers are also quoted in J. Talboys Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time*, Vol. I, pp. 276–278.

there being symptoms of poyson, Doctor Buckley, the Chirurgeon of the Hospitall, was ordered to open the Corps and make his report.

" The Attorney Generall is ordered to prosecute Samuell Browne, and his Servants concerned for the Death of Mr James Wheeler, so soon as it can be done.—Nath Higginson.

" Yesterday at 8 a clock in the forenoon Mr James Wheeler was buryed, with the solemnity accustomed for one of his Station.

" May it please your Honr with the Worshippfull Councill. According to your orders I did on Munday the 28th instant in the afternoon open the dead body of Mr James Wheeler about five hours after his death, and upon viewing the Viscera or Bowells found them not much altered from their naturall temper and Colour. The parts that seemed to suffer most were the stomach and gutts, which were a little inflamed, and almost wholly bared and stript of the mucous or slimy covering with which those parts are commonly invested. The Lungs allsoe were a little inflamed, the blood that I gathered out of severall Vessells all appeared blacker than usuall. But the suddenness of his death, and the severe symptoms he laboured under before he dyed, were greater arguments of Poyson received then anything I could trace out by dissection. This from, Sir, Your Honrs &ca most humble & obedient Servant. Edward Bulkley."

Browne and his servant were committed to custody. Browne was tried, and acquitted by the Grand Jury, " who brought in the bill Ignoramus." There was some dissatisfaction at this result. Many thought that a case of criminal negligence had been made out.

In 1694 Browne was deputed to attend the Nawab Qasim Khan for wounds, which he did with success. In 1695 he was again in trouble for challenging Dr. Blackwall to a duel, when drunk; and in April, 1696, for assault on a native, as recorded in *Cons.* of 27th April, 1696.

" *Cons., 27th April,* 1696. Complaint having been made by Madremtala in a letter received by the Governor last night, that Dr Brown had gone to the house of Ananta Terterra his Junkameer of Vepery, and carried him away by force, and robbed him to the value of six thousand Pagodas as by a list sent. Dr Brown being sent for gives this account. That on Saturday having rid out to Egmore in Company, in their return by the Vepery Choultry the Moor Peons called him names; and he riding up to them to demand the reason, there followed more aggravating words and they beat him. When he came home, being informed where the Chief man of the Choultry lived, he took his sword and pistol, and being followed by his boy with another pistol, and his horsekeeper went to the house and by force took out Ananta Terterra, and brought him to the Bridge Gate, where understanding that that was not the man which had abused him, he let him go.

" Ananta Terterra doth also further complain that Dr Brown broke his face with a pistol, pulled his beard, &c., and that he was robbed to the

value of six thousand pagodas ; which though there is no reason to believe, yet the Dewan's officers will take occasion to make a demand as customary, and give us trouble by complaining to the Nabob. And Dr Brown being apparently guilty of a breach of the peace, it is resolved that he be committed to the custody of the Marshall, that others may be deterred from the like, and that the inhabitants may understand that such practises are not allowed." *

Dr. Browne was detained in custody for a week, after which he was discharged, in consideration of the fact that his patients required his services, he giving security to the satisfaction of the court.

The *Cons.* of 3rd Jan., 1697/98, note his discharge, from 30th Nov., 1697, the Court of Directors having disallowed the appointment of Second Surgeon at Fort St. George, which he had held for ten years. On 13th Jan., he was offered the post of surgeon at Chutanuti (Calcutta), but declined it ; William Warren got the appointment from 30th June, 1698. On 11th Aug., the Assay Master at Madras, Nathaniel Stone, applied for leave to go home, and promised to instruct Samuel Browne in his duties before he left, " so as to leave him qualified for that employment." On 22nd Sept., 1698, Browne died at Madras.

The *Dictionary of National Biography* includes Browne's name, but only states that from time to time he sent to England collections of dried plants, which now form part of the herbarium of the British Museum, and that particulars of his life are wanting. In 1688 Browne married Ann Baker. Two years after his death, in 1700, she married John Foquet, " Scavenger " of Madras. In spite of his unpleasant title, the scavenger was a civilian, in charge of house taxation and conservancy, and Foquet stepped from that post, in 1700, to that of Chief of Masulipatam. Browne's daughter, Elizabeth, in 1711, brought an action for breach of promise against Henry Cornwall, Captain of the frigate *Sherborne*, the ship on which William Hamilton was then serving as surgeon. Seven years later, in 1718, she married the Rev. Charles Long, Chaplain of Madras.

The career of Richard Benoni Ebenezer Blackwall is one of some interest. His name first appears in the *Madras Press Lists* on 8th March, 1688/89, in a letter from Fort St. George to John

* From J. Talboys Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time*, Vol. I, pp. 300, 301. The *Cons.* from 1st Jan. to 30th Sept., 1696, are missing from the *Fort St. George Factory Records* in the India Office, nor can the deficiency here be supplied from the *Mackenzie MSS.* Apparently they are, or were, preserved at Madras.

Nicks, chief at Conimeer,* informing him that Surgeon Blackwall is required by the commander of the *Resolution*. He was appointed Surgeon at Conimeer in *Cons.* of 24th June, 1689.

"Richard Blackwall formerly Surgions Mate of Ship Resolution but marrying here to an Inglish-woman desires to serve the R^t^ Honble Comp^a^ at their garrison of Conimeer where we have occasion for him, and Capt. Wm Sharpe being now supplyed wth an able Surgion from Capt. Brangwin he is order'd to discharge him from his Ship and deliver him his concernes aboard also to pay to his order in England what wages is due to him."

In 1693 he was surgeon at Fort St. David. The Nawab of the Karnatik attempted to get possession of the English settlements by treachery, as described in *The Annals of the Honourable East Company*, Vol. III, p. 154, where the author, John Bruce, M.P., the Company's Historiographer, writes—

"Fort St. David, being the weakest, was first thought of, and the Surgeon of the place, a Dr Blackwell, who had, from his profession, got access to the Mogul's camp, became, for a large bribe, the instrument of the enemy;—in return, he was to be made Governor of Porto Novo, and to hold it under the Mogul's protection. Blackwell's treason was fortunately discovered, and he was seized and carried to Madras, where he made a full confession."

Bruce gives the name as Blackwell, but in the original papers it is always spelt Blackwall. To say that he made a full confession is hardly correct. He admitted having been promised by the Nawab—whom he seems to have treated professionally, and thus made his acquaintance—the Government of Porto Novo, a small town on the sea coast, a little south of Fort St. David, in what is now the South Arcot district. But he denied that he had agreed to betray Fort St. David or Kadalur. The Madras Council do not seem to have considered the matter very serious, but were of opinion that his sanity, rather than his loyalty, was at fault in his negotiations with the Nawab. He was kept under guard, as a prisoner in the fort, for a little over a year. The Council decided to send him to England, but changed their minds, and soon after his release he was enrolled, on 1st April, 1695, as an Attorney in the Mayor's Court. On 21st Nov. of the same year Dr. Browne challenged him to fight a duel. In the *Cons.* of 25th Feb., 1696/97, he is appointed surgeon to the West Coast,

* John Nicks, the Madras civilian who received from Bulkley and Browne, four years later, the medical certificate quoted above.

and it is stated that he had behaved well since his trial three years before. The *Cons.* of 3rd March, 1700/01, mention that he is dead, and order the payment to his wife of 97 ryals standing to his credit at Fort York (Bencoolen). The original papers in this curious case are given below.

"*At a Consultation Extraordinary, Wednesday, 31st.** Present: The Honble Nath^ll^ Higginson, Esqre, President & Govern^r^, John Dolben, Esqre, Judge Advocate, Mr William Fraser. Mr Cuthbert haveing the last night discoursed to the President some transactions which had passed between Doctor Blackwall and Arsemonague at the Camp, concerning Doctor Blackwall's being made Governor of Porto Novo, and that he had heard at the Camp, when there, that there were some designs on foot for the Plundering of Cuddaloor, when the army passed by that way to Tanjore. The President imediatly wrote a Letter to Mr Hatsell adviseing him thereof that he might not come hither as before ordered till this matter was over and upon perusall of the papers delivered by Mr Cuthbert among which is a letter to him from Blackwall, darkly intimating hee had some great designes on foot; a generall letter was thereupon written to Mr Hatsell, and another to him and Councill, with the necessary advices and directions, as entred in the Coppy Booke of Letters." †

"*Cons., Friday, 9th Feb.* 1693/94. The generall Lett^rs^ from Mr Hartsell and from him and Councill dated ye 7th Inst. p. shipp Northampton being perused with the inclosed Paper of ye examination of Doct^r^ Blackwall's servants, and also one lett^r^ from Doct^r^ Blackwall to his wife, wch gives an accou^t^ of his haveing Receiv'd a Phirmaund for Porto Novo whereof he and his Heires are to be Governors where he is to maintaine one or two hundred Horse and as many Europeans as he can gett. Doct^r^ Blackwall be sent for and examin'd, hee Confess'd it and delivered in a narrative of his Transactions wth the Nabob and Arsamanague, but does utterley disowne anny designe relateing to Fort St. David, or Cuddaloor, and alledges in his owne Justification that after he was acquainted that Mr Hartsell &c^a^ had seized his papers, he notwithstanding came to them as he intended to disclose the whole Matter, and have theire approbation, before he did ingage in it, but it being a matter of dangerous consequence requires further enquiry and consideration, in the meantime Doct^r^ Blackwall is comitted to ye charge of ye Lev^tt^ of ye Gard, to be kept in a chamber in the Fort under a Centinell and none to speake to him till further order."

"*Cons., Tuesday, 13th Feb.* 1693/94. Doct^r^ Blackwall haveing sent ye Presid^t^ a paper on ye 11 and 12 instant, by ye former declareing his entering into and concludeing a treaty wth ye Nabob & Arsemonague for ye Govern^t^ of Porto Novo to him and his Heirs under Arsemonague and by ye owneing y^t^ he has entered into an obligaton for ye Payment off one hundred thousand Pagodoes to the Mogull att certain times and conditions and

* Wednesday, 31st Jan., 1693/94.

† The first *Consultation* of 31st Jan. is included in the *Colin Mackenzie MSS.*, Vol. LVI, last page; the others in *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vols. VII and VIII.

desires to be sett at liberty, that he may goe to ye Camp and discharg^e^ himself from those Engagements, and Wee should verry readily Consent to his Proposall, where there any reason to believe that he could doe it, or had anny security, y^t^ he would not when att liberty proceed in his Government, the Notion of which seem's to have possessed his brain, that he appears to us to be distemper'd. Its resolved therefore that he bee for ye present detained in close Confinement in ye Fort, till there shall appeare reason for his releasment or for sending him for England, for which the Samuell is not a fitting Shipp."

"*Cons., Monday, 23rd Apprill,* 1694. Doct^r^ Blackwall having sent severall Papers, and complaining of the severity of a long confinement was sent for and an offer made him of releasement vpon condition he gave good security, that he would not depart from the limits of this place, and in case of his departure to make good what Damages may accrew thereby unto the R^t^ Honble Company and time was given him to consider of said offer."

"*Cons. Thursday, 14th June,* 1694. It^s^ resolved as the best expedient to secure the R^t^ Honble Company from damage by Doctor Blackwall's late rash undertakeing and engagements to the Moors that he be sent for England by the first shipp, unless he shall rather choose to goe and live att Bombay, and the Generall approve thereof, and ye Secretary is ordered to acquaint him therewith, and that his answer is expected on Monday next."

"*Cons. Thursday, 5th July,* 1694. Doct^r^ Blackwall haveing requested a generall leave for his friends to visit him, order is given to the Lew^tt^ of the guard that they permitt his friends to visit him, but not to stay after six a clock att night and this liberty to continue soe long as the Gover^r^ finds he uses it with discretion."

"*Cons., Friday, 24th Aug.,* 1694. Doct^r^ Blackwall being comitted to the custody of ye Lew^tt^ of ye Guard by order of Consult the 9th of Feb. 1693/94, upon his application to ye Court of Admiralty obtained a writ of habeas corpus wch ye Lev^tt^ of ye Guard produc'd to ye Presid^t^, Its therevpon ordered y^t^ Doct^r^ Blackwall be taken from ye Custody of the Lev^tt^ of ye Guard and delivered into ye Custody of ye Martiall."

"*Cons., Monday, 29th Oct.,* 1694. Doct^r^ Blackwall desireing liberty for the Doors to be open from morning till night the Martiall declareing he do's not thinke it safe, and haveing appeared formorley that he had tampered wth some of ye Centinells in order to his exscape, It is thought fitt to be left to ye discretion of ye Martiall he being answerable for his forthcomeing."

"*Cons., Friday, 25th Jan.,* 1694/95. The Judge reports that vpon ye hearing of the Information exhibited by ye Attorney Generall in behalf of the R^t^ Honble Comp^a^ against Richard Benoni Ebeneazer Blacwall in the Court of Admiralty, the Court have decreed that he be sent for England by ye first shipp, said degree is confirmed, and it is resolved that an order be given ye Capt of ye Princess to recieve him aboard."

"*Cons., Monday, 11th Feb.*, 1694/95. Doctor Blackwall haveing frequently petitioned Us for his liberty and now offereing Mr Daniell Gifford and Mr Edward Bawgus for his Security. It is agreed that the said Security be accepted, and a bond of 2000 Pagod taken for his good behaviour and appearance, and yt the execution of ye Judgement of ye Court of Admiralty for his being sent home be suspended."

"*Cons., Monday, 1st Apprill*, 1695. Doctor Blackwall haveing petitioned to bee admitted an Attorney in ye Major's Court, considering his incapacity to maintaine his family. It is resolved that he be permitted to practice as an Attorney in said Court so long as he shall behave himselfe well. Whereof ye Mayor is desired to take particular notice.

"[I have in ye foul consultation excepted against Mr Blackwall's being admitted an Attorney in any Court in this place. W.F.] *

"*Cons., 21st Nov.*, 1695. Lewt Seaton acquainting us he heard of a Quarrell between Dr Brown and Doctr Blackwall, vpon wch Dr Browne was gone to a garden wth a sword, he is ordered to take a guard and bring them both to us, and he returning presently with them reports that he found Dr Blackwall at his House, and Doctr Browne returning from the Garden, vpon examing them they agreed yt there were words of quarrell between them at Dr Blackwall's House, but that Doctr Blackwall did not goe from his House. Dr Browne appearing to have drunke so much, and not capable of an examination. It is ordered that he be comited to ye Custody of ye Guard in ye Fort, and that tomorrow morning the Mayor doe examine the parties and witnesses, and that if it shall appear that one or both did give or recieve a challenge, that ye Person so offending be comitted to ye Custody of ye Marshall till next Consultation day."

Thomas Faucet's name is shown as Surgeon at Fort St. George, on 29th May, 1693, along with Bulkley and Browne, so there seem to have been, for a short time, three Surgeons there. On 12th March, 1693/94, he was sent to Fort St. David, in place of Blackwall, under trial for treason. On 11th May, 1696, Joseph Royall, or Royer, was appointed his assistant. On 8th June, 1699, he was granted six months' leave to sea for his health; and in the list of Company's servants of Dec., 1699, his name is omitted. In another list, dated Nov., 1701, he is shown as "accomptant" and second in Council at Vizagapatam, on £40 a month, and the date of his arrival in India is given as 23rd Nov., 1692. In the list of Dec., 1703, he is shown as Factor at Fort St. George on £5, rather a come down from 1701, and is stated to be married to an Englishwoman. He appears to have resigned some time during the next four years, for the *Cons.* of 8th Aug., 1707, record his

* W.F. is William Fraser, one of the Members of Council. *foul, i.e.* rough copy. Major, of course, should be Mayor.

appointment as Factor, and those of 6th Nov. state that he has been readmitted from 1st Sept. and appointed Junior Merchant on £30. On 16th Nov., 1710, he was ordered from Metchlepatam to Vizagapatam to take his place in Council there. In Dec., 1711, he is shown as third in council at Vizagapatam, one place lower than he had been ten years before. In a salary list dated 25th March, 1718, he is shown as Senior Merchant on £40. Finally the list of Dec., 1723, notes his death on 11th July, 1723, as Resident at Ingeram. In 1700 he married Johanna, widow of William Martin.

A despatch to England, dated 12th Feb., 1714/15, quoted in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II, p. 156, makes some curious comments on Faucet, saying that he—

" has never been thought capable of any considerable trust by reason of a Moon Frenzy that seldom fails him full or new; besides he is intollerably addicted to drinking, old, perverse, and ignorant in business, a Phisician if anything, but not enuff of that to keep him from starveing even in this Country where Doctors are so scarce."

The following list gives the names of the Surgeons serving at Fort St. George, from 1649 to 1710, as far as they can be ascertained. It is, of course, imperfect, especially as regards dates. In some cases, only one reference to the name has been found, that of appointment, or that of leaving office by resignation or by death; or even a mere mention of the name as serving at a certain date, the dates neither of appointment nor of quitting office being recorded. Names of men appointed as Surgeons Mates, who did not attain to the rank of full Surgeon, are not included. The list is carried on further, for another half century, in Chap. X, *The First Half of the Eighteenth Century*.

LIST OF SURGEONS, FORT ST. GEORGE, 1649-1710

Name.	Date of Appointment.	Remarks.
Whiting, Edward .	1649	Previously at Jambi (1645), and Bantam. Resigned and went home, Jan., 1656/57. Again at Madras, and transferred to Bay Factories, Feb., 1662/63
Cooper, Robert .	1657	Previously a Factor in Pegu. Possibly the same Robert Cooper who died 21st July, 1690
Bradford, Philip .	1665	Died at Madras in 1668
Jardin, Dr. . .	1668	

LIST OF SURGEONS, FORT ST. GEORGE, 1649–1710—(*continued*)

Name.	Date of Appointment.	Remarks.
Waldo, John	14th June, 1670	Went home, 27th Jan., 1677/78
Sherman, Bezaliel	7th Aug., 1676	Died at Madras, 25th Aug., 1680
Mallory, Henry	9th Sept., 1680	Mate, 1675. Transferred to Masulipatam, 25th March, 1681. Died there, 5th Aug., 1682
Heathfield, John	28th March, 1681	Surgeon, Masulipatam, 1673–80. Died at Madras, 2nd April, 1688
Wilmot, Samuel	May, 1685	Mate, 1st Jan., 1862/83. Died at Madras, 7th Sept., 1687
Plummer, John	May, 1685	Mate, 28th July, 1684. Went home, 6th May, 1688
Perce, Francis	9th Feb., 1684/85	
Burley, James	5th Sept., 1687	
Browne, Samuel	7th May, 1688	Discharged 30th Nov., 1697. Died at Madras, 22nd Sept., 1698
Hart, Samuel	March, 1689	Surgeon, Bengal, 1686–88 Discharged, 29th Dec., 1692
Bulkley, Edward	29th Dec. 1692	Surgeon, Pettipolli, 1682; went home. Resigned Surgeoncy, apppointed Council, 28th Jan., 1708/09. Died at Madras, 10th Aug., 1714
Faucet, Thomas	23rd Nov., 1692	Transferred Fort St. David, 12th March, 1693/94. Council at Masulipatam, Nov., 1701. Died as Resident at Ingeram, 11th July, 1723
Robson, Thomas	30th Jan., 1708/09	Died at Madras, 6th May, 1720
Chadsley, Richard	11th July, 1710	Died at Madras, 30th May, 1711

CHAPTER VIII

EARLY HISTORY; BENGAL AND THE BAY

" Thus the midday halt of Charnock—more's the pity !
Grew a city."
KIPLING, *Departmental Ditties. A Tale of two Cities.*

THE Company's first factory in that part of India, which until 1912 was under the Government of Bengal, was at Patna. It was started by Robert Hughes, on 3rd July, 1620, and closed on 13th Sept., 1621. Hughes was one of the Factors sent from Surat to Agra, whence he went on to Patna ; and the establishment of this early factory had no connection with the Bay, or with the gradual settlement of the English in Bengal proper.*

Foster † gives the following account of the first English visit to and settlement in Orissa. In the spring of 1633 two English merchants, Cartwright and Colley, and six English sailors, among whom was William Bruton, quartermaster of the *Hopewell*, who published an account of the journey,‡ left Masulipatam in a country ship for the northwards. On Easter day, 21st April, they reached " Harssapoore," or Harispur, in the Mahanadi delta. Cartwright and the other Englishmen started on 27th April for Cuttack, to visit Agha Muhammad Zaman, who had lately succeeded Baqir Khan as *Subadar* or Viceroy of Orissa. From him they obtained, on 5th May, a *parwana* to trade free of custom, and to build houses and ships. They returned to Hariharpur, halfway between Cuttack and Harispur, and summoning the other Englishmen from Harispur, proceeded to build a factory at Hariharpur. On 16th June, Cartwright and two others started for Balasore, leaving in charge at Hariharpur Colley, who died there on 25th Aug. The factors at Masulipatam, where John Norris was

* Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1618-21, pp. xxiii, xxiv.
† *Ibid.* 1630-33, pp. xxx, xxxii.
‡ See note to Chap. V, *The Legend of Gabriel Boughton.*

Agent, decided to send the *Swan* to Orissa. It reached Harispur on 22nd July, and, finding no English there, went on to Balasore to Cartwright. Robert Littler, a factor who had come in the *Swan*, and John Powell, the purser, were sent to Hariharpur, which they reached on 19th Sept. In October Littler, and in November Bruton, visited Jagannath. Here Bruton's narrative ends. They met with little success in selling their goods. The Dutch records state that the *Swan* went, not to Balasore, but to Pipli, and returned to Armagon in Dec., 1633.

Colonel Yule gives the following dates for the establishment of the Company's factories in Bengal.*

Balasore, Jan., 1651 (occasionally occupied from 1642).
Hugli, Jan., 1651.
Kasimbazar, 1659 (occasionally occupied from 1653).
Patna, 1659 (attempt *via* Agra in 1620).
Dakka, 1668.
Malda, 1676.

Foster's account, however, shows that the first English factory in Orissa was founded at Hariharpur, in May, 1633, and that Balasore was also occupied for the first time a few weeks later, though this occupation was not permanent. Balasore is in Orissa, and Patna in Bihar. The first factory in Bengal proper was that at Hugli, founded by James Bridgman in Jan., 1651, exactly in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The settlements in the Bay were for many years subordinate to those of Madras, or the Coast. In 1657 the Madras Council determined to withdraw altogether from Bengal, but fortunately this resolution was not carried out. Streynsham Master, who was appointed President of Madras in 1675, decided that Hugli should be the chief settlement in the Bay, to which Balasore and the rest should be subordinate. In 1682 the Company made the Bengal settlements independent of Madras, and sent out as the first independent President William Hedges, a member of the Court of Directors at home. He sailed on 28th Jan., 1681/82, and reached Hugli on 24th July, 1682. He held office for only two years, being superseded on 30th Aug., 1684, by William Gyfford, the President of Madras, John Beard being appointed Agent in Bengal, which again became subordinate to Madras. It was not until the appointment of Sir Charles Eyre as President and

* Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. III, Notes, pp. 194, 195.

Governor of Fort William in Bengal, that the settlements in the Bay finally became independent of Madras. Eyre joined on 26th May, 1700. When Warren Hastings, Governor of Bengal since 1772, was appointed Governor General of India in 1774, Madras and Bombay were made subordinate to Bengal.

On Beard's death, in 1686, Job Charnock became Chief in Bengal. For the next four years Charnock was almost constantly at war with the Mogul Government of the province. On 20th Dec., 1686, Charnock withdrew the English factory from Hugli, and settled temporarily at Sutanuti, now Calcutta. Early in 1687 he retired to Balasore, and seized Hijli, where he stood a siege of over a year. On 10th June, 1687, he transferred himself and the remains of his garrison to Ulubaria. In Sept., 1687, the Nawab of Bengal, Shaista Khan, offered to let the English return to Hugli, and they went for a second time to Sutanuti. There they remained for over twelve months. On 8th Nov., 1688, they withdrew again to Balasore, and finally, on 17th Feb., 1688/89, to Madras, the English in the upcountry factories being left to their fate. In 1689 Ibrahim Khan, an old Patna friend of Charnock's, was appointed Viceroy of Bengal, released the English prisoners, and, under orders from Aurangzeb, invited the English to return. This they did, reaching Sutanuti for the third time on Sunday, 24th Aug., 1690, at noon. This date may be considered that of the foundation of Calcutta.

Two factors were sent to Hugli, but soon after were again withdrawn to Calcutta. After the foundation of Calcutta, Hugli was occupied by a colony of interlopers, the best known of whom was Thomas Pitt, subsequently Governor of Madras from 1697 to 1709, importer of the Pitt diamond, and grandfather of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. In 1698 the New or English Company, distinct from the Old or London Company, was formed, and in 1699 started a factory at Hugli. In 1702 the two Companies amalgamated, and in 1704 the New Company's factory at Hugli was abandoned, its officers being transferred to Calcutta.

The first English Surgeon in the Bay whose name has come down to us is Samuell Archer, Chyrurgion in Pegu in 1652.* The first mentioned in Bengal proper is Edward Whiting, who, as mentioned in the preceding chapter, was transferred from Madras

* Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. III, Notes, p. 196.

to the Bay factories in Feb., 1662/63. When he died or resigned seems not to be recorded.

The next is Ralph Harwar, who went out to India as Surgeon of the *Dilligence* in 1668/69. Leaving the ship, he traded on his own account up to 1672, when he was appointed by Clavell Surgeon of the factory at Hugli. In Dec., 1676, he exchanged posts with Robert Douglas, Surgeon of the *Eagle*, going home in that ship, while Douglas took his place at Hugli. He was reappointed Surgeon at Hugli, on the dismissal of Douglas, in 1682. His appointment was unpopular, " hee being little skill'd, and of so ill a disposition, everyone is prejudiced against him " (*Factory Records, Miscell*, Vol. III, A). He was still serving as Surgeon of Hugli factory during Charnock's war with the Nawab of Bengal, and died at Hijli during the siege in 1687.

Ralph Harwar's first appointment to Hugli is reported in a letter from Valentine Nurse, at Hugli, dated 11th Dec., 1672, to the Council at Balasore.

" ralph Harwarr the Chyrurgeon of your Dilligence strucke himselfe out of your service last yeare & went a tradeing voyadg up the Coast in a small barke but perceiving hee could not thrive y^{t} way put in his petition to Mr Clavel Esqre and was presently Entertained into your service againe." *

The *Balasore Cons.* of 1676 record the exchange between Harwar and Douglas.

" Ralph Harwar, Chirurgeon of this Factory desireing to return for England, by these shipps, and Mr Robert Dowglas the Chirurgeon of the Eagle being willing to accept of this Employm^{t} and Bonell his Commander consenting that they may change births, the Councell did also approve thereof.

" And Mr Dowglas his wages aboard ship being £3 5^{s} p. mens. the Councell doe enter into the Comp^{as} Service at £3 p. mens. to be paid in the Countrey and to Commence from this Day.

" And the said Mr Dowglas having been with Mr Master in the upper Factories, and taken upon him the care of Major Puckle Wm Callaway and administered his own medicines to them Mr Harwar being sometimes since out of pay. The Councell thought fitt to gratify him and doe order that 80 Rupees bee given him in Consideration thereof."

Douglas went in largely for private trade. Hedges speaks of him as a habitual trafficker with interlopers. The Court on 25th Jan., 1681/82, ordered his dismissal as follows.†

* *O.C.* No. 3710; Vol. XXXIII. of *O.C., Letters from India*, 28th March, 1672 to 21st March, 1673. Major Puckle and William Calloway, mentioned below, were two different men; the word *and* must have been accidentally omitted.

† Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. II, pp. 125, 126.

" That having received further advices of the unfaithfulness of Mr Matthias Vincent, Mr Edward Littleton, and Mr Robert Douglas, in the management of the trust committed to them, it is ordered that the agent Governour and Councill for the Bay doe upon their arrival in India secure their persons and put them on board the ship Defence, and send them for England."

The order for Douglas' dismissal is also recorded in the Hugli *Cons.* of 26th July, 1682.

" Mr Dowglass ye Chyrurgion of ye ffactory was sent for up before ye Councell and ye compas order to dismiss him was Read and he order'd to clear his Lodgeings and deliver up wt physick of ye Compas remaining."

All three were dismissed, but not arrested. Littleton, by that time Sir Edward, returned to India in 1698, as President of the New Company's factories in Bengal. Douglas remained at Hugli till the end of 1684, when he joined Hedges in chartering the *Recovery* for the Persian Gulf, and with Hedges left in that ship about Christmas, 1684. From the Persian Gulf they went home overland. In 1699 Douglas appears again as supercargo of the *Macclesfield* Galley, sent out to China by the New Company. His wife was a sister of the wife of Thomas Pitt. He was alive, and living in England, in 1701.

A letter from Court dated 26th Nov., 1684, appoints Henry Watson as Surgeon's Mate for Bengal, to serve at Hugli or Kasimbazar.* From Bengal Watson seems to have been sent as Surgeon of the *Hopewell* to Siam, and to have been taken prisoner by pirates. The *Fort St. George Cons.* of 7th Jan., 1688/89, record—

" Henry Wattson Surgeon and severall others Soldiers and Seamen, being the Rt Honble Compas Servants, some belonging to sloop James, having been taken prisoners at Syam, and others from Bengall belonging to sloop Hopewell being forced to serve those Pyrats, after being releas't, were by Mr Jno Hill entertained at Mallacca, & brought hither upon the Pearle friggot, having been great sufferers by their detaynment, yet tis not thought reasonable to allow the whole amount of their wages from ye time of their being taken, but agreed yt they be paid from their entertainment & service upon the Pearl friggot to this and that they be continued upon her."

A General Letter from Fort St. George dated 14th Sept. and 9th Oct., 1706, states in para. 73 that Henry Watson went home last year.† This may or may not be the Surgeon. The name is a common one.

* See Chap. XVIII, *Pay*.

† *Letters from Coast and Bay*, Vol. I, 1703–15, p. 87.

During Charnock's war of 1686–1689 Samuel Hart was Surgeon in Bengal. At the end of the first volume of the *Factory Records, Calcutta,* 16th July, 1690, to 30th Nov., 1691, are lists of Company's servants. The first list, of officers in the Bay, contains the name of no surgeon. A second list gives the names of Company's servants in the Bay who went to Madras (with Charnock in Feb., 1688/89), and did not return to Bengal. In this list occurs the name of Samuel Hart, Chirurgeon, arrived in India 17th Aug., 1686, remained at Fort St. George. Hart was discharged from Madras on the appointment of Bulkley in Dec., 1692.*

A Surgeon Bird seems to have served in Bengal in 1688. The *Madras Press Lists* note the adjustment of accounts between the Company and Dr. Bird, at Chuttanutti.†

A letter from Edward Hussey and Edward Tench at Balasore, dated 14th Sept., 1690, to Job Charnock at Calcutta, states that Mr. Meverell and Mr. Tench had been very ill, and had been attended by the Dutch doctor.

The first Surgeon of Calcutta was a Dutchman. Unfortunately his name has not been preserved. The *Calcutta Cons.* of 24th Sept., 1691, note—

"Discharg'd the Dutch Chyrurgeon from the hon^ble^ Comp^a^ Service, on his own request, he declaring himself sickly and uncapable to serve."

The *Cons.* of 19th Nov., 1691, record a payment, presumably to this Dutch surgeon.

"Order'd that ye Doctor receive Rs. 100 in part of his Account brought in, till it be adjusted."

The *Calcutta Factory Records* for 1692, 1693, and 1694 are no longer extant. In the beginning of 1695 Dr. John Plomer was Surgeon at Calcutta. Probably this was the John Plummer who served at Madras from 1684 to 1688.‡ The first record of his service in Calcutta is his report on the sudden death of a slave girl, entered in the *Cons.* of 7th March, 1694/95. He does not appear to have made a post-mortem examination, but only to have inspected the corpse.

"I the Subscriber being sent for by Mr John Beard &c^a^ Councill to view the Corps of a Slave wench belonging to Mr Richard Hartopp, whom his

* See Chap. VII, *Early History; Madras and the Coast.*

† *M.P.L.*, No. 1757 of 13th Sept., 1688; *Letters from Fort St. George*, Vol. II, pp. 69–75.

‡ See Chap. VII, *Early History, Madras and the Coast.*

Wife the day before had order'd to be punished; Accordingly I went to see if she dyed by iñoderate correction; upon search of her Head, Back, and other parts, I did not find that her death was thereby occasion'd; But my opinion (upon enquiry) she frequently vomitting and drinking very often water was a great Simptome of her taking something to destroy herself; this is the true sence of my Judgment whereunto I sett my hand this 7th day of March, $169^4/_5$.—John Plomer."

The *Cons.* of 30th May, 1695, note that Plomer presented a bill for Rs.868 for attendance on the late Captain Absolon, and was paid Rs.450. On 7th Sept., 1695, Plomer was discharged at his own request; and the *Cons.* of 23rd Nov., 1695, record the appointment of Francis Simson in his place.

"Mr John Plomer, Chirurgeon, having laid down ye Rt Honble Compas Service, and Mr. Francis Simson Chirurgeon of ship Martha been very serviceable to ye Compas Servants on all occasions from the time of sd Plomer's leaving us, wch was the 7th Sept last and being a very Consumptive man, & Uncapable of pforming his voyage in said ship, a hott Clymate agreeing with his constitution; and desirous of Entertaining himself in the Rt Honble Compas service. And Capt Raynes on our request willing to leave him in Bengall considering his distemper. Its therefore thought fitt, and of absolute necessity to Entertain him, commencing ye time afores d."

What became of Simson is not recorded. The *Factory Records* from 1st Dec., 1695, to 30th Nov., 1696, are missing. From the state of his health, noted above, presumably he died before long. Plomer seems to have remained in Calcutta after his discharge, and to have rejoined his post as Surgeon before the end of 1696, from the following note in *Cons.* of 30th Jan., 1696/97.

"Mr Cholmley, Chirurgion of ye ffleete frigatt having tended on ye Rt Honble Compas Servts in their late indisposition during Docr Plomer's sickness, Its agreed that a gratuity of three Copangs be sent him for his servis."*

The sixth volume of the *Calcutta Factory Records* contains a letter from Calcutta to Fort St. George, dated 4th March, 1696/97, which reports Plomer's illness.

"From Charles Eyre, John Beard, Nathaniel Halsey and Edward Cornell, at Chutanuti.

"To the Honble Nat Higginson, Lievt Genll of India for Affairs of the Rt Honble English East India Compa, &ca Councill . . .

"Doctor Plomer having labour'd under great indisposition for some months past even at Deaths Door is desirous of going for England but is willing to stay till wee are provided wth another wch wee begg yor Honr &ca will be pleased to consider of."

* *Copang* or *Kobang*, a Japanese gold coin, worth about twenty rupees or ten dollars (*Hobson-Jobson*).

The *Cons.* of 20th July, 1697, record Plomer's discharge, this time finally.

William Warren, who succeeded Plomer as Surgeon of Calcutta, spent some thirty-two years in India; the first fourteen on the coast, eight as Surgeon of Calcutta, and the last ten as a free merchant at Madras. A letter from Court to Fort St. George, dated 26th Sept., 1684, gives orders to disburse salary to Surgeon Warren.* When Samuel Brown declined the post of Surgeon at Calcutta in 1698, Warren was appointed, and transferred from Madras to Bengal. The *Fort St. George Cons.* of 30th June, 1698, order—

"Mr Hunt and Mr Warren being discharged by the Court of Admiralty from being concerned in the action entred by the Attorney Generall against Mr Kealing, &ca, It is ordered that Mr Warren proceed for Bengall to bee Surgeon of that place, they haveing wrote for one."

In Calcutta he is first mentioned in the *Cons.* of 5th Sept., 1698, which note the payment of a bill for Rs. 28 to our Surgeon William Warren.

The *Cons.* of 7th Nov., 1698, note the payment of a bill of Rs.150 to Mr. Richardson, Surgeon of the *Tavistock*, for attendance on the Company's servants while the post of Surgeon was vacant, from the latter end of Feb. to the beginning of Aug., when Dr. Warren arrived from Fort St. George.

The *Cons.* of 20th Jan., 1698/99, record Warren's appearance as a witness in an interesting medico-legal case. Simon Musgrave was walking with Captain Stepney, when Captain Wesley came up, abused Stepney, and challenged him to fight. Wesley had a sword and a cane; Stepney had only a cane, so Wesley gave his sword to a servant, and assaulted Stepney with his cane. Stepney got the best of the struggle; Wesley then seized his sword, and wounded Stepney in the wrist. Musgrave deposed to the above facts. Warren deposed that he was called in to attend Stepney, and found a dangerous wound in his wrist, and said that it was doubtful whether Stepney would recover the use of his arm. He also stated that Wesley kicked Stepney in the face, while he was dressing his arm. The results, surgical and legal, are not mentioned; no further reference is made to the case.

* *M.P.L.*, No. 2618 of 26th Sept., 1684, *Pub. Desp. from Court*, Vol. VII, p. 29.

After the two Companies amalgamated in 1702, Warren, who was a servant of the Old Company, was appointed Surgeon to the United Companies. The New English Company's *Cons.* of 22nd Feb., 1703/04, record—

"Doc^{r} Warren being Surgeon of the Garrison and now taken into the Service of the United Trade he requesting of us to have his allowance continued, there being twenty-three of the old Company's Servants to look after, Agreed that his Stated Sallery be only allowed him, and no other benefitt from the Old Company."

The *Cons.* of 12th Dec., 1704, record that Warren was allowed a "pention" of £36 for attending the Old Company's servants.

"Doc^{r} William Warren desireing Acco^{t} of his Sall^{y} payable in England, Order'd the same be delivered him with a Discharge from our Masters service, & that he be Allow'd a pention of Thirty-six pounds p. Annum to look after the R^{t} Honble Companys Servants, which will be much cheeper in this sickly place than to pay his bills of physick and Attendance upon every occasion, and that the Presid^{ts} Acco^{t} Sall^{y} be also deliver'd him payable in England."

The word *pension* seems to be used because the Old Company had amalgamated with the New or English Company. The officials of the two Companies had not all been taken into the service of the United Company, and those who had not been so employed drew their pay separately, from the separate funds of the two Companies. The £36 paid to Warren by the Old Company seems to have been given in addition to his fixed pay, also £36, as Surgeon to the United Companies.

The Revd. B. Adams, who was appointed Chaplain of Fort William in 1699, in a letter to Court, soon after his arrival, accused Warren of having contracted a bigamous marriage.

"That adulterous marriage of William Warren, Surgeon to the Factory at Calcutta, with Elizabeth Binns, a widow there, tho' admonish'd, caution'd and advised to the contrary, when she and everybody that knew Mr Warren knew also that he was marryed to another woman, who would have come out to him if he had had a mind to it. But it seems that the obligations of marriage, or anything else, are of little consideration with Mr Warren, being a man of most pernicious principles and debaucht manners."

If every one knew that Warren had a wife in England, it seems strange that he should have been able to find a clergyman to solemnize his second marriage. That he actually had a wife

at home is shown by the following extract from a letter from Court dated 16th Dec., 1699.*

" If Dr Warren be an industrious honest, able man, we leave it to you to make his salary up to £36 per annum. We have not heard from his wife as yet, but whenever she desires it we will give her leave to come over to him on our shipping."

The *Cons.* of 4th March, 1705/06, contain a complaint by Arthur King, Factor, dated 18th Feb., against Mrs. Warren.

" Since the women insist upon place att Church, I think my wife may put in her claim among the rest, I do therefore desire on her behalf that you will be pleased to order her a seat Agreable with my station in the Compas service, and consequently that the Surgeon's Wife (who has twice either Ignorantly or Impudently Assumed her place) may be no more permitted to sit above her Husband's Quality."

This letter, when first submitted in Feb., was withdrawn, by the President's advice, but put in again with another letter, dated 4th March, in which King complains that " the Surgeon's Wife continues to squat herself down in the same seat," and claims to appeal to their masters in England on the subject. It does not appear that any action was taken on this letter. King was admitted to the Council, as Secretary, later on in the same year, on 23rd Sept., so obviously ranked higher than the Surgeon.

The *Cons.* of 11th Nov., 1706, record Warren's resignation.

" Dr Warren, Surgeon to the Factory, desiring his discharge from the Compas Service, being sick and weak, and designing for Madrass and England, having servd the Company 25 years wth a good character, ordd that he be permitted so to do, having his Accotts cleared, & his salary paid to this day, & his discharge given him."

After his resignation of his post as Surgeon, Warren appears to have settled at Madras. A Fort St. George Letter to Court, dated 27th Dec., 1710, states in para. 77.†

" Dr William Warren has pay'd the amount of the bill drawn on him for permission of passage of his two nieces on your ship Europe."

The *Fort St. George Cons.* of 19th March, 1710/11, note his swearing, as witness, to the will of John Nicks. At the end of 1711 his name appears in a list of seafaring men settled at Madras,

* Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. II, pp. 319, 320. The first extract is also given in Wilson's *Early Annals*, Vol. I, p. 201.

† *Abstracts, Letters received from Madras*, Vol. I, 1709–42.

but not constant inhabitants. On 4th Dec., 1716, the *Cons.* note the accounts of William Warren, deceased, on his last voyage to Tonquin.

The New Company had occupied Hugli in 1699. The first batch of their servants went out in the *Antelope*, and suffered a heavy mortality, no fewer than seventeen of them dying between Sept. and Dec., 1699, among them Fulk Lacey, Surgeon, apparently of the ship, on 5th Sept.; Henry Bigland, Surgeon's Assistant, on 30th August; and Thomas Pendleton, "our designed Chyrurgeon in the Bay," in Dec., 1699.

Michael Gray was serving at Masulipatam in 1702. A Letter from Court, dated 31st July, 1702, orders his transfer to Fort St. David. The *Fort William Cons.* of 20th Aug., 1705, note his appointment as Second Surgeon of Calcutta.

"The Place and Season being very sickly renders it impossible for one Doctor to attend all ye sick, and y^t^ none may perish for want of due Attendance in sickness, there being no Mates or Assistants to Doctor Warren and he very sick, tis unanimously agreed y^t^ Mr Gray who was Chirurgeon to Metchlepatam Factory for ye New Company be taken into ye Service att the same Sallary y^t^ Doctor Warren has but Doctor Warren to have the Precedency having served ye Longest time in India."

His resignation is noted, eighteen months later, in the *Cons.* of 4th Nov., 1706.

"Mr Michael Gray, Doctor in the United Service, being indisposed, is very desirous to lay down said Service, Agreed that he be permitted so to do, his Acco^tts^ being clear: Ord^d^ that the Cashiers do pay him his salary to this day, & his discharge be given him Accordingly."

Gray, like Warren, in spite of his bad health, remained in India for a long time, at least twenty years. On 15th June, 1710, he produced before the Council the will of the late Robert Owen. From 1715 to 1721 there are several notes in *Cons.* of the renewal of bonds to Gray, for money of his in the Company's hands, *i.e.* what would nowadays be investments in Government paper. On 18th June, 1719, the amount of these bonds was over Rs.12,000. He is last mentioned in the *Cons.* of 17th Oct., 1726, when all European inhabitants of Calcutta, not servants of the Company, were required to produce their indentures, or licences showing permission from the Company to reside in India. The name Michael Gray is included in a list of those who had obtained indentures from the Company in England.

A month after the resignation of Warren and Gray, the *Cons.* of 13th Dec., 1706, record the appointment as Surgeon of Philip Richardson, mentioned above as Surgeon of the *Tavistock* in 1698.

" The Garrison being at present void of a Chirurgeon ; the two former Chirurgeons having through Sickness, laid down the Company's service, and Mr Phillip Richardson, late Chirurgeon of the Loyall Hester, offering his Service (haveing given a petition to the Councill for the place), resolv'd, that we eccept of him, to serve the Company ; In this Garrison, he entering into obligation to Serve the Company for three Years."

On 18th Sept., 1710, Richardson was granted leave to go to Balasore for his health. The *Cons.* of 11th Jan., 1710/11, record his resignation on account of ill-health.

" Doctr Phillip Richardson having been long indispos'd in his health, & apprehending himself to be in a deep Consumption, desires he may be discharg'd in hopes the change of Air may recover him, Agreed he have liberty to quit ye Compas Service."

A Fort William General Letter dated 18th Feb., 1708/09, reports in para. 31.

" The Doctr is ordered to take care of all people when sick, & often called upon to do it but he and mate are often sick, they want a Physitian rather than a Surgeon."

William James, Surgeon of the *Bouverie*, succeeded Richardson in Jan., 1710/11. On 27th Dec., 1711, William Hamilton was appointed Second Surgeon. After that date, Calcutta had always two Surgeons, as well as one or more Surgeons' Mates.

James was granted sick leave to Balasore on 15th Aug., 1712, and resigned on 4th Dec. of the same year. On 19th Feb., 1712/13, Richard Harvey, Surgeon of the *Recovery*, was appointed in his place, as recorded in *Cons.* of these dates.

4th Dec., 1712. " Mr Wm James one of the Compa's Surgeons here not having his health & desireing his discharge designing to go for England on one of the ships bound thither this year, Agreed That he have his discharge accordingly."

19th Feb., 1712/13. " Doctor Harvey having attended the Governour during his Illness and one Doctor not being sufficient for this place in the sickly season and he being a good Physician and offering his service to us.

" Order'd That he be entertained in the room of Dr James who is gon to England and his time to commence the 1st January last from which time he has given his attendance."

Even with two surgeons on the staff, it was sometimes found that neither was available. The *Cons.* of 3rd March, 1712/13, note that both the surgeons, Hamilton and Harvey, had been taken up country by the President, John Russell, who had gone to Nadiya.

"Mr Edmund Mason, one of the Honble Company's Servants having been sick for some time when both Doctors were up the Country with the Governour which obliged him to make use of a French Doctor whose bill he now deld in amounting to Rups Mads 34. Ordered That it be paid by Mr Williamson, Buxey."

In the same year, 1713, Hamilton and Harvey performed a post-mortem, the first in Calcutta of which any record has been preserved, as noted in *Cons.* of 6th Aug., 1713.

"Doctor Hamilton and Doctor Harvey deliver'd us the following certifficate relating to the death of Wm Hall according to the order of Consultation of 30th Ulto.

"'We do declare according to the best of our Skill upon the opening of the Body of Wm Hall who had recd a wound by a Rapier in the lower part of his Belly on the right side obliquely passing under the Gutts wounding the Coats, the Narves of the Kidneys, Emulgent Arteries & great Lacteal Veins from which wounds he reced his death."

Cons. of 7th Aug. record the trial of Jean Suin, a Frenchman, for the murder of Hall. Thomas Stacey, Doctor's Mate, was one of the witnesses to the affray. Suin was acquitted, Hall having been the aggressor.

During the first twenty years, 1690–1711, after the foundation of Calcutta, only two Surgeon's Mates are mentioned by name. The *Cons.* of 6th July, 1704, record—

"Julian Peterson, a Dutch Musteese, who Lately had been our Chirurgeon's Mate but laid down that Imploymt designing for Batavia, Lately deceasing in this town, his effects wch are but small, being only a Chest wth his Cloths and Necessarys, was demand'd by persons sent by Cornelius Van Noort, who ye deceased had by will made his Executor, & ye will being brot & proved before us order'd yt his chest be delivd to Garrel de Neve and Garrel Druys ye Persons deputed by Cornelius Van Noort to receive ye same, The will is dated 15th Feb. 1704 New Stile."

The *Cons.* of 11th Jan., 1710/11, mention the resignation of John Parney. From Calcutta Parney went to Bombay, where he was appointed Surgeon on 27th June of the same year, 1711.

"Mr John Parney our Surgeons Mate having been long indispos'd in his health desir'd to be discharg'd of ye Compas Service in hopes of recovering his health by Change of air Agreed he have leave to go."

Parney's subsequent service in Bombay has been related in Chap. VI.

LIST OF SURGEONS, CALCUTTA, 1690–1728.

Name.	Date of Appointment.	Remarks.
A Dutchman, name not recorded	1690	Resigned, 24th Sept., 1691.
Plomer, John . .	Before 1695	Resigned, 7th Sept., 1695. Re-appointed 1696. Resigned, 26th July, 1697.
Simson, Francis .	23rd Nov., 1695	Probably died in 1696.
Warren, William .	Aug., 1698	Madras, 1684–98. Resigned, 11th Nov., 1706. Died on voyage to Tonquin, 1716.
Gray, Michael . .	20th Aug., 1705	Madras Presidency, 1701–05. Resigned, 4th Nov., 1706. Lived in Calcutta up to Oct., 1726.
Richardson, Philip .	13th Dec., 1706	Resigned, 11th Jan., 1710/11.
James, William .	Jan., 1710/11.	Resigned, 4th Dec., 1712.
Hamilton, William .	27th Dec., 1711	Accompanied Surman's Embassy to Delhi, 1714–17. Died in Calcutta, 4th Dec., 1717.
Harvey, Richard .	1st Jan. 1712/13	Resigned, 2nd Feb., 1728/29.
Coult, Oliver . .	7th Sept., 1713	Resigned, 2nd Feb., 1728/29.

CHAPTER IX

WILLIAM HAMILTON, AND THE EMBASSY TO DELHI

" Ambassador from Britain's Crown
And type of all her race."
SIR FRANCIS DOYLE, *The Private of the Buffs.*

THE records of the Embassy to Delhi in 1714–17 have fortunately been preserved in full. They consist of the records of *Consultations* held by the three members, Surman, Stephenson, and Khwaja Sarhad, of their *Diary*, and of the letters sent by them to Calcutta and Madras. The letters to Madras are addressed to Edward Harrison, President of Fort St. George, those to Calcutta to Robert Hedges, President of Fort William. Copies of the letters to Calcutta were also sent to Fort St. George, and have been preserved among the Madras *Cons.*, 1715–17; the India Office also has copies of all these *Proceedings*, including the letters. The original letters to Fort William presumably were destroyed, with all other records, when the Fort was taken and sacked in 1756. The later letters, from Nov., 1716, to Nov., 1717, are also preserved in the India Office in the *Copy Book of Letters received from Mr. Surman, &c[a], at the Mogul's Court.*" All these documents, *Cons.*, *Diary*, and *Letters*, have recently been published in the late Professor C. R. Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. II, Part II (Calcutta, 1911), from which are taken the extracts given later on. A few of the letters were also published, in 1875, in *Early Records of British India*, by J. Talboys Wheeler, pp. 170–185.

Of all the medical officers who have served in India during the past three centuries, William Hamilton is probably the most famous, and is certainly the one who has been the greatest benefactor of his country. The story of Gabriel Boughton may be in part apocryphal, but there is no doubt of the reality of the services of William Hamilton to his country, and to his masters,

the E.I. Co. Yet his name does not appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, though that work records the lives of at least sixty medical officers of the Indian services, few of whom have done their country service in any degree approaching to that accomplished by him.

William Hamilton was a cadet of the family of Hamilton of Dalzell, and originally came out to India as Surgeon of the frigate *Sherborne*. The whole ship's company appear to have been perpetually in a state of chronic mutiny. Hamilton was not on good terms with the Captain, Henry Cornwall, and, after standing by him in one mutiny, closed his naval career by deserting his ship at Fort St. David on 3rd May, 1711. Several references to Hamilton occur in the Madras records of this period. On 22nd Dec., 1710, Captain Cornwall laid before the Madras Council a complaint against his surgeon (*Cons.*, 22nd Dec., 1710). On 13th March, 1711, Cornwall again writes that if his Surgeon be removed, it will cause a disturbance among his men (*Letters to Fort St. George*). On 4th May, 1711, Cornwall writes from Fort St. David to the Governor and Council at Fort St. George, that Surgeon Alexander (*sic*) Hamilton had made his escape in a boat from Cuddalore under false pretences, the ships in the roads are to be searched for him, any other Surgeon of those at Madras would be preferred (*Letters to Fort St. George*). Finally, on 7th May, the Council at Madras directed the surgeon of the *Sherborne* to return to his vessel (*Cons.*, 7th May, 1711). With this entry Hamilton's name disappears from the Madras records of 1711, to appear again under more favourable circumstances in Surman's letters from Delhi.

The Surgeon of the *Sherborne*, however, was not to be found. He made his way somehow or other to Calcutta, and was there formally appointed Second Surgeon to the settlement, on 27th Dec., 1711.

" We being in great want of another surgeon for to tend all the Honourable Company's servants and soldiers of this garrison, and William Hamilton being out of employ, agreed that he be entertained upon the same allowance and privileges as William James, our present surgeon " (*Cons.* 27th Dec. 1711).

He appears to have been serving the Company in Bengal for some time prior to his formal appointment, for, in a list

of Company's servants in the Bay, in Nov., 1711, appear the following names :—

William James, going up wth ye King's present.
William Hamilton, at Culcutta (*sic*).

Incidentally it throws rather a curious light upon the relations existing between the Company's different settlements in India, two centuries ago, that an officer, who had deserted at Madras, could be, within a few months, deliberately placed upon the establishment at Calcutta.*

In the list of salaries paid at Calcutta at Michaelmas, 1712, appear the names of the two Surgeons.

William James, Surgeon, half a year at £36—Rs.144.
William Hamilton, Surgeon, half a year at £36—Rs.144.

The famous Embassy to Delhi started from Calcutta in April, 1714, after having been under consideration for at least three years. In the *Cons.* of 5th Jan., 1713/14, Mr. John Surman was appointed chief of the Embassy ; Mr. John Pratt, second ; Mr. Edward Stephenson, third ; with Hamilton as medical officer.

" It being necessary one of our surgeons go up with the gentlemen who go with the present, agreed therefore that Dr. Hamilton be sent."

Again—

" Ordered that Rs.350 be allowed Mr Edward Stephenson and Rs.300 to William Hamilton to provide themselves with clothes, etc., necessary for their proceeding to the Mogull's court with the present, and that the Buxey pay the same." (*Cons.* 26th Feb., 1713/14.)

Subsequently Pratt was excused, and Coja Serhaud (Khwaja Sarhad), an Armenian merchant, was appointed second in the Embassy and general adviser. The opportunity of going to Delhi does not seem to have been much sought after, for William James, the senior surgeon, who had originally been appointed to the Embassy, like Pratt, did not go. The list of the Company's servants in Bengal for 18th Jan., 1714/15, gives the names of all who actually went as follows :—

" Factor John Surman, arrived 19th Aug., 1707, Chief in ye Negotiation.
" Factor Edward Stephenson, arrived 2nd Feb., 1709/10, gone with ye present.

* Towards the end of the eighteenth century certain medical officers were advertised as deserters from ships, to be apprehended and sent to England, who had been actually appointed to the I.M.S. at the same Presidency, Madras.

"Surgeon William Hamilton, arrived 27th Dec., 1711, gone with ye present.
"Writer Hugh Barker, arrived 17th Aug., 1711, gone with ye present.
"Writer Thomas Phillips, arrived 19th Nov., 1711, gone with ye present."

Out of six factors on the list, Surman stands first; Stephenson fifth; out of twenty-three writers, Barker stands eleventh; Phillips fourteenth.

John Surman, the Chief of the Embassy, was appointed writer on 20th Dec., 1706, reached Bengal in the *Dutchess* on 19th Aug., 1707, was sent to Patna on 30th Jan., 1709/10, and appointed second in the Patna Council on 19th April, 1712. A General Letter from Fort William, dated 1st Sept., 1724, notes in para. 5 that Mr. Surman died on 28th August. His country house and garden, on the bank of the Hugli, below Tolly's *Nala*, were known, till well on in the eighteenth century, as Surman's Garden or shortly as "Surman's." The name, however, has long since been forgotten, having been superseded, over a hundred years ago, by that of Kidderpur.

Coja Serhaud, or Khwaja Sarhad, the second in the negociation, was an Armenian merchant, who had resided in Calcutta probably from its foundation, had visited England, and was personally known to the Emperor Farakh Siyar. It was hoped that he would be able to influence the Emperor through his Armenian friends and connections at Delhi; these hopes, however, were disappointed, and he seems to have been of little use to the Embassy, except as an interpreter. In 1697 he had been sent from Calcutta, as an envoy to Zabardast Khan, son of the Viceroy of Bengal, who was commanding the Viceroy's army, operating against rebels.

Edward Stephenson, the third, was born in Cumberland in 1691, appointed writer on 24th Nov., 1708, arrived in Bengal on 2nd Feb., 1709/10, and became Factor on 2nd Feb., 1713/14. He retired with a fortune, and died in England in 1763.

Hugh Barker, the Secretary, was appointed writer on 15th Dec., 1710, and arrived in Bengal on 17th Aug., 1711. He appears to have discharged his duties under Surman satisfactorily. Later on he came to grief, while stationed at Patna, and was discharged from the service, but was reinstated by home influence, and died in Bengal.

At this time the throne of Delhi was occupied by Farakh

Siyar. Aurangzeb, the last of the Great Moguls who were Emperors of India in fact as well as in name, died on 4th March, 1706/07. His son Azam seized the throne, but Aurangzeb's eldest son, Shah Alam, coming down from Kabul, of which province he was Governor, defeated and killed Azam at the battle of Jaju on 10th June, 1707, and ascended the throne under the title of Bahadur Shah. In 1708 he defeated and killed his other brother, Kam Baksh. Azimash Shan, Governor of Bengal, who was the second son of Shah Alam, had gone to the aid of his father, leaving Murshid Quli Khan as his deputy in Bengal. In 1710 Farakh Siyar, the second son of Azimash Shan, was acting as Deputy Governor of Bengal.

Shah Alam, *alias* Bahadur Shah, died on 17th Feb., 1711/12, and the bloody contest for the throne began over again. His eldest son, Jahandar Shah, seized the crown, defeating Azimāsh Shan, who was drowned in the Ravi, in his flight from the field, on 7th March, 1711/12. Azimash Shan's eldest son, Muhammad Karim, was killed a few days later. Jahan Shah, the third, and Rafiash Shan, the fourth son of Shah Alam, were killed in action on 15th March. Farakh Siyar then advanced from Bengal upon the capital. Aided by the Saiyid brothers, the Governors of Patna and Allahabad, he defeated Jahandar Shah near Agra at Christmas, 1712. A few days later Jahandar Shah and his general, Zulfikar Khan, were killed, and Farakh Siyar ascended the throne. Of the two Saiyid brothers, one, Abdullah, became *Wazir*, under the title of Qutb ul Mulk; the other, Husain Ali, became Chief *Bakshi* or Paymaster General, and was shortly after appointed Governor of the Dekkan, with the title of Amir ul Umara.

The English Embassy seems to have hoped to influence Farakh Siyar through his courtiers, or officers of the household, Taqarab Khan, *Khansaman* or Lord Steward, Khan Dauran or Khwaja Asim, and Salabat Khan; men who had served the Emperor in Bengal, and who were personally known to Khwaja Sarhad. They made their approach to the throne through Salabat Khan, and Khan Dauran, whom they always call Caundora. In these hopes they were disappointed. They made no progress in this indirect manner. On the other hand, when they abandoned Sarhad's plans, and sent in their petitions through the proper channel, the *Wazir*, they were successful, and got nearly all they asked.

The Embassy left Calcutta in April, 1714, remained nearly a year at Patna, started from that place on 3rd March, 1714/15, and reached Delhi on 7th July, 1715. Before the end of July Hamilton was called in to treat Taqarab Khan, but found his case hopeless. In August he was required to treat the King for swellings in the groin, and did so with success. Two months later, in October, the King was again attacked by violent pain, and it was feared that he would develop a fistula. Hamilton's treatment was again successful, and on 7th December the King's marriage to the daughter of Raja Ajit Sinh of Jodhpur, which had been long delayed by his illness, was celebrated. Hamilton was richly rewarded, receiving an elephant, a horse, five thousand rupees in money, two diamond rings, a jewelled aigrette, a set of gold buttons, and models of all his instruments in gold. Rewards were also given to Sarhad, who had acted as interpreter, and to the King's French physician, Monsieur Martin.* The news of the King's cure reached Calcutta on 9th Jan., 1715/16. It seems wonderfully quick work for a letter to have been carried, in those days, from Delhi to Calcutta in thirty-three days, 7th Dec. to 9th January. The Embassy was, however, delayed at Delhi for a year and a half longer.

Had Surman then pressed his requests through the *Wazir*, they would probably have been granted with little delay. He continued, however, to try to effect his purpose through Khan Dauran, but without success, not because the latter would not, but because he could not, give useful help. In April, 1716, Haidar Quli Khan, Governor of Surat, reported that the English were talking of withdrawing from Surat, if their petitions were not granted, and this report had much effect in aiding Surman to obtain the *farman* solicited. In November, 1716, the Embassy at last submitted their petitions to the *Wazir*, who approved of the requests. But the business still took time, and it was not till April, 1717, that the *farmans* were finally completed, sealed, and granted. On 30th May, 1717, the Embassy had a final audience of the King, who then expressed his intention of retaining Hamilton at Delhi as his personal surgeon. As Hamilton was unwilling to stay, much further trouble and delay were caused; but finally Farakh Siyar consented to let him go, on his promising to return to Delhi, after a visit to Europe.

* Mons. Martin, see Chap. II, *European Surgeons serving Native Potentates.*

The Embassy left Delhi on 18th July, 1717, reached Patna on 21st Sept., halted there for a month, left on 21st Oct., and on 15th Nov. reached Tribeni, a small town on the west bank of the Hugli, some thirty-five miles above Calcutta, where they were received on 20th Nov. by the President, Robert Hedges, and four members of his Council, with great pomp, as bearers of the Emperor's *farman*.

Wilson * summarises as follows the petition of the Embassy, which had been granted practically in full.

"It contained nineteen articles, of which the first eight related to Bengal. In them the English sought for a fresh imperial *farman*, confirming the previous grant of the right of free trade in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, and the *nishan*, allowing them to rent the three villages of Sutanuti, Calcutta, and Govindpur. They further asked that they might be permitted to acquire on similar terms thirty-eight other villages, adjacent to Calcutta, and also some thirteen acres of land for a factory at Patna. They suggested that the town of Calcutta should be renamed Farrukhbandar, and that the three villages, with the thirty-eight new villages, should be combined into a single *pargana* to be called Farrukhabad.† They desired permission to buy goods at Hugli without hindrance, and freedom generally from vexatious cesses and dues. They required that three days a week should be set apart at the Murshidabad Mint for coining bullion, that the *diwan* should be content with copies of their grants and not insist on seeing the originals, and that the government should take steps to prevent the local robberies to which trade was everywhere exposed. Three articles followed of a more general nature, praying that Madras rupees might pass current like those of Surat, that help might be given to English ships in distress at sea, and that absconding servants or debtors of the Company should be handed over to the Company's authorities. Turning to the Coromandel Coast, the English not only asked that their former commercial privileges should be confirmed, and, in particular, that the five villages of Madras and the territory of Fort St. David should be granted them again, but also sought to acquire villages in Vizagapatam, and the island of Divi near Masulipatam. The last three articles were concerned with the western side of India, and more especially with Surat. These articles demanded that the trade at that port, in consideration of the annual payment of a lump sum, should be declared custom free, that a site should be given for a factory, and a large plot of ground for a garden, and that the passes of the English chief should protect the Company's agents from being molested."

A translation of Farakh Siyar's *farman* is given in Hill's *Bengal in* 1756–57, Vol. III, p. 375; another translation, fuller, but practically much the same, in Broome's *History of the Bengal Army*, Vol. I, Appendix, p. vi.

* *Early Annals*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. xxxviii, xxxix.
† This request, about the change of name, was dropped.

Both the unfortunate Farakh Siyar and his too powerful minister, the *Wazir*, appear in the records in a favourable light. When Surman at last determined to apply to the *Wazir*, as he should have done in the first place, the latter considered the petitions, approved them, and saw that the *farmans* were granted without unreasonable delay. Farakh Siyar's wish to detain Hamilton at his court as his personal surgeon was not unnatural, and the King's consent to his departure shows a more reasonable and more kindly disposition than might have been expected in an Oriental potentate. William Hamilton himself appears in the records as a skilful as well as a successful surgeon.

The following extracts from the *Diary, Cons.*, and *Letters*, include all the references made to Hamilton's share in the work of the Embassy, his cure of the King, and Farakh-Siyar's wish to detain him at Delhi.

Diary, 25th July, 1715. "The Doctor ordered by the King to give phisick to Tuccurrub Caun."

Diary, 30th July, 1715. "The Doctor called to the Camp by Caundora, we Suppose on the King's account."

Diary, 16th *Aug.*, 1715. "The Doctor being sent for last night by the King; went this morning with Cojah Seerhaud: where he Examined two Swellings in his Groin; and has now taken his Majesty under his hands, by God's blessing, to recover a very much impaired constitution."

Diary, 23rd Aug., 1715. "The Doctor lives with Tuccurub Caun."

Cons., 25th Sept., 1715. "Mr William Hamilton having bro^t^ in an Account Amount^s^ to 486 . 12 . the bulk off which is for Medicines bo^t^ for the Use of the King and Tuccurub Caun; Agreed, that itt be paid, & inserted in Hugh Barker's Acco^t^."

Diary, 30th Sept., 1715. "Tuccurrub Caun having gratyfyd our Doctor has left him off, and taken to others; butt his distemper is off such a nature, as to be judged incurable."

Diary, 3rd Oct., 1715. "Cojah Seerhaud and the Doctor sent for by the King's Mother, where his Majesty's indisposition was debated."

Letter VI., 6th Oct., 1715. "To the Honble Robt Hedges, Esq. Presid^t^ & Govr of Fort William &c. Councill in Bengall.

"Our last to your Hon^r^ Etc^a^ was August the 31st Since which we have not receiv'd any Letters from your Hon^r^ Etc^a^. We then advis'd that we had prepar'd our General Petition we design'd to have presented it the first good Opportunity, but his Majesty's indisposition continuing and Mr Hamilton having him under care it has been thought advisable by our friends as well as our Selves to deferr delivering it till such time as it Shall please God that his Majesty in some measure return to his former State of health which advice we intend to follow considering that whilst he is in so much pain it can be but a very indifferent opportunity to beg favours of him. The first distemper the Doctor took him in hand for was swellings in his Groin which thanks be to God he is in a fair way of curing, but

within these few days last past he has been taken with a Violent pain in his posteriors which is likely to come to Fistula, it hinders his Majestie from coming out, so naturally puts a Stop to all manner of business wherefore must have patience perforce." . . .

Diary, 19th Oct., 1715. "The King visitted in the Duan Coss.* Mons[r] Martin has sided with the King's Doctor against M[r] Hamilton."

Diary, 7th Nov., 1715. "Our Doctor coming from the Fort att night, his head was Cutt with A Pebble: off which the King being informed; he ordered Search to be made for the offender; and gave the Doctor people for his future protection." †

Letter VII, 12th Nov., 1715. "To the Hon[ble] Edward Harrison, Esq. President and Governour of Fort St. George &c[a]. Councill.

"Honourable Sir and Sirs. The Kings indisposition has much impeeded the forwarding of our Negociation; so that want of matter has occasioned our Long Silence: We hope his Majesty is at present in a fair way of Recovery, which if it pleases God to grant, it must of necessity Redound to the Honour and Credit of our Nation, he having been under the Sole care of our Surgeon who has administred much to his Majesties satisfaction.

* * * * *

"The cure of his Majesty's indisposition will we hope be effected in a few days when we shall go on with our business, and we hope with Success, in the mean time."

Diary, 17th Nov., 1715. "Caundora has promised when the King rewards his phisicians, that Mons. Martin shall not be made Equall with M[r] Hamilton, A thing as itt is meer justice, so itt is a Signall honour to our Nation."

Diary, 20th Nov., 1715. "All plaisters being taken away the King Washed himself."

Diary, 30th Nov., 1715. "This day Doctor Hamilton, as a reward for his Services, received from the King, An Elephant, Horse, Seerpaw,‡ Culgee richly sett with Jewells, and two Large Diamond Rings, with 5000 rupees in ready Cash. His Majesty further ordered Buttons for a whole Suit off Cloths, to be made off Gold, and sett with Diamonds and Rubys; As also the handles off all his small instruments off Solid Gold. Cojah Seerhaud having been very Assistant during the King's illness as interpreter, Received a Seerpaw and Elephant."

Letter VIII, 7th Dec., 1715 (*to Robert Hedges*). "We wrote your Honour Etc[a] the 8th to the 12th and 16th Ultimo, the latter part of which carried the welcome news of the King's recovery, as a clear demonstration to the world he washed himself the 23rd and accordingly received the Congratulations of the whole Court; as a Reward for M[r] Hamiltons care and success the King was pleased the 30th to give him in Publick, Viz[t] a Culge set with precious Stones, two Diamond rings, an Elephant, Horse, and five thousand Rupees, besides ordering at the same time all his small instruments to be

* *Duan Coss, i.e. Diwan-i-Khas*, private audience hall.

† Wilson (*Early Annals*, Vol. II, Part II, p. xxxv) quotes from Scott's *Ferishta* a story that, on another occasion, in consequence of a rumour that the King had died under the surgeon's hands, the house of the English ambassadors was surrounded by an angry mob, who were only appeased by Farakh Siyar's showing himself from a gallery of the palace.

‡ *Seerpaw, i.e. Sar-o-pa*, literally "head and foot," a long robe. *Culgee, i.e. Kalghi*, an aigrette or turban ornament.

made in Gold, with Gold buttons for Coat, Wast Coat and Breeches sett with Jewels; the same day Cojee Seerhaud received an Elephant and Vest as a reward for his attendance on this occasion Mons[r] Martin was to have received a reward the same day with M[r] Hamilton, but considering it was not for the Credit of our Nation to have any joyn'd with him especially since he had no hand in the business, We by the means of Caundora got his reward to be deferred till three days afterward when he had a Vest, Elephant, and a thousand rupees, a favour purely owing to His Majesties Generosity, and because he was his Servant."

Diary, 28th Dec., 1715. "This day M[r] Hamilton received a Seerpaw, Horse, and 1000 rupees from the Kings Mother, Cojah Seerhaud and Monsieur Martin received each a Seerpaw and 500 rupees."

Diary, 19th April, 1716. "Doctor Hamilton, for curing his Majesty formerly, In the Duan Coss received what was nott ready att that time, Viz[t] An Atlas * Coate and Wastecoate made after the European fashion, Butt with Gold Buttons Sett each with 1 Diamond and 4 Rubys. He likewise received all his Cases off small Instruments contained In one pretty Large Box, all off solid gold."

Cons., 28th April, 1716. "Agreed that an Answer be sent to the Honble Charles Boone Esq[r] &c[a] Councill att Bombay, giving Our Opinion how matters stand in respect to Suratt &c[a].

"For As much as they have mentioned their Orders from England to withdraw the Suratt Factory, and which they had putt in Execution, Had nott Hydera Cooly Caun very much insisted on their Stay. Itt is our Opinion, that as the Honble Company have no great concerns att Suratt; should the Gentlemen there proceed to Bombay for A Month or two, Itt would oblige Hydera Cooly Caun to write to Caundora here, and without doubt very much Accelerate the Concessions att Suratt, which have for some time found Many Objections."

Diary, 12th May, 1716. "The King sent for Seerhaud and M[r] Hamilton; being fearfull that his old sores were breaking out. On Examination they found a Pimple."

Diary, 13th May, 1716. "The kings Pimple broke from whence ran much blood and water."

Diary, 16th May, 1716. "The Doctor again with his Majesty, he advised to have the Other Phisicians called; Butt his Majesty would nott hear of itt, besides he ordered great privacy."

Letter XV, 20th May, 1716. (*To Robert Hedges*) . . .

"There has been a Rumour spread that the main reason of Caundora's putting us off so long was by his Majesty's private order, that the time might come about when he was first seized with the distemper last year wherein he would perceive whether he was perfectly clear or no, before he would dispatch either us or M[r] Hamilton, but for this We have no further Authority than common Report, to our Surprize there is something of that nature broake out again what may be the end of it God knows. M[r] Hamilton has been with his Majesty 2 or 3 times but enjoyned the utmost Secrecy, being admitted to his presence thro' the Women's apartment for fear it should come to the world."

Diary, 24th May, 1716. "M[r] Hamilton has heard no more from his Majesty; so we beleive him perfectly well."

* *Atlas, i.e.* Satin.

Diary, 1st April, 1717. " Syud Sallabut Caun sent Mr Surman The Grand Viziers petition signed by the King: wherein was contained an Order for Mr Hamilton to visitt His Uncle Syud Caun Jehaun, who was indisposed, butt lying with his fforces at Feredabad.* Our Honourable Masters interest exacting a compliance, Mr Hamilton will sett forward tomorrow."

Diary, 4th April, 1717. " The Grand Vizier very well pleased when he heard Mr Hamilton was gone to see his Uncle."

Diary, 6th April, 1717. " Mr Hamilton returned to the City, Itt was only the Omrah's wife who was indisposed, She is to come to the City likewise for her cure, while Syud Caun Jehaun proceeds against the Jaats.

Diary, 30th May, 1717. " His Majesty Setting in the Duan Om † being Thursday, Mr Surman &c^a^ went accordingly to receive their dispatches. Mr J. Surman received a Seerpaw and Culgee, Every one Else a Seerpaw. When Doct^r^ Hamilton was making the proper Obeisance for his Seerpaw, the King Suddenly and Unexpectedly sent orders from the Throne to Lett Every one Else goe out off the Duan (as the custom is for those that are dispatched) butt to place him Again in his Station, the Seerpaw being a mark off the Royal ffavour, and nott for his departure: which orders were obey'd accordingly. When his Majesty rose up, Seerhaud went to enquire off Caundora the reason, why the Doctor was nott dispatched? to which Caundora reply'd, ' I have spoke to the King twenty times concerning this Affair, and can Speak no more, unless you have a mind to make me rediculous. Wherefore do You petition his Majesty.'

" In the Evening, Mr Surman went to Sallabut Caun (who went nott to the Durbar to-day) and After acquainting him with the matter, begg'd he would use his utmost Endeavours with Caundora to gett the Doctor dispatched; for that he would by no meanes be perswaded to Stay, That all the ffavours and riches the King could heap on him would prove no manner off Allurements,—that iff the King had a mind to keep him he must send Goorzeburdars ‡ and putt Irons on his Leggs, and that Even then he would nott so much as accept off the Kings bread, much less his service. The Old Syud Asked two or three times whether nothing could prevail, but when he was answered No: He promised to be very importunate with Caundora and Even to fall at his ffeett to Obtain itt."

Diary, 1st *June,* 1717. " Sallabut Caun went to Caundora's, where he talked off Mr Hamilton's Affair, much to the Same Effect as we had told him. Caundora replyed the King was obstinate, he having severall times already Endeavoured to disswade him from itt. That his Advice was for Mr Surman to goe to the Vizier, and Engage his intercession with his Majesty, which when sett on ffoot, he himself would find an opportunity to Speak Effectually. Sallabut Caun said he wonder'd he should send the Elchy § to the Viziers, since he had yett never asked any ffavour or had anything to doe with him Since his arrivall and therefore was now likely to meet with a repulse. Caundora said Lett them goe, and In case of refusall I will doe itt myself."

* Feredabad, *i.e.* Faridabad, a town sixteen miles S.W. of Delhi.
† *Duan Om, i.e. Diwan-i-Am,* public hall of audience.
‡ *Goorzeburdar, i.e. gurzbardar,* macebearer.
‖ *Elchy, elchi,* ambassador, *i.e.* Surman.

Cons., 3rd *June*, 1717. . . .

" Mr Hamilton being entirely averse to obey the King's orders by his stay, unless fforced thereto; Itt is our buisness to weigh this Affair in respect to Our Honourable Masters. We find few dare speak to the King for his Clearance. On the other side we are satisfyed That should he be kept by force, His stay would be no longer than the first opportunity to Elope. For such a burning desire reigns in him after his own Country, that neither promises nor threats can avail any thing. All this being duely promised, we doe esteem a modest denyall att present much better than a Seeming complyance, which can contribute nothing to his deliverance. For should he be kept by fforce and Afterwards Escape, The King might very likely vent his Anger on our Honourable Masters Settlements, Supposing us Assistant and consenting thereto: On the Contra, should he by chance have leave to depart, we are all Cleared: Iff nott, His ffortune is try'd, and we honestly discharged Our Selves, to the King, Our H. Masters and him also. Besides there is no absolute necessity off making application in our Own names, his own being Every way the most proper. And we are wellnigh Assured there will be no fforce in the case, Butt that his Majesty used this as his Last Effort to Engage his stay, which when he finds his stiff aversion to, he will wave itt. Agreed that a pathetick petition be drawn up in his name, and that we pay the Vizier a visitt and present itt, according to the advice and order off Our patron Caundora."

Diary, 4th *June*, 1717. " Mr Surman, &c^a, carrying Mr Hamilton's petition to the Grand Vizier, He read itt over with great attention and immediately ordered another of the same Effect to be wrote and addressed to his Majesty, which was to be transmitted with one from himself. The Vizier said measures must be taken to release the Doctor, without displeasing his Majesty."

Diary, 5th *June*, 1717. " Seerhaud says he gave a petition for the Doctor to Co Manour,* which is addressed to the King's mother. Butt this Affair being very ticklish, few care to Embark in itt. However the Eunuch promises to speak about itt."

Diary, *6th June*, 1717. " The Vizier's petition came out sign'd from the King as follows—' Since he is privy to my nakedness and perfectly understands his buisness, I would very willingly have kept him, and given him whatever he should have asked; Butt seeing he is satisfyed with no terms, I Agree to itt, provided, After he has gone to Europe, procured Such medicines as are nott to be gott here, and seen his wife and Children, he return once more to visitt this Court: Let him goe.' "

Letter XXXIV, *7th June*, 1717. (*To Robert Hedges*). . . .

" The 23rd Ult^o John Surman received from his Majesty an Horse and Cunger † as was preappointed, and the 30th D. we were sent for by Caundora to receive our Dispatches, which we had accordingly, a Seerpaw and Culgee being given to John Surman, Seerpaws to Surhaud and Edward Stephenson, as likewise to the rest of our Companions, we were orderd to pass, one by one to our Obeysance then to move from the Duan, we did so; but when it came to Mr Hamilton's Turn he was told the King had granted him a vest as a Mark of his Favour but not for his Dispatch, so was order'd up to his Standing again, whilst he was performing this, the

* *Co Manour, i.e. Khojah Manawar. Khojah* means Eunuch.
† *Cunger, i.e. Khanjar*, a dagger.

King got up. We were highly Surpriz'd at this unexpected Motion, not having the least Notice of it till that Minute either from our Patron or any to Authority, it being near a twelve Month since Mr Hamilton had been in private with his Majesty, and in all this time not the least notice taken, we were very much concern'd at his Detainment, and the more because we were assur'd of his firm Aversion to accepting the Service, even with all its Charms of vast pay Honour &c^a that if the King did detain him by force, if he out-liv'd the Trouble of his Esteem'd Imprisonment, he might be endeavouring at an Escape, which every way had it's ill Consequences, to free our Honourable Masters from any Damages that might accrue to them, from the Passionate Temper of the King, our Patron Caundora was applyed to for leave, twice or thrice he positively denied to speak, or even have a hand in this Business till our Friend Syud Sallabut Caun had an Opportunity to lay the Case open to him, when he order'd us to speak to the Vizier, and if by any means we cou'd gain him to intercede, that he would back it, nay if the Vizier refused, he wou'd make one Effort for the Doctor himself, nay Sallabut Caun promis'd to convince the King himself in case of any Delay, pursuant to our Patron's Directions we made a Visit to the Vizier the 4th Inst. and laid the case open to him in a Petition from Mr Hamilton, of how little Service he could be without any Physick, Language, or Experience in the Country Medicines or their Names, besides which the Heartbreaking distractions off being parted for ever from his Wife and Children wou'd be insupportable, and intirely take away his Qualifications for the Kings Service, that under the favour of his Majesty Clemency, with the utmost Submission he desir'd he might have leave to depart with us, from our Selves we informed the Vizier, that we shou'd have esteem'd this as a very great Honour, but finding the Doctor under these Troubles not to be perswaded, we were oblig'd to lay the case before his Majesty, and that in this case none so proper as himself, withal that we humbly desir'd he would use his Intercessions to the King that his Majesty might be prevail'd upon to dispatch him. The good Vizier readily offered to use his utmost Endeavours, and Since the case was so, the Business was to gain the Doctor's Dispatch without displeasing the King, and order'd a Petition to be drawn up to his Majesty in the same Form, as that given to himself directed to the King and sent him, which he wou'd forward with one from himself; it was sent him and the Vizier was as good as his word, writing a very pathetick address to his Majesty, enforcing M. Hamilton's reasons, and backing them with his own Opinion That it was better to let him go. The King return'd an Answer which came out the 6th as follows 'Since he is privy to my nakedness and perfectly understands his business, I wou'd very fain have kept him, and given him whatsoever he shou'd have ask'd, but seeing he can't be brought on any Terms to be content, I agree it, and on condition that after he has gone to Europe, procur'd such Medicines as are not to be got here, and seen his Wife and Children,* he return to visit the Court once more, let him go.' We hope in God this Troublesome Business is now blown over."

* * * * *

Diary, 11th *June*, 1717. "Mr Surman &c^a went to return the Vizier thanks for the Doctors Clearance, Cutbulmoolk † bid the Doctor to bring

* Hamilton does not appear to have had any wife or children; it seems that he hoped to marry his cousin, Anna Hamilton, on his return home.

† *Cutbulmoolk, i.e.* Abdullah Khan, Qutb-ul-mulk, the *Wazir*.

his wife and ffamily with him. Mr Surman said this great generosity off his Majesty in permitting the Doctor to visitt his Own Country, had so Obliged him, that he would make a Speedy return."

In all the records, full as they are, not one word appears to show that Hamilton asked Farakh Siyar to grant the requests of the Embassy, as a reward for his successful treatment, or that any such promise was made. The records being so full, the conclusion is obvious, that the grant of these requests was not one of the rewards specially conferred on the successful Surgeon. But it is evident that Hamilton's cure of the King was of great service to the English, by bringing the whole party into high favour at the Mogul Court; not only with the King himself, who by his cure was enabled to consummate his intended marriage, but also with the *Wazir*, for the King's marriage with the Jodhpur princess was a point of importance to the Saiyid brothers.

What actually decided the matter in their favour, however, was probably the report from the Governor of Surat that the English were proposing to withdraw from that port, a course which would have entailed great loss on the imperial revenue.* To these two facts, Hamilton's cure of the King, and the proposed withdrawal from Surat, it is due that the Embassy got practically all they wanted.

Surman's embassy is not mentioned at all in the *Sair-ul-Mutakherin*. Orme in his *Military Transactions*, while he refers its success to Hamilton's skilful treatment of the Emperor Farakh Siyar, makes no mention of any special reward to Hamilton, or of any intention to detain him at Delhi.

Sir William Hunter † writes thus—

"As a matter of fact, while he was curing the Delhi Emperor at the risk of his own life, if the operation went wrong, and exhausting his credit with his august patient to obtain indulgences for the English Company, his Honourable Masters had, in a fit of parsimony on the other side of the globe, done away with his appointment, and ordered 'the discharge of Dr. Hamilton on his return from Court.' From this ingratitude the Directors were spared partly by the fear of losing Hamilton's influence with the Emperor, and partly by Hamilton's death. They wrote grudgingly in their Bengal despatch of January, 1717, 'Finding by the letters before us how successfull he has been in curing the Great Mogul, which very probably will help forward our negotiations and get an easier grant

* This is pointed out in Busteed's *Echoes of Old Calcutta*, 4th edition, p. 380.

† *The Thackerays in India, and some Calcutta Graves*, by Sir W. W. Hunter. Henry Froude, London, 1897 (p. 33).

of some of our requests, we now say that, if Dr. Hamilton shall desire a continuance in our service, you readily consent to it, and let him see you are sensible of the benefit accruing to us, if you find he any hath, by his undertaking and accomplishing that cure.' "

In writing as above, Hunter is hardly fair to the Court of Directors. When that body ordered Hamilton's discharge, on his return from the Embassy, they knew nothing of the services which he had by that time rendered them, at the other side of the world. To them he was only a ship Surgeon, who had left their service by deserting his ship, and had afterwards irregularly been appointed, without their permission, to a post in Calcutta. When they heard of his services, they changed their views, and it does not appear that they did so "grudgingly."

It is probable that Hamilton was suffering from sickness, on the return journey, and knew that his end was not far off, for on the 27th Oct., 1717, he made his will at Surajgarh, a small town on the south bank of the Ganges, twenty miles west of Monghyr. In this will he appoints John Surman his trustee or executor. The provisions of the will are as follows :—It will be noticed that all the European members of the Embassy are remembered in it. To his friend James Williamson, five hundred pounds; to Edward Stephenson, five hundred rupees and a diamond ring; to Hugh Barker and Thomas Phillips, diamond rings; to John Surman, the large diamond ring given him by "King Furruckseer," and his *culgie;* to the Church of Bengal, one thousand rupees; to his cousin, Mrs. Anna Hamilton, five hundred pounds; and the residue of his estate to his father, "John Hamilton of Boogs, living in the parish of Bothwell," or in case of his father being dead to be equally divided among his brothers and sisters. The will is given in full by Wilson, in his *Early Annals*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 293, 294.

Hamilton's will was witnessed by John Cockburne and John Sturt. These names are not among those of the members of the Embassy. They may have accompanied the Embassy, on its return, from Patna to Calcutta. A Dr. John Sturt, possibly the same man, died in Calcutta on 1st Dec., 1726. The witnesses proved the will before the Bengal President and Council at Calcutta, on 9th Dec., 1717.

Hamilton died in Calcutta on 4th Dec., 1717, within a fortnight of the arrival of the Embassy, and was buried in the old

churchyard in that city, in the ground where St. John's Church now stands. When the ground was cleared to build that church in 1784 his tombstone, which had fallen down, and had been covered with earth and forgotten, in the seventy years which had elapsed since his death, came to light. Warren Hastings, then Governor-General, suggested that the lettering should be gilded, and the stone set up in the entrance hall of the church. This suggestion was not carried out. The stone was set up in Job Charnock's tomb, at the north-west corner of the ground of St. John's, where it may yet be seen. The tombstone is a granite slab, six feet high and three feet wide, on which the epitaph is carved in relief, in English above, and in Persian below. The epitaph, in English and Persian, is shown in the plate, which is taken from Dr. Smith's life of Alexander Grant.*

The Persian epitaph may be literally translated as follows :—

" William Hamilton, Physician, servant of the English Company, who had gone along with the English Ambassador to the Illustrious Presence and had raised his name high in the four quarters of the world by reason of the cure of the King of Kings, the Asylum of the World, Muhammad Farakh Siyar the Victorious, with a thousand difficulties having obtained, from the Court of the Asylum of the World, leave of absence to his native land, by the decree of God on the 4th December 1717, died in Calcutta, and in this place was buried."

When the news of Hamilton's death in Calcutta was reported to the Emperor, it is said that he sent a special messenger to Calcutta to ascertain whether the report was true, or had been published simply with a view to enable Hamilton to escape fulfilment of his promise to return to Delhi. Farakh Siyar himself, however, was not to enjoy the Imperial dignity much longer ; he was deposed and assassinated in 1719.

* *Physician and Friend, Alexander Grant, F.R.C.S., his autobiography and his letters from the Marquis of Dalhousie.* Edited by George Smith, C.I.E., London, John Murray, 1902 (p. 6).

Under this Stone Lyes Interred
the Body of
WILLIAM HAMILTON Surgeon,
who departed this life the 4th Decembr 1717.
his Memory ought to be dear to this Nation, for the Credit he gaind ye English
in Curing FERRUKSEER, the present
KING of INDOSTAN of a Malignant Distemper by which he
made his own Name famous at the
Court of that Great Monarch;
and without doubt will perpetuate his Memory, as well in Great Britn
as all other Nations in Europe.

ولیم هملٹن حکیم نوکر کمپنی انگلیز که همراه ایلچی انگلیز حضور پر نور
رفته بود و باهم خود در چهار دانگ سبب علاج شاهنشاه
عالم پناه محمد فرخ سیر غازی بلند کرده بهزار تصدیعه از درگاه جهان
پناه رخصت وطن حاصل نموده بقضای الهی چهارم دسمبر
یک هزار و هفصد و هفده در کلکته فوت شد

دریجا مدفون است

CHAPTER X

THE FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

"Days of the Hanover line."
AUSTIN DOBSON, *Beau Brocade.*

DURING the first half of the eighteenth century the Company remained simply a trading corporation, with three chief settlements, independent of each other, at Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, and a few factories up-country. The most important event of this period, both historically and medically, was Surman's Embassy to Delhi, to which a separate chapter has been devoted. The chapters on early history have brought down the story, in all three Presidencies, below the year 1700. For the interval from 1720 to 1750 there is but little to be said, and that little consists chiefly of the names of medical officers then serving in India, with some notes on their careers. The chapter on Hospitals includes a little information relating to this period. As the three Presidencies were entirely independent of each other, it will be best to consider them separately.

Bombay.—Most of the medical officers serving in the Western Presidency previous to 1750 are now little more than names; in many cases even their names have not been preserved. In a few cases some facts of more or less interest remain on record.

Gregorius Meisters, from his name apparently a German or Dutchman, is mentioned as Surgeon of the Fleet in *Bombay Cons.* of 9th Aug., 1717. He was serving as Surgeon at Surat in 1726. Payment of his bill of Rs.123 for medicines from Dec., 1725, to Dec., 1726, is recorded in the *Surat Diaries* (Vol. XII) on 3rd March, 1726/27. He seems to have served at Surat for over ten years. The *Bombay Cons.* of 13th Oct., 1737, contain the subjoined extract from a letter from Surat, dated 10th Oct., summarised—

"They complain of their Surgeon M[r] Meisters whose Slanderous & abusive Tongue is grown intolerable & as he is not employ'd by any One

person of the Factory having by Excessive drinking disqualified himself for the station he bears & considering that he may engage them in Disputes with the Government they desire he may be removed as it is not fit he should remain in that Place."

The *Cons.* of 17th Oct. order Meisters to come from Surat to Bombay by the first conveyance, Joseph Grey being appointed in his place as Surgeon at Surat. Those of 20th Dec. order his dismissal as follows :—

" M[r] Gregorius Meisters having last Council day presented a petition to the Board desiring to be readmitted to his Post of Surgeon at the Factory at Surat, the President observes to the Gent[n] that the said Meisters had rendered himself by drinking entirely incapable of that or any other employ, yet in regard to his having been an Old Servant to the Honble Company he offer'd to let him return to Surat & to allow him a Pension of forty rupees p. Month, which he did not think proper to Accept of, the President therefore Observes to the Gentlemen that He thinks as M[r] Meisters has refused to Accept such an Allowance he is entitled to nothing from Us, as he has disqualified himself for any employ, The Board Concurring therewith Order'd that he remain out of the service."

Why Meisters should have refused this pension is not apparent. He seems to have remained in Bombay till his death, in 1746. The *Cons.* of 14th Feb., 1745/46, mention a payment to him as gunpowder contractor. In the *Cons.* of 10th June, 1746, it is noted that Gregorius Meisters, to whom the contract for gunpowder was given in February of that year, being lately dead, the contract is transferred to Captain Isaac Ainsworth.

James Crawford, Surgeon of an Indiaman, was appointed Surgeon at Bombay about Oct., 1718, as reported in para. 95 of a General Letter from Bombay dated 30th Oct., 1718. He served there over thirteen years. Another General Letter of 12th Sept., 1731, notes in para. 124 that Dr. Crawford designs to return to England with his aged father on the *Stretham*. This vessel left Bombay on 23rd Jan., 1731/32. His name is also spelt Crafford.

The next paragraph of this letter of 12th Sept., 1731, reports that Henry Compton had been appointed to succeed Crawford. He served for six years, from 2nd June, 1731, to 7th Sept., 1737, when he resigned on account of ill-health, with permission to return, if able to do so. He held the post of Mayor of Bombay on a salary of £62 10s. per year, in addition to his pay as Surgeon, from the beginning of 1737 to 20th Sept. of that year. He sailed in the *Montagu* on 7th Oct., 1737.

John Neilson, M.D., arrived in Bombay as Surgeon on 9th March, 1732/33. In the following January he was put at the head of the hospital, apparently superseding Compton, against whom he brought serious but unfounded charges. A General Letter from Bombay, dated 19th Jan., 1735/36, reports in para. 55—

"M[r] John Neilson tax'd M[r] Henry Compton with want of skill, without foundation, his practice has been attended with all imaginable success, for which he is generally esteemed and preferr'd to the other."

Ten years later Neilson was sent home. The *Bombay Cons.* of 12th Aug., 1746, record his dismissal.

"The President acquaints the Board, that D[r] John Neilson being a troublesome Person & a Nusance to the Place, he thinks one of such a Character ought not to remain among us, & therefore gives it as his Opinion that he ought to be sent to England: Which the rest of the Members agreeing to, except M[r] Sedgwicke, who dissents because, he says, there are no good Reasons given: directed that the Secretary write him an Order to repair to England by the first Ship bound thither, delivering his Charge in the Hospital to D[r] Gilbert Mathison by the end of this Month, as from that time it is further agreed that all his Appointments in the H[o] Company's Service do cease."

Michael Weston was appointed Second Surgeon at Bombay from 4th May, 1738. He served as Mayor in 1743, on the same salary as Compton. A General Letter of 14th Oct., 1745, states that he is going home. Apparently he changed his mind, for he was appointed Surgeon to Tellicherri Factory in June, 1746.

Gilbert Matheson was appointed Surgeon at Tellicherri in 1743, and in March, 1744, was transferred to Surat. In Aug., 1746, he succeeded to one of the posts as Surgeon at Bombay, where he remained till his death, early in 1758.

Henry, or Humphrey, Thompson (both Christian names are used) was appointed Surgeon at Bombay in Feb., 1746/47. He held that post for eleven years. A Bombay General Letter of 8th April, 1758, reports in para. 191 the deaths of both Matheson and Thompson.

During the first half of the eighteenth century the Bombay Government began to appoint medical officers to the vessels of the Indian Navy, whose headquarters were fixed at that port. Some information about these medical officers is given in Chap. XVI, *Military and Civil.*

A good deal of interesting information about the state of

Bombay in 1750, and the prevalent diseases of the settlements, will be found in a work entitled *A Voyage to the East Indies*, by John Henry Grose, who went out to Bombay as a covenanted writer on the *Lord Anson* in 1750, landing at Bombay on 28th Aug., 1750. He states that, at the time of his arrival there, public health had considerably improved, a fact which he ascribes to more suitable diet and manner of living of Europeans (Vol. I, p. 32).

"Not however without taking into account, the place being provided with more skilful physicians than formerly, when there was less niceness in the choice of them. Surgeons, and surgeons-mates of ships, and those none of the expertest, used to be admitted almost without any, or but a superficial examination; though in so tender a point, as that of the life of subjects, always precious, and surely more so, where they are so difficult to recruit. The same negligence was also observed with respect to the gallies, and other armed vessels of the company in those parts, and to say the truth, the pay was too slender to invite into such service any capable persons. Here I cannot omit inserting, though digressively, one instance of a wanton disregard to that material point, of the truth of which I have been credibly assured. Mr Phipps, one of the former governors,* on examining the marine establishment of Bombay, wherein he proposed making retrenchments, by way of currying favor with his masters at home, which is often done, by the falsest and most ruinous oeconomy, observed the surgeon's pay, rated at 42 rupees per month, which at the usual way of reckoning of a rupee for half-a-crown, was just five guineas. 'What, says he, there must be some mistake, the figures are transposed, it must be 24 instead of 42': and for the sake of this, in every sense a barbarous joke, he, with a dash of his pen, curtailed the pay accordingly: but surely this was rather cutting into the quick, than paring off excrescences.

"Whatever may be the reason, the point is certain, that the climate is no longer so fatal to the English inhabitants as it used to be, and incomparably more healthy than many of our other settlements in India."

Madras.—When Edward Bulkley was transferred from the post of Senior Surgeon at Fort St. George into the Council on 29th Jan., 1708/09, he recommended as his successor Thomas Robson, Surgeon of the *Mountague*.† Robson's name is written in this entry as Robinson, but that the name was really Robson is shown by the entry of 24th July, 1710, quoted below, where he is appointed as Second Surgeon, when Chadsley was sent out from England as Surgeon to Fort St. George. On Chadsley's death, on 30th May, 1711, Robson became Chief Surgeon, his

* William Phipps, Governor of Bombay from 9th Jan., 1721/22 to 9th Jan., 1728/29. As related in Chap. XVIII, *Pay*, long before the appointment of Phipps as Governor, the pay of medical officers in Bombay was fixed at £36 *per annum*, or twenty-four rupees a month.

† *Fort St. George Cons.*, 29th Jan., 1708/09.

appointment was confirmed in a Despatch from Court dated 2nd Feb., 1711/12. He died at Madras, aged 37, on 6th May, 1720. He seems to have made a good deal of money, for the *Cons.* of 6th November, 1721, record that his widow, Diana Robson, invested eight thousand pagodas (about Rs.28,000) in a Company's bond.*

Richard Chadsley was appointed from home to succeed Bulkley as Surgeon, as noted in *Cons.* of 24th July, 1710.

"Mr Chardsley being entertained Chief Surgeon by the Honble Company in the room of Mr Bulkley, who being now sent for, and ordered that he take charge of all things relating to that employ, and that he have the same Privillidges and allowances in all respects as Mr Bulkley had.

"Mr Robson the present Surgeon being sent for and acquainted with the preceding order, who requested that he might be continued in the Service as Second Surgeon of the Garrison, and in consideration that we think it highly necessary for to have two Surgeons here, Its therefore agreed and ordered that he be entertain'd accordingly and have the same allowances as Dr Brown had when Dr Bulkley was sent out by the Honble Company."

Chadsley arrived on 11th July, 1710, and died of fever, less than a year later, at Fort St. George, on 30th May, 1711.

Anthony Supply seems to have been first appointed in 1702. He was posted to Fort St. David as Surgeon, *vice* Atkins dismissed, on 1st Feb., 1704/05. A General Letter from Fort St. George, dated 19th Oct., 1709, and 6th and 10th Jan., 1709/10, states in para. 60 :—

"Anthony Supply, who served the New Company 7 years a Surgeon goes home on the *Kent* as Surgeon."

When Captain Edward Harrison was appointed Governor of Fort St. George—he took over charge on 19th Jan., 1710/11—the Court of Directors allowed him to bring out Supply as his personal Surgeon for the voyage, and to appoint him Surgeon at Madras when a vacancy occurred. On Chadsley's death he became second Surgeon. A General Letter from Fort St. George, dated 20th Aug. and 4th Sept., 1711, reports in para. 123—

"Mr Chadsley Surgeon dy'd the 30th May, Mr Anthony Supply put in his stead, the unhealthy Season makes them want 2 Surgeons the hospitall for 12 months past has had always 40 or 50 Persons in it, want 3 or 4 Surgeons Mates initiated in Anatomy and Physick and sent to

* Robson in 1709 married Diana, widow of Richard Bridges, *née* Diana Baggs. After Robson's death, she married Nathaniel Elwick, then Governor, in 1722.

supply other factorys the Surgeon at Fort St. Davids is a freeman of Pondicherry and acts at present but will not be obliged to stay a good man may be sure of that post."

Supply resigned on account of ill-health on 16th Jan., 1715/16, and went home in the *Mary*. A General Letter, dated 16th Sept., 1713, in para. 124, defines the respective duties of Robson and Supply as follows :—

" Dr Suply when taken into Dr Chadsley's place was not as chief Surgeon. Their provinces distinct one attends the Hospitall the other the Cov^{t} Servants if they please and assists in the Hospitall when necessary. Dr Robson had his choice & declares he does not complain."

Andrew Pichier was appointed second Surgeon, in Supply's place, on 17th Sept., 1716, as noted in *Cons.* of that date.

" Andrew Pichier Surgeon having serv'd the Honble Comp^{a} faithfully and well upon the West Coast for four years, & Mr Joseph Collet by his own experience knowing him to be a capable and deserving man. Agreed that the said Andrew Pichier be entertain'd one of the Surgeons of this place on the usual allowance in the place of Anthony Supply that laid down the service in January last and went for Great Brittain."

Pichier was superseded for the appointment of first Surgeon in 1720 by Duncan Munro. He died at Madras on 6th or 7th Sept., 1729. *Cons.* of 25th Aug., 1731, record that his daughter was sent home according to his will; and those of 15th Jan., 1731/32, note that a bond for seven thousand pagodas was granted from his estate to his executors for remittance home. In a medical certificate given by him in 1720, he signs his name Andrew Peitchier.

Duncan Munro was entertained as Surgeon's Mate on 23rd June, 1713. On 15th Sept., 1718, he was granted leave to return to England, and sailed for home, as Surgeon of the *Success*, on 21st Sept., 1718. That vessel sprang a leak the same evening. Her commander, Captain Graves, with the officers, and some of the passengers and crew abandoned her in the longboat. Munro, the boatswain William Waters, and many others remained on board. The vessel next day went ashore at Trivambore, south of San Thomé, and was totally wrecked. Those on board got to shore on a raft. The longboat also reached Fort St. George safely, and no lives were lost.*

* *Fort St. George Cons.*, 6th Oct., 1718. Munro's Narrative of the wreck is given by Love, Vol. II, pp. 178, 179.

Whether Munro got home or not is not clear. On 24th May, 1720, he was appointed Second Surgeon at Fort St. George, in place of Robson, deceased, and on 4th Aug. of the same year, by orders from home, was made Chief Surgeon, superseding Pichier, who protested, without success. A General Letter of 2nd Sept., 1720, reports, in para. 80—

"Mr Thomas Robson, Surgeon, dy'd about the same time * lamented, his widow administer'd, the heats after the long droughth carry'd off many by a nervous inflamatory feavor, Mr Duncan Munro returning from Surat soon after admitted youngest Surgeon and since Chief being qualify'd."

Munro resigned on 14th Jan., 1725/26, but remained in Madras for some time longer, as he was chosen as Alderman in 1727. He was succeeded by George Ramsay, who went out in 1724 as Surgeon of the *Lynn*, appointed from home to be Surgeon of Fort St. George. There being no vacancy as surgeon at the time, he took the post of Surgeon's Mate. He held the Surgeoncy for less than six months, dying on 1st July, 1726.

Matthew Lindsay went out in 1825 as Surgeon of the *Marlborough*. On 18th June, 1726, Ramsay having been ill and unfit for duty for some time, he was appointed Surgeon's Mate at Fort St. George, and on Ramsay's death became Second Surgeon. He died at Madras on 22nd Aug., 1730.

Nathaniel Barlow appears to have reached Madras early in 1728, for in April of that year he was promised the next vacancy as Surgeon there. From Madras he went to Calcutta, but returned towards the end of 1729, being appointed Second Surgeon from 25th Nov., 1729, *vice* Pichier deceased,. He appears to have held the post for twenty years, for in the list of 1749 his name is still shown as First Surgeon. In the list of 1754 his name does not appear. In the lists of European inhabitants of Fort St. George, entered at the end of the *Cons.* for each year, among the names of married women that of his wife, Margaret Barlow, appears for eleven years, from Dec., 1730, to Dec., 1740. She went home on the *Nottingham* on 21st Sept., 1741. It seems that she died at home, and before long Barlow remarried, for among the names of married women that of Ann Barlow is entered from Dec., 1743, to Dec., 1745.

Robert Douglas was appointed Surgeon at the West Coast (Bencoolen) on 13th June, 1726. He returned to Madras early

* May, 1720.

in 1728, but had to rejoin at Bencoolen almost at once. The *Cons.* of 15th April, 1728, state that Mr. Deschamps, the Surgeon at Bencoolen, being very ill, Mr. Douglas, who had just come from that station, was persuaded to go back there, being promised the same diet allowance as the "youngest" member of Council, and the succession to the next vacancy at Fort St. George, after Barlow. The *Cons.* of 24th Aug., 1730, record that the President, George Morton Pitt, proposed the appointment of Mr. Thriepland, who had served for a long time at Fort St. David (since 22nd Feb., 1726). Douglas put in a petition that he had gone back to the West Coast, in the previous year, on the promise of the next vacancy, after Barlow, at Fort St. George. It was determined to appoint Douglas, for the time being, and to refer the matter home for final orders. A Despatch from Court, dated 11th Feb., 1730/31, confirmed Douglas, with the promise of the next vacancy to Threipland. The latter did not live to claim the fulfilment of this promise, dying at Fort St. David in 1732. Douglas went home on the *Wager* on 6th Feb., 1741/42.

Another medical officer with the same surname, William Douglas, was serving at the same time. He is mentioned as going home sick on the *Godolphin* in 1735, and was reappointed as Surgeon's Mate in *Cons.* of 10th Aug., 1738.

"Agreed also that M[r] William Douglass who return'd hither on the Wager be restor'd to his former Station of Surgeon's Mate of the Hospital, and that M[r] Robert Turin, who has officiated very diligently in that Capacity during the others Absence as well as for some time before at Fort St. David do continue to act as another Mate at the allowance of ten Pagodas p[r] Month, for that it has always been usual to have two Mates here when we could get proper Persons, that the present Sickly Season requires it; and that we may not be in want of a Person of that Profession to supply any Vacancy that may happen at the Subordinate Settlements."

A Despatch from Court, dated 7th March, 1741/42, orders that William Douglas is to succeed as Surgeon in the next vacancy after William Belsches. Douglas did not live to succeed to the place. He seems to have died in 1744; a letter from Bengal, dated 31st Dec., 1744, reports that a bill had been drawn for £494 12*s.* 6*d.*, on account of the estate of the late Dr. William Douglas.

Andrew Munro achieved a higher reputation than any other medical officer who served on the Coast prior to 1760. He was

appointed Surgeon's Mate at Fort St. George about Sept., 1724, and Surgeon at Fort St. David, *vice* Gray, gone to Bengal, on 22nd Sept., 1733. In Feb., 1741/42, he succeeded Robert Douglas as Surgeon at Fort St. George, and held the post for over fifteen years. In 1754 he served as Mayor of Madras. The *Cons.* of 6th May, 1754, contain a complaint, signed by William Perceval and eighteen other civilians, against Munro, and his Mate, William Stewart, of having insulted James Alexander. Both Munro and Stewart were ordered by the Council to make a public apology, which they did. The complaint and the orders upon it are given at length by Love (Vol. II, p. 456). Further on (Vol. II, p. 488) Love quotes a letter, dated 26th Oct., 1755, from Robert Orme, then a Member of Council at Madras, to John Payne, a Director and afterwards Chairman of the Company, in which Orme says of Perceval's action against Munro—

"He has no degree of Abilities, and his Signing a Paper against Mr Munro, the Physician who had raised him from the Grave, gives me no Opinion of the Niceness of his Sentiments."

The *Cons.* of 23rd March, 1756, note that Munro resigned the office of alderman, on account of ill-health. Those of 28th Dec. of the same year note his retirement from the post of Surgeon, and his appointment as Physician to the Company, apparently a sinecure.

"*Cons.*, 28th *Dec.*, 1756. The President informs the Board that Mr Andrew Munro had been to acquaint him that his Age and great Infirmities had render'd him quite unable to go thro' the Fatigue of the Surgeon's employ; That, being desirous of giving all the Assistance in his Power, he often went abroad when he was more indisposed than many of his Patients; and that he found himself so little able to do the duty necessary at the Hospital that he was obliged, for the good of the People, to make known his infirmities.

"The President adds that, upon Mr Munro's leaving him, he had thought of writing for Mr Wilsson, who is the next Surgeon, and now at Trichinopoly, to come hither to supply his Place; to give Mr Munro Liberty to retire from all Business, and to continue to him his Salary. But considering afterwards the great merit of this Gentleman, the many Obligations the Inhabitants owe to him, and the great Opinion most of the Gentlemen in the Settlement have of his Abilities, He thought something more should be done for him as a Reward for his past Services, and that the Town should not be deprived of the Advice of so able a Man. He proposes and requests of the Board that they will call up one of the other Surgeons to assist Mr Turing in the Hospital, and that Mr Munro may be appointed the Company's Physician at this Settlement. * * * And that the Company may be address'd On this subject, Requesting their

Confirmation hereof, and a suitable Addition to his Salary, All which the Board unanimously agree to." *

Munro's resignation of the post of Surgeon, his appointment as Physician, and Wilson's appointment to succeed Munro as Surgeon, were reported in a letter from Fort St. George, dated 6th June, 1757, para. 51. Munro died at Madras, with over thirty-three years' service, on 26th Oct., 1757.

The name of his wife, Frances Mary Munro, appears for the first time in Dec., 1742. In Dec., 1752, the names of four of his children are given, Robert Duncan, Hugh John, Margaret Aurora, and Katherine. The last-named was sent home on the *Delaware* in Oct., 1753. Robert's name is dropped out in 1755, apparently he also was sent home. All four are mentioned in Munro's will. In Dec., 1757, the name of Mary Munro appears among those of widows residing at Madras, the name of one child only, Margaret, being also given. Mrs. Munro survived till 1771.

From 1743 to 1745 another Andrew Munro, a ship captain, is shown as one of the seafaring men who made Madras their headquarters. Dr. Andrew Munro proved his will on 22nd Feb., 1747/48, so probably they were related to each other.

Robert Duncan Munro returned to Madras as a Writer in 1765. Margaret Aurora married her cousin, George Smith, a free Merchant, in 1769.

Robert Turing, the fourth son of Sir Robert Turing of Foveran, in Aberdeenshire, third baronet, was baptised on 11th Oct., 1711, and appointed Surgeon's Mate at Fort St. David on 27th Aug., 1729.† On 31st Jan., 1735/36, he was transferred in the same capacity to Fort St. George. On 18th May, 1741, he was appointed Surgeon at Vizagapatam, and in Aug., 1748, to Fort St. David as Second Surgeon. In 1752 he became Second Surgeon at Fort St. George, and on Munro's death Chief Surgeon. In Jan., 1764, he was appointed Storekeeper-General. He died at Madras on 26th Dec., 1764. On 14th Jan., 1755, he married Mary de Morgan, widow of Thomas Taylor, by whom he had three children ; Mary, born 5th April, 1757, married on 30th Aug., 1773, her cousin, John Turing, who became Member of Council at Madras in 1790/91 ; Helen, born 14th Oct., 1758, married on

* This extract is given in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II, p. 458.

† Dr. John Turing, his elder brother, was also at Madras in 1729, as Surgeon ofthe Indiaman *Greenwich*.

30th Aug., 1773, Edward Saunders, who was a Member of the Madras Council in 1790, and from 1794 to 1799; and Robert, born 17th April, 1760, died without issue 5th June, 1801.

Another Robert Turing, presumably a relation—he cannot have been the son born in 1760—served as a medical officer in Madras from 1765 to 1788. He put in his whole service in military employment, retiring on 16th Feb., 1788, when holding the post of Head Surgeon at Masulipatam. This may have been Sir Robert Turing, sixth baronet, who was the son of Sir Alexander, fourth baronet, elder brother of the first Surgeon Robert Turing. Sir Robert was baptised on 25th Feb., 1745, succeeded his brother, Sir Inglis, fifth baronet, in 1791, and died, leaving no male issue, on 21st Oct., 1831. The dates fit in well enough with those in the life of the younger Surgeon Robert Turing, but Burke makes no mention of the sixth baronet having served in Madras.

A Letter from Court, dated 21st March, 1739, orders that employment ashore should be found for William Belsches, late Surgeon of the *Winchester*, who had lost a leg at Canton. On 11th Sept., 1740, he was posted to Fort William, but did not remain there long. A General Letter from Fort St. George, dated 4th Feb., 1741/42, notes in para. 47 his appointment to Fort St. David, *vice* Andrew Munro, who relieved Robert Douglas at Fort St. George. In Jan., 1746/47, he was appointed to act also as agent for the sick and wounded of His Majesty's Squadron. In that capacity he seems to have got into trouble over his accounts in Nov., 1749. He resigned on 12th Feb., 1749/50. The *Cons.* of 24th Oct., 1754, record that Belsches executed a covenant as a free merchant. He is shown as a resident of Madras in Dec., 1755, when it is noted that he came out in the *London* on 17th Aug., 1750, and in Dec., 1756. In 1757 his name is omitted.

Bengal.—William James went out as Surgeon of the *Bouverie* in Jan., 1709/10, and was appointed Surgeon to Fort William in Jan., 1710/11. He was chosen to accompany Surman's Embassy to Delhi. No record appears to have been preserved of the reason why he did not go, but left the appointment, with its chances of fame and fortune, to William Hamilton. He went home in Feb., 1712/13.

Richard Harvey arrived at Calcutta as Surgeon to the *Recovery* in Jan., 1711/12, and was appointed Surgeon to the settlement

a year later, when James went home. In 1720 he acted as *padre* in addition to his medical duties. A General Letter from Fort William, dated 28th Dec., 1720, states in para. 126—

"Gave Dr Harvey for officiating when had no Minister 400 Rups as p. Consultation 1st ffebruary."

He retired early in 1729.

Oliver Coult came out to India as Surgeon of the *Halifax* in March, 1708/09. This vessel was at Madras for great part of the year 1711. The *Madras Cons.* of 12th April, 1711, contain a petition from Coult against the Commander, Captain Hudson, whom he accused of illtreating him. On 7th May he was ordered to go on board and rejoin his duty. On 20th Sept. he complained that the captain would not allow him to go on board, and asked leave to go to Bengal and thence home to Europe. He was appointed surgeon at Fort William on 7th Sept., 1713, taking the place of Hamilton, appointed to accompany the mission to Delhi. A General Letter from Fort William, dated 13th Sept., 1716, states in para. 93—

"Will dismiss Dr Hamilton when he returns from Court, likely he will stay after Mr Surman, but beg to keep Dr Harvey he and Dr Coult often sick tho Coult most; necessary to have two or it will cost many a mans life can't get any out of the Ships to equal Dr Harveys skill and care."

In spite of his ill-health, Coult spent twenty years in India. Like Harvey, he retired early in 1729. A Fort William General Letter of 2nd Feb., 1728/29, reports—

"Messrs Coult and Harvey return to England on the *Walpole* and *Stretham*, Mr Littlejohn Surgeon returns his Thanks for the Companys Favour."

For some time, in 1712–14, there were three surgeons on the Fort William establishment: first James, Hamilton, and Harvey; later Hamilton, Harvey, and Coult. Two of these three formed the regular medical staff; the third, first James, then Hamilton, was a supernumerary for the Embassy. Fort William General Letter of 3rd Dec., 1713, states—

Para. 136. "Before Dr Coult arriv'd had entertained two Surgeons, vizt Wm Hamilton and Richd Harvey, both comended.

Para. 137. "Dr Coult also commended pray may keep all in case of mortality, should send one with the present to the Mogull."

Robert Broadfoot came out in 1712, as Surgeon's Mate, as stated in para. 110 of a General Letter of 18th Jan., 1722/23—

"Mr Robert Broadfoot sent out in 1712 Surgeons Mate commended, pray he may be made Doctor on the first Vacancy."

This vacancy did not occur till 1729, when he became full Surgeon, with seventeen years' service. He returned home early in 1738, as reported in two letters from Fort William, dated 14th Nov., and 31st Dec., 1737.

"*14th Nov.*, 1737. Several Persons urged a very great Necessity for Remittances, particularly Dr Littlejohn who Designs home, have indulged them, Mr Broadfoot was persuaded not to Remit his whole Fortune now assuring him it should be no Disadvantage to him."

"*31st Dec.*, 1737. Dr Alexander Littlejohn and Mr Robert Broadfoot going home this Year."

When Oliver Coult and Harvey went home, in the beginning of 1729, Alexander Littlejohn was appointed Surgeon, along with Robert Broadfoot. He retired at the same time as Broadfoot, early in 1738.

Robert Coult was recommended to succeed to the next vacancy as Surgeon, after Alexander Orme, in a General Letter from Fort William dated 26th Feb., 1731/32. Another letter of 28th Dec., 1735, states—

"Shall comply with the Order about Mr Robert Coult's Nominate to the first Vacancy of Surgeon and Mr Orme to be next."

He appears to have remained as Surgeon's Mate for at least five years, not getting promotion till 1738. A letter of 15th Jan., 1737/38, reports—

"Messrs Littlejohn and Broadfoot have laid down the Service . . .

"Mr. Robert Coult succeeds to be Surgeon to the Factory to the General Satisfaction, Mr Geo Gray is entertained also request another Cossimbuzar requires attendance of one."

His retirement is reported in a Bengal General Letter of 18th Jan., 1741/42.

"Mr Robert Coult Resigned his Station of Chief Surgeon ye 17th December, on account of his Ill State of Health goes to Madras. Mr George Gray of course succeeds him as Chief Surgeon and Mr William Lyndsay is appointed Second Surgeon."

Coult apparently did not return to England for another year. The Fort William *Cons.* of 3rd Jan., 1742/43, mention him as paying ninety-six rupees for a passage home on the *Houghton*.

Alexander Orme, father of Robert Orme the historian, came out as an adventurer about 1686. He was admitted to the Bombay service as a Surgeon and served at Anjengo in 1707, where he was afterwards chief. In 1712 he is shown in the list of seafaring men, not constant residents, at Madras. A Bombay General Letter of 28th Dec., 1721, states in para. 89—

"Mr Alexander Orme entertain'd Senr Merchant, & sent 2nd to Anjengo."

Soon afterwards he was promoted to be chief of that factory. Another Bombay General Letter of 30th Sept., 1728, reports in para. 110 that, in obedience to orders from home, he had been removed from that post. Another letter of 22nd Jan., 1730/31, states that his house at Anjengo had been bought for 5000 fanams (about 120 pagodas, or 420 rupees) for a hospital, in para. 83, and in para. 96 that he had gone to reside in Bengal. In 1731 he was appointed to succeed to the next vacancy as Surgeon at Fort William; but no vacancy occurred for several years, and, as noted above, Robert Coult was put over him in 1735. The register of St. Anne's Church, Calcutta, records his burial on 19th April, 1736.

George Gray first came out to Madras, and was appointed Surgeon to Fort St. David on 10th April, 1732. On 14th Sept., 1733, he resigned, and, going to Bengal, was appointed Surgeon to the Factory at Kasimbazar. St. Anne's register records his marriage to Isabella Grayham on 21st Jan., 1733/34, and the baptism of his son George on 1st Sept., 1737. When Littlejohn and Broadfoot went home, early in 1738, he was appointed Second Surgeon at Fort William, and succeeded Robert Coult as Chief Surgeon on 17th Dec., 1741. In 1753 he held the office of Alderman of Calcutta. His son George was nominated as a writer in 1755, the *Cons.* of 4th Aug., 1755, note his arrival on the *Hardwicke*, and order him to be posted to the secretary's office. He was one of three writers who were granted two years' extra rank and standing for good service in the siege of Calcutta. Both the Grays, father and son, were taken prisoner when the fort was captured, but escaped, and joined the other refugees at Fulta. Dr. Gray's second wife, and their infant son Charles,

were also among the refugees there. Gray resigned on 3rd March, 1760, and went home with his family in the *Duke of Dorset.* The *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1781, records his death at Huntington, in Scotland, on 26th March, 1781. He seems to have made a good deal of money in Bengal. The *Cons.* of 31st March, 1748, note that he paid Rs.20,000 into the Treasury, at interest. Those of 29th Aug., 1748, state that he deposited Rs.8720 at interest, and those of 20th March, 1748/49, that he tendered an interest note for Rs.32,838, and drew out Rs.4000 thereof.

George Gray, junior, was appointed Resident at Cuttack in the *Cons.* of 3rd July, 1758, when John Bristow was removed from that appointment. He was subsequently Resident at Malda, and was promoted from that station to the Bengal Council, taking his seat on 16th Feb., 1765, with less than ten years' service. When Clive arrived and took up the Governorship of Bengal, for the second time, on 3rd May, 1765, he at once took up the question of reforming the Civil Service, a task in which he met with great opposition from the Council. Ralph Leicester and George Gray seem to have been the two who were most violent and most prominent in their opposition to Clive's proposed reforms. Gray handed in his resignation at the meeting of Council held on 11th Nov., 1765, and asked for a passage home on the *Grenville.* He finally left the Service on 29th Jan., 1766.

The autograph signatures of George Gray and of William Fullerton may be seen in the India Office on a document contained in Vol. I, 1718–71, of the *Bengal Muster Rolls,* entitled "Account of the Military sent into the Hospital, their Disorders, when enter'd, discharged, died, or when run, July 1st to December 30th, 1752." *George Gray* is written in a large, open, upright round hand; *Wm. Fullerton* in a large, closely-packed hand, sloping to the right.

John Zephaniah Holwell came out to Bengal in 1732. His career is related in the following chapter.

William Lindsay was Surgeon of the *Marlborough* in 1729, and of the *Wager* from 1735 to 1738. From the latter ship he was appointed Surgeon's Mate in Calcutta in 1738. A Bengal General Letter of 10th Dec., 1738, reports—

"A Surgeon being requested 15th Janry 1737 presume The Company have appointed one, This Year Mr William Lindsay arrived who is well known in the Place and One who will give great Satisfaction in that

Profession, he is permitted to reside in Calcutta and they recommend him to the Comp[a] for the next Vacancy."

As noted above, he became second Surgeon when Robert Coult retired on 17th Dec., 1741. He died of fever in Calcutta on 27th July, 1749.

John Knox, senior, appears to have first come out to India about 1725, for in 1755 he is said to have been thirty years in the service. This long period he seems to have spent, partly serving as an Assistant Surgeon, partly in commercial speculations. In 1750 he was appointed by the President, Adam Dawson, to succeed Holwell as Surgeon, as reported in para. 81 of a Letter from Bengal, dated 23rd Aug., 1750.

Para. 80. "On 30th April M[r] John Zephaniah Holwell requested permission to Resign the Service, w[h] agreed to."

Para. 81. "Same time M[r] Fullerton requested to Succeed M[r] Holwell, agreeable to Compy's Recommendation Anno 1744, when the President proposed M[r] John Knox, but the majority not approv[g] him the Vacancy was not filld till the 16th Inst when the President looking upon himself to have a Right in Choice and Appointment of a Doctor, thought proper to order M[r] Knox Surgeon of this Settlement; whereupon Messrs Fytche, Cruttenden, Watts, and Burrow ent[d] some Minutes as p. Consl. that day as is also M[r] Burrows Letter."

The dispute as to whether Knox or Fullerton should succeed Holwell is recorded at length in the *Cons.* of 16th Aug., 1750. There were present in Council Adam Dawson, the President, William Fytche, Major John Hollond, Roger Drake, Edward Holden Cruttenden, William Watts, and Thomas Burrow. One member, James Blackford, was absent. Burrow strongly opposed the President's nomination of Knox; Fytche, Cruttenden, and Watts supported Burrow; Hollond and Drake said nothing.

"The President acquaints the Board that he thinks proper to order M[r] John Knox to succeed M[r] Holwell as Surgeon of this Factory he having served the Company many years both here and at Cossimbuzar.

"M[r] Thomas Burrow desires to make a Minute that the President's directing the Secretary (after the Minutes made by Messieurs Fytche, Cruttenden, Watts, and himself) 'that he acquaints the Board that he thinks proper to Order M[r] Knox to succeed' appears to him a thing unprecedented and destructive of the Priviledges of this Board. He therefore thinks that the same should be rendred of no Effect and that as the Honble Company has recommended M[r] Fullerton and the Majority of the Board does approve of him, therefore M[r] Fullerton be appointed and that the Buxey be ordered not to pay M[r] Knox."

A Despatch from Court, dated 28th Nov., 1750, ordered the appointment of Fullerton in Holwell's place, and a letter from Bengal of 20th Aug., 1751, reports in para. 115 that this order has been carried out. So Knox lost the post, apparently after having held it for a year.

Two Assistant Surgeons of the name of John Knox, perhaps father and son, are shown as Surgeons' Mates in Calcutta, in the lists of 1749 and 1754. Both were present in Calcutta at the time of the siege and capture in 1756, when it is mentioned that Dr. Knox's house was burned. Both are entered in Captain Mills' list of inhabitants of Calcutta at the time of the siege. In references in the public records of the time they are sometimes, but not always, distinguished as senior and junior. *Fort William Cons.* of 17th April, 1750, mention payment of head-money to Alexander Knox, Surgeon of the *Lapwing*.

John Knox, senior, was sometimes known as *Pahra* Knox, probably a corruption of *Patna* Knox, as he seems to have served for some time at Patna. On 27th Aug., 1750, he was granted an interest note for Rs.2000. On 1st April, 1751, he paid six months' rent, due from 5th Sept. for his arrack farm. On 11th March, 1754, he was confirmed as Assistant Surgeon, in place of Inglis, gone home on the *Falmouth*.* A Bengal Letter of 8th Dec., 1755, reports in para. 113 the return of Inglis.

"Mr Inglis Surgeon return'd and restored, Mr John Knox Senr continued as Assistant in the Hospital, is recommended having been 30 years in the Service."

The *Fort William Cons.* of 29th Jan., 1757, note his appointment as Company's Cooper. Those of 25th March, 1757, record that John Knox, senior, will be permitted to succeed to any vacancy that may happen. The next vacancy in the Medical Department at Calcutta was caused by his own death there on 5th Feb., 1758.

John Knox, junior, though serving as an Assistant Surgeon from time to time, appears to have earned his living chiefly as a supercargo and as a contractor. *Fort William Cons.* of 2nd Jan., 1751/52, note the payment to him of the balance of an interest note for Rs.1580. The *Tellicherri Cons.* of 5th to 10th Dec., 1755, contain accounts of a dispute between him and the native

* See Chap. XVIII, *Pay*.

merchants at Calicut about the sale of cotton and opium.* *Fort William Cons.* of 13th Nov., 1758, contain an offer from him of teak for sale. Those of 24th Dec., 1761, grant him the contract for victualling troops in the field. Those of 18th Oct., 1762, contain a certificate from him that, when Calcutta was taken and sacked in 1756 there were in his house ninety-seven chests of opium belonging to Mr. Van Staaden.

The *Calcutta Gazette* of 19th Oct., 1815, records the death of the widow of Dr. Knox as follows :—

"On the 10th current, Mrs Knox, aged 74 years. She is the last of those who survived the horrid scene of the Black Hole in 1756. She was at that time fourteen years of age, and the wife of a Doctor Knox. The day before she died, she went out to take an airing in her palankeen, and preserved her faculties entire to the last."

She appears to have been the wife of the younger Knox. Among the refugees at Fulta in 1756 was Elizabeth, wife of the elder Dr. Knox, with two children, Elizabeth and Mary. The Christian name of the lady who died in 1815 is not stated; but if she was seventy-four in 1815, she was only fifteen in 1756, and could hardly have had two children. No other Mrs. Knox is shown in the lists of Europeans in Calcutta in 1756, but she may have married Knox, junior, after the siege. She may have been in Calcutta at the time of the siege and capture in 1756, but she was certainly not one of the survivors of the Black Hole.

William Fullerton was serving in Calcutta in 1750 as Surgeon's Mate. From the entry of 23rd Aug., 1750, he seems to have first come out in 1744. His adventurous career is related in a subsequent chapter.

Even in the first decade of the eighteenth century we read of the payment of doctors' bills in Calcutta, which looks as if there were then private practitioners in the settlement. Probably, however, the doctor, payment of whose bill is mentioned, was the Surgeon of an Indiaman. The *Cons.* of 3rd Nov., 1709, contain the following entry :—

"Mr Blount brought in a Doctor's bill paid by Mrs Waldo for attendance and physic to her husband in his sickness, our Doctor being sick at that time. Ordered that the Buxie pay the same."

* *M.P.L.*, Nos. 945, 951, 965–69, of 5th to 10th Decr., 1755; *Tellicherri Cons.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 71–84.

The *Buxie* means the *Bakshi*, or paymaster. In 1713 and 1717 payments to the Surgeons of Chandannagar and Chinsura were made.

"*Cons.*, *3rd March*, 1712/13. Mr Edmund Mason, one of the Honble Company's servants having been sick for some time when both Doctors were up the Country with the Governour which obliged him to make use of a French Doctor whose bill he now delivered in amounting to Rup^s^ Madrass 34. Ordered that it be paid by Mr Williamson Buxey."

"*Cons.*, *18th Jan.*, 1716/17. Mr Thomas Cooke having had a severe fitt of Sickness which seized him at Hugly when sent up to weigh and receive Salt Petre from the merchants it was bought off, which Sickness kept him long there in great danger of his Life, and being under the Necessity of seeking relief from the Dutch Doctor and such other physicians as resided at Hugly because we could not spare any from hence to attend him, He was at 45 Rupees twelve Annaes charge upon that Account which is not unreasonable Therefore Agreed That that sume be paid by Mr John Deane Buxey and Charged in his Account of Generall Charges."

In the latter part of the seventeenth century Surgeons had been posted to several of the out-factories in the Madras Presidency, Masulipatam, Madapollam, and Vizagapatam, as well as to Fort St. David. In Bombay, Surat had always had a Surgeon; and early in the eighteenth century medical officers were also posted to Anjengo and Tellicherri. The Bengal factories outside Calcutta do not appear to have had a Surgeon on their staff till about 1720. In the *Fort William Cons.* of 6th May, 1723, is entered an account from Anjengo of a mutiny on board the *John and Mary*, when her captain, Marmaduke Crofton, and his officers were murdered; the report of the inquiry is signed by Mr. James Salisbury, Captain William Shotbolt, and Dr. John Hunter, all of Anjengo, and forwarded by Alexander Orme, Chief of Anjengo. Six months later the same *Cons.*, on 18th Nov., 1723, mention letters brought to Calcutta from Kasimbazar by Dr. Hunter, who was then apparently stationed at that factory. A letter from Bengal, dated 9th Feb., 1744/45, mentions the payment of £435 on account of the estate of Dr. John Hunter. George Gray was posted as Surgeon to Kasimbazar, on his transfer from Madras in 1733, and spent five years there, till he was transferred to Calcutta in 1738. In the *Cons.* of 18th Aug., 1740, Dr. Daniel Mahony is mentioned as Surgeon at Kasimbazar, sending a report about palace intrigues at Murshidabad. The *Cons.* of 26th June, 1727, note that the doctor at Dakka, whose name is not given, had sent a Mr. Birkhead

down sick to Calcutta. In the *Cons.* of 15th May, 1738, is a petition stating that John Coleman, Surgeon at Dakka, had died there lately intestate. Holwell also served for a short time as Surgeon of the Factory at Dakka in 1736. *Cons.* of 24th June, 1745, record a payment made to Dr. Knox at Patna. Knox had also served at Kasimbazar. *Cons.* of 17th Oct., 1726, in a list of free merchants in Calcutta, include the name of a Dr. Smith, who had taken out indentures at Madras.

The *Fort William Cons.* of 18th Nov., 1742, contain an order that all Company's servants are entitled to free medical attendance, except venereal cases.

The *Cons.* of 22nd Dec., 1740, record that Robert Coult paid into the Company's cash Rs. 5000, and got bills payable to Alexander Littlejohn for £562 10s.; and those of 22nd Dec., 1748, note that bills of exchange for £398 15s. were granted to George Gray, in favour of Robert Coult. Littlejohn had been succeeded by Robert Coult as Surgeon of Calcutta, in Jan., 1737/38. Gray at the same time became second Surgeon, and succeeded Coult as chief Surgeon in Dec., 1741. Possibly these payments, made by Coult and Gray to their predecessors, were for their practices. On the other hand, they may have been the price of houses and furniture, or may have been quite unconnected with their appointments.

The oldest list extant of the Company's medical officers serving in India is dated 1749, and is preserved in the Record Department of the India Office, where it may be found in *Home Series, Miscellaneous*, Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 53–55. It appears to have been compiled by some official in the East India House in 1749 or 1750, and to have been kept up to date for some years, at least up to 1754, by marginal notes on the left-hand side. Another list, dated 1754, is entered as pp. 69–71 of the same volume; this list contains no notes of later date.

The list of 1749 is printed below. The names of Grindall and Holwell, with the notes on Grindall and Lightfoot, have been struck out, in the original, by drawing a pen through them. Below the name of Andrew Munro an entry, presumably the name of another Surgeon, has been erased so thoroughly that no trace of it, except the mark of erasure on the paper, remains. The entry "Q.D." against Barlow's name is hard to understand; perhaps it means "Query Dead ?"

LIST OF SURGEONS IN INDIA IN 1749.

India Office, Home Series, Miscellaneous, Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 53–55.

FORT ST. DAVID AND SUBORDINATES.

Come home . .	William Belsches	Surgeon.
Surgeon at Fort St. Geo.	Robert Turing	2nd do., per Genl. Lre. from St. David, 22 Feb. 1748.
	Richard Grindall	To be Assistant Surgeon at St. David or Madrás, to succeed at first at either after Mr. Munro and Stephen Lightfoot per Company's Genl. Lre. 22nd March 1749. N.B. Lightfoot died at Dacca in September 1749.
Was at Bata. Come home.	John Sheaf	Appointed to succeed Mr. Belsches, per Company's Genl. Lre. 7th May 1746. He is not to be found on ye registers.
Come home . .	John Page	To be employed where wanted and approved of, per Company's Genl. Lre. 12th January 1749.
Q. D. . .	Nathaniel Barlow Andrew Munro (A name rubbed out, and quite illegible.)	Surgeon at Madras. Do.
Fort St. Geo. . .	James Wilson at Fort St. David	Do. Deve Cotah, appointed to be employed p. Compn's Genl. Lre. 27th January 1748.
	William Massey Thomas Bangley Saul Hencock Samuel Hamilton	Surgeon's Mates at St. David in 1748.
Dead . . .	James Munro pr. last accounts at Devecottah.	Appointed p. Order Court 10th February 1747 to be employed at either of ye Three head Settlements if they stand in need of one p. his Lre. to Mr. Willm. Wood, dated 20th October 1748, writes he is entertained p. Govr. & Council St. David Surgeon at Vizagapatam.
Did not go . .	Peter de Wendeler	To succeed to the first vacancy that shall happen after all former orders for the succession of other persons are comply with.
Sent to Bengal 1753	John Taylor	To be employed as surgeon as above.

BENGAL.

Come home 1750 .	George Gray John Zephaniah Holwell.	Surgeons.
	William Fullerton	To succeed p. Compa.'s Genl. Lre. 25th March 1748.
Come home 1754	Owen Jones, Mate at Calcutta. John Knox, Senr. Christopher Irwin John Knox, Junr.	Surgeons, inhabitants of Calcutta who don't appear to have the Company's Licence.

LIST OF SURGEONS IN INDIA IN 1749—(*continued*).

BENGAL—(*continued*).

Come home . .	John Page	Vee Fort St. David.
Went in 1753 . .	John Taylor	To be employed as Surgeon where wanted. and approved when those recommended before him have been provided for.

BOMBAY.

	Gilbert Mathison Humphry Thomson Harriett	Surgeons.
	John Hardcastle	Do. Surat.
	William Gill	Do. Gombroon.
Dead 12th May 1750	John Mackenzie	Do. Tellicherry. Do. Anjengo and succeeded by John Hardcastle, see Anjengo Lre. January 1750.

BENCOOLEN.

	Wooton Braham	Surgeon.
	Edmund Pratt	Mate.
Q. whether at Subo .	Gray.	
Dead . . .	Benja. Greenhall	3rd do.

ST. HELENA.

Ordered home 1753	Samuel Falconer	Surgeon.
Gone to Benco .	James Stevenson	Mate.

Lists are given below of the officers who held the appointment of Surgeon at the three Presidency towns, from near the beginning of the eighteenth century up to about 1770. They carry on the lists given in the chapters on the early history of the three Presidencies. The lists are, of course, imperfect, especially as regards dates. They do not include the names of men appointed as Surgeon's Mates, who never rose to the rank of full Surgeon; nor of those Surgeons, towards the end of the period, who spent all their service in the army, or at the factories subordinate to the respective Presidency towns.

After the formation of the regular Service, these appointments as Surgeon, or, as they were often called, of Head Surgeon, at the Presidency town, were considered, both in rank and in pay, the most important posts in the Medical Department. Some officers, indeed, preferred to remain at subordinate factories, *e.g.* after the murder of Crooke at Patna in 1763, the three senior Surgeons outside Calcutta, Francis Russell at Dakka, William Fullerton at Patna, and John Davidson at Chittagong, all declined the offer of his post as Head Surgeon in Calcutta; the post being given in the end to James Ellis. Fullerton had already held

the appointment for ten years, 1751–60, and had voluntarily resigned it; Davidson accepted it later, in 1766.

Thomas Lithan, Surgeon to the Resident at Murshidabad, also declined the succession to Calcutta in his turn, when Bagnall resigned in Dec., 1769, Chandler then getting the post.

These Head Surgeons at the Presidency towns gradually developed into administrative officers, and in 1786 into the Medical Board. Only one of those whose names are included in these lists, James Ellis, in Calcutta, remained in the service so late as 1786, when he became the first President of the Calcutta Medical Board.

There were usually two full Surgeons at each Presidency town, though on several occasions one of the posts seems to have been left vacant for considerable periods. There were usually also two or more Surgeons' Mates, the number varying from time to time. In Calcutta the number of full Surgeons was raised from two to four, in the *Cons.* of 4th April, 1763; and, by the appointment of supernumeraries, in 1765–66 there seem to have been as many as six.

LIST OF SURGEONS, BOMBAY, 1720–70.

Name.	Date of Appointment.	Remarks.
Crawford, James	Nov., 1718	Resigned, Sept., 1731.
DeChamps, Augustin	1st July, 1720	Salary paid to 23rd April, 1721. Surgeon at Bencoolen, 1728, apparently then died there.
Doubleau, Peter	3rd Nov., 1720	Salary paid to 31st Dec., 1721.
Hamilton, Charles.	23rd Jan., 1721/22	Salary paid to 30th June, 1723.
Ashby, John	5th July, 1723	Died at Bombay, 19th May, 1725.
Mann, John	5th May, 1726	Went home, letter of 12th Sept., 1731.
Tomlin, William	16th April, 1728	Sent to Gombroon, Sept., 1728. Death there reported, letter of 1st Feb., 1733/34.
Moore, Thomas	1st April, 1731	Succeeded Christie at Tellicherry, Oct., 1736.
Compton, Henry	2nd June, 1731	Resigned, 7th Sept., 1737. Went home 7th Oct., 1737.
Neilson, John	9th March, 1732/33	Sent home, *Cons.* 12th Aug., 1746.
Weston, Michael	5th Oct., 1737	Mate, 12th March, 1736. Goes home letter of 14th Oct., 1745.
Matthison, Gilbert	Aug., 1746	At Tellicherry, 1744; transferred Surat, 1744. Death reported, letter of 8th April, 1758.
Pickering, —	1747 (?)	Apptd. Despatch, 9th March, 1747. Doubtful if ever joined.
Thompson, Henry or Humphrey.	6th Feb., 1746/47	Dead, *Cons.* 12th Aug., 1757.
Herriott, Robert	8th April, 1758	Surat, April 1747. Goes home sick, *Cons.* 25th March, 1760.
Percival, Richard	8th April, 1758	Marine Service, 1751; Anjengo, 1755. Resigned, *Cons.* 1st Oct., 1765. Dead, *Cons*, 27th Sept., 1774.

LIST OF SURGEONS, BOMBAY, 1720–70—(*continued*).

Name.	Date of Appointment.	Remarks.
Parker, John .	28th March, 1760	Marine Service, 1752; Gombroon, Dec., 1755. Died, Aug., 1760
Wensley, James .	19th Aug., 1760	Transferred Bengal, 1764. Went home, April, 1768.
Page, John . .	10th Feb., 1764	At Madras, 1749. Transferred Bombay, 1759; Surat, Feb., 1763. Resigned, 6th Nov., 1764.
Tennent, William	14th Dec., 1764	Apptd. 1762; Surat, March, 1764. Resigned, Feb., 1784.
Shepherd, William	1st Oct., 1765	Basra, May, 1763. Died at Bombay, April, 1770.
Bond, James . .	7th April, 1770	Apptd. 30th Nov., 1762; Surat, 13th Nov., 1764. Resigned, Oct., 1782.

LIST OF SURGEONS, MADRAS, 1710–70.

Name.	Date of Appointment.	Remarks.
Robson, Thomas .	30th Jan. 1708/09	Died at Madras, 6th May, 1720.
Chadsley, Richard .	11th July, 1710	Died at Madras, 30th May, 1711.
Supply, Anthony .	1st June, 1711	Mate, 1702; Fort St. David, 1st Feb., 1704/05. Went home, 1710. Resigned, 16th Jan., 1715/16.
Pichier, Andrew .	17th Sept., 1716	Surgeon, West Coast, 1712/16. Died at Madras, 6th Sept., 1729.
Munro, Duncan .	24th May, 1720	Mate, 23rd June, 1713; left for home, Sept., 1718. Resigned, 14th Jan., 1725\26.
Ramsay, George .	14th Jan.,1725/26	Mate, 1724; Died at Madras, 1st July, 1726.
Lindsay, Matthew .	2nd July, 1726	Died at Madras, 22nd Aug., 1730.
Barlow, Nathaniel .	25th Nov., 1729	Still serving in 1749.
Douglas, Robert .	24th Aug., 1730	Surgeon, Bencoolen, 13th June, 1726. Went home, 6th Feb., 1741/42.
Munro, Andrew .	Feb., 1741/42	Mate, Sept., 1724; Fort St. David, 22nd Sept., 1733. Died at Madras, 25th Oct., 1757.
Turing, Robert .	1752	Mate, 27th Aug., 1729; Vizagapatam, 18th May, 1741; Fort St. David, Aug., 1748. Store-keeper General, Jan., 1764. Died at Madras, 26th Dec., 1764.
Wilson, James .	28th Dec., 1756	Mate, 27th Aug., 1749. Resigned, 1st Oct., 1763.
Hancock, Tyso Saul	23rd June, 1758	Mate, 1749. Transferred to Bengal, 28th June, 1759
Wilson, James .	28th June, 1759	Mate, 19th Dec., 1755. Died at Madras, 7th Dec., 1761.
Pasley, Gilbert .	3rd May, 1763	Came out as Surgeon's Mate in Adlercron's Regt., 1754. Surgeon I.M.S. 16th Feb. 1761. Died at Madras, 22nd Sept., 1781.
Briggs, Stephen .	4th May, 1764	Mate, 16th Jan., 1756. Went home, Feb., 1771.

LIST OF SURGEONS' CALCUTTA, 1713–70.

Name.	Date of Appointment.	Remarks.
Harvey, Richard .	1st Jan., 1712/13	Resigned, 2nd Feb., 1728/29.
Coult, Oliver . .	7th Sept., 1713	Resigned, 2nd Feb., 1728/29.
Broadfoot, Robert .	Feb., 1728/29	Mate, 1712; Resigned, Jan., 1737/38.
Littlejohn, Alexander	Feb., 1728/29	Resigned, Jan., 1737/38.
Coult, Robert . .	Jan., 1737/38	Mate, 1731. Resigned, 17th Dec., 1741.
Gray, George . .	Jan., 1737/38	Surgeon, Fort St. David, 10th April, 1732. Transferred to Bengal, Sept. 1733, posted Kasimbazar. Second Surgeon, Calcutta, Jan., 1737/38. Chief Surgeon, 17th Dec., 1741. Resigned, 3rd March, 1760. Died in Scotland, 26th March, 1781.
Lindsay, William .	17th Dec., 1741	Mate, 1738. Died in Calcutta, 27th July, 1749.
Holwell, John Zephaniah.	27th July, 1749	Mate, 1732; Resigned, 30th April, 1750. Council, 1752; Governor, 24th Jan. to 27th July, 1760. Resigned, 29th Sept., 1760. Went home, 10th March, 1761. Died at Pinner, 5th Nov., 1798.
Knox, John (senior)	16th Aug., 1750	Mate, 1725. Superseded by Fullerton, 3rd July, 1751. Died in Calcutta, 5th Feb., 1758.
Fullerton, William .	3rd July, 1751	Mate, 1744 (?). Resigned, 1st Sept., 1760. Went home, 2nd March, 1761. Patna, 1763–65. Resigned, 21st March, 1766.
Taylor, John . .	2nd June, 1760	Mate at Madras, 1749. Transferred Bengal, 28th June, 1754. Resigned, 12th Feb., 1771.
Hancock, Tyso Saul	1st Sept., 1760	Mate at Madras, 1749. Transferred Bengal, 28th June, 1759, posted Kasimbazar. Resigned, 23rd March, 1761. Reappointed, Jan., 1770. Died in Calcutta, 5th Nov., 1775.
Plenderleath, William	23rd March, 1761	Kasimbazar, 1760. Drowned, *Cons.*, 22nd March, 1762.
Crooke, Clement .	March, 1762	Killed in Patna massacre, 5th Oct., 1763
Fisher, Robert .	12th April, 1763	Death at Kasimbazar reported, *Cons.*, 12th Aug., 1765.
Ecroyd, Richard .	12th April, 1763	Death reported, *Cons.* 12th Aug. 1765.
Ellis, James . .	25th Nov., 1763	Surgeon's Mate, 9th Nov., 1759; Ensign, 1760; Surgeon, 1st Oct., 1761. Chief Surgeon, 12th Feb., 1771. Resigned, April, 1774. Returned and succeeded Campbell as Surgeon-Genl., May, 1783. First President Medical Board, 29th May, 1786. Resigned, 24th Dec., 1789. Died on board the *Burbidge* on voyage home.
Lowle, Robert Wilkes	9th Feb., 1764.	Death reported, *Cons.*, 19th Feb., 1765.
Wensley, James .	12th Aug., 1765	Surgeon, Bombay, 19th Aug. 1760. Supy. Surgeon, Calcutta, 12th Nov., 1764. Went home, April, 1768.

LIST OF SURGEONS, CALCUTTA, 1713–70—(*continued*).

Name.	Date of Appointment.	Remarks.
Hunter, Robert .	12th Aug., 1765	Mate, Bencoolen, 1754. Supy. Surgeon, Calcutta, 19th Feb., 1765. Dismissed, 1766. Reinstated, and posted Surgeon-Major, third Brigade, *Cons.*, 9th Feb., 1767.
Davidson, John .	May, 1766	Surgeon, 1760 (?). At Chittagong, 1763. Resigned 11th Jan., 1768. Living in 1792.
Routledge, John .	28th Nov., 1766	Formerly in Navy. Transferred to Kasimbazar, 22nd Feb., 1768. Resigned, 4th Jan., 1775.
Campbell, Daniel .	22nd Feb., 1768	Mate, 23rd March, 1762. Surgeon, 13th April, 1762; Surgeon-General, Sept. 1775. Resigned, 30th May, 1783. Permitted to return; died on voyage out at Joanna, in Madagascar, August, 1785.
Bagnall, Thomas .	Feb., 1769	Mate, 20th April, 1765. Resigned 10th Dec., 1769.
Chandler, Henry John	10th Dec., 1769	Mate, 5th March, 1767. Transferred to Rangpur, 1771. Resigned, 2nd Nov., 1779.

CHAPTER XI

JOHN HOLWELL, AND THE FALL OF CALCUTTA*

" Aequam memento rebus in arduis
Servare mentem."

HORACE, *Odes*, II, 3.

JOHN ZEPHANIAH HOLWELL was born in Dublin, and baptised there on 23rd Sept., 1711. He was the son of a London merchant, and grandson of John Holwell, Royal Astronomer, a noted mathematician. He was articled to Andrew Cooper, the senior Surgeon of Guy's Hospital, and went to Calcutta in 1732, as Surgeon's Mate of the *Duke of Cumberland*, which sailed from Gravesend on 2nd Feb., 1731/32. Soon after his arrival in India he went to the Persian Gulf as Surgeon of a Company's ship, studying Arabic on the voyage. In 1733–34 he went from Calcutta to Surat as Surgeon of the *Prince of Wales*. In Sept., 1734, he was sent to Bihar in medical charge of the " Patna Party," an escort which went each year from Calcutta to Patna and back. After making a voyage to Mocha and Jidda in 1735, as Surgeon of the *Prince of Orange*, he accompanied the Patna party a second time. In 1736 he was appointed Surgeon to the factory at Dakka. He came to Calcutta about the end of that year, and soon afterwards was elected Alderman of the Mayor's Court, subsequently being twice elected Mayor. In 1740 he is mentioned as Surgeon to the Calcutta Hospital, but must have been a Surgeon's Mate or a supernumerary, for he was not confirmed on the regular medical staff, as one of the two Surgeons sanctioned for Calcutta, until July, 1749, when he succeeded Surgeon William Lindsay, who died on

* Much of the information about Holwell's early life is taken from the well-known work, *Echoes of Old Calcutta*, by the late Brigade Surgeon H. E. Busteed, C.I.E., himself a distinguished member of the I.M.S. Further particulars are gathered from a life of Holwell in the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1799 (*Characters*, p. 25). The facts about the siege and capture of Calcutta are taken from Mr. S. C. Hill's *Bengal in* 1756–57, *Indian Records Series*, three volumes, 1905; the best and fullest account of the events of these two years.

27th July, 1749. This appointment he held for only nine months, resigning in order to go home on 30th April, 1750.

While in England he submitted to the Court of Directors a plan for the reformation of the Collector's Court in Calcutta, which met with approval. As a result, he was himself nominated to that office, and in 1752 returned to Calcutta as a covenanted civilian, and twelfth in Council. The *Cons.* of 5th July, 1752, report his taking the oath, and his seat in Council, and his appointment as *Zamindar* of Calcutta, an office roughly corresponding to those now held by the Commissioner of Police and by the Collector of Calcutta. This post he held up to the capture of Calcutta in 1756.

Holwell appears to have been a man of great energy. The *Fort William Cons.* from 1752–57, the years during which he held the office of *Zamindar*, teem with entries bearing witness to his reforming zeal. As *Zamindar* he submitted to the Council monthly returns of the judicial proceedings of the *Zamindari*, and monthly accounts. In the *Cons.* of 20th July, 1752, just two weeks after he took his seat, he reported to the Board that frauds had been committed by Govindram Metre (Mitra), his chief assistant, known as the black *Zamindar*. On 4th Oct. is noted his dismissal of Govindram. The latter was reinstated by the majority of the Council, but had to refund Rs.3397, which he had embezzled. In the same year, 1752, Holwell took a census of Calcutta, which made the population 409,000; probably a very large over-estimate. On 29th Dec., 1752, we find him reporting on the state of the revenues. On 30th April, 1753, he complained of Mr. John Wood for rescuing one Mohun Persaud from his custody, as a result of which Wood was deported to England. On 24th May, 1753, he reported on an embargo laid by the Nawab of Bengal at Kasimbazar on the rice boats bound for Calcutta, and on the 10th and 25th June suggested alterations in the mode of conducting investments. On 23rd July he proposed to measure the Company's lands, and on 26th July suggested the levy of a duty of five per cent. on the sale of houses belonging to Europeans, and the increase of taxation generally. On 8th Dec., 1754, he rented Similia [Simla in Calcutta] for the Company, for Rs. 2281 yearly. He had some ideas of sanitary improvement, probably rare enough at that time in Calcutta, for on 12th May, 1755, he asks leave to repair and enclose the great tank, and to

prohibit the washing of people and horses therein. This was the large tank, known as the *Lal Dighi*, or red tank, round which Dalhousie Square has been built; then, and for more than a century afterwards, it afforded the best drinking-water available in Calcutta. On 4th Sept., 1755, he asked for leave, on account of impaired health, to return to England in Sept., 1756; quoting a general letter from Court, dated 24th Jan., 1753, directing their servants to give one year's notice of their intention to quit India. He had much to go through before he was able to take this leave, a year and a half later! By this time he had risen to be eighth in Council.

When the Court of Directors appointed Holwell, in 1752, to be *Zamindar* and twelfth in Council, they directed that he should not rise in Council, like the others, by the departure of seniors, but should permanently remain twelfth and last. This restriction was removed by para. 94 of a General Letter from Court dated 31st Jan., 1755, with effect from the date of his original appointment.

"Mr Holwell having highly merited our particular Notice and Encouragement the least we can do for him is to let him rise in our service equally with the rest of our Servants, we do therefore hereby annull and make void the restriction in our Commands of the 8th January 1752 by which he was fixed as twelfth and last of Council and remained without rising to a superior rank therein and we direct that upon the receipt of this Mr Holwell take rank and his seat at the Board according to the time of his restriction in Bengall in the same manner as if no such restriction had been made that is to say next below Mr Matthew Collett but however it is our meaning that Mr Holwell do still continue zemindar and that he is not to quit that Post without our leave."

In June, 1756, Siraj-ud-daulah, the Nawab of Bengal, captured Calcutta, the surrender being followed by the tragedy of the Black Hole. It is not necessary to describe in detail here the incidents of the siege and capture, which are, or should be, well known; but merely to recount the part played by Holwell in these events.

The Council of Fort William, in June, 1756, consisted of the eleven members whose names are given below, in order of their rank, with their ages and dates of arrival in India. The date given as that of Holwell's arrival is, of course, the date when he landed as a member of Council, not that when he first came to India as a medical officer. What seems to us, at the present

day, most extraordinary, is the youth of all the Council. Holwell was seven years older than any of the others, and he was only forty-five; an age at which, nowadays, he might or might not have obtained the rank of Lieut.-Colonel. The other ten were all from twenty-eight to thirty-eight years of age. Drake, the Governor, was only thirty-four, he appears to have joined the Company's service at the age of fifteen, younger than any of the others, except Pearkes and Eyre. The latter, if the figures are correct, must have come out at thirteen. The salary of the Governor was £200 a year, that of the others, as members, £40 each.

THE COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM IN 1756.

1.	Roger Drake, Governor, age 34	arrived 26th May, 1737.
2.	William Watts, Chief of Kasimbazar, 38	,, 26th May, 1737.
3.	Charles Manningham, Export Warehouse keeper, 34	,, 5th Oct., 1750.
4.	Richard Becher, Chief of Dakka, 35	,, 2nd Aug., 1743.
5.	Paul Richard Pearkes, Accomptant, 31	,, 30th Aug., 1740.
6.	William Frankland, Import Warehouse keeper, 34	,, 30th Aug., 1740.
7.	Matthew Collett, second in Council at Kasimbazar, 35	,, 30th Aug., 1740.
8.	John Zephaniah Holwell, *Zamindar*, 45	,, 5th July, 1752.
9.	William Mackett, *Buxey* (Paymaster), 33	,, 16th Oct., 1741.
10.	Edward Eyre, Storekeeper and Military Storekeeper, 28	,, 16th Oct., 1741.
11.	William Baillie, Chief of Jugdea, 34	,, 3rd Sept., 1745.

Of these eleven members, four, Drake, Manningham, Frankland, and Mackett, fled to the ships. It is only fair to state that Holwell, in his report to the Court of Directors, dated Fulta, 30th Nov., 1756, states that Mackett had no intention of deserting, but had only gone on board to see his wife, who was dangerously ill, and tried to return, but could not get a boat. Three, Pearkes, Holwell, and Eyre, remained at their posts till the fall of the Fort. Pearkes made his escape after the surrender; Holwell and Eyre were among those who went through the night of agony in the Black Hole, where Eyre died. The other four, Watts, Becher, Collett, and Baillie, as the names of their appointments show, were not in Calcutta.

After Drake, the Governor, had deserted the garrison—an episode surely without parallel in English history—Holwell by universal consent took over the conduct of the defence. In his

evidence before the Parliamentary Committee which subsequently held an inquiry into the matter, John Cooke, of the Civil Service, one of the survivors of the Black Hole, says—

"As soon as it was known the Governor had left the Factory, the gate towards the river was immediately locked to prevent any further desertion, and the general voice of the garrison called for Mr Holwell to take the charge of their defence upon him. A Council being hastily summoned, Mr Pearkes, the senior then on shore, waived his right to the Government in favour of Mr Holwell, who thereupon acted in all respects as Commander in Chief, and exerted his utmost to encourage every one."

An account of the siege and capture of Calcutta, written by William Tooke, contains the following quaint note upon Drake's desertion.

"Upon the Governor going off, several muskets were fired at him, but none were lucky enough to take place."

Tooke was a junior civilian, and was one of a band of ten volunteers who behaved with great gallantry in the siege; two were killed, and all the rest wounded. At the time of the surrender he was on board ship, probably having been sent there on account of his wounds. He died of wounds received at the capture of Chandannagar in March, 1757. Most people will sympathize with his regret at the bad marksmanship.

In Drake's own narrative of the capture of Calcutta, he states that, at the beginning of the siege, commissions were given to Manningham as Colonel, to Frankland as Lieutenant-Colonel, to Holwell and Mackett as Captains, and to the Rev. Mr. Mapletoft, the junior Chaplain, as Captain-Lieutenant. Of these officers Holwell was the only one who remained at his post to the end.

Manningham and Frankland went on board the *Dodalay* on the 18th June. They both, as well as Drake, were part owners of that vessel. Captain Minchin, the Military Commandant, and Mackett, went off to the ships on the 19th, just before Drake. The Fort surrendered on the afternoon of the 20th June. In a letter to the Council of Fort William, dated Fulta, the 17th–25th Jan., 1757, Drake writes—

"To justify my quitting the garrison I shall not attempt."

A story was current in Calcutta that Drake gave as an excuse the fact that he was a Quaker, and that therefore it was against

his religious principles to fight. The story, however, does not seem to rest on any good authority.

Drake also states that Holwell had advised an earlier retreat, and this assertion is confirmed in a letter, quoted by Hill, from William Lindsay, who goes on to say that Holwell remained on shore only because some of the others had taken his boat. This last statement is, on the face of it, improbable; Holwell's conduct throughout the siege gives it the lie. That he advised an earlier retreat is likely enough. Between an orderly retreat, saving the women, the children, and the garrison, and the flight of the chief officers, deserting those under their command, there is all the difference in the world. And, to judge from results, an early retreat would have been a better solution than the actual surrender which Holwell calls—

"As fatal and melancholly a catastrophe as ever the Annals of any people, or colony of people, suffered since the days of Adam."

Holwell also, in his report of 30th Nov., 1756, from Fulta, describes the surrender as—

"The fifth and last act of our tragedy of errors."

In a letter dated on board the *Syren*, 28th Sept., 1757, addressed to William Davis,* Holwell tells us that he was given a chance of escape.

"Here I must detain you a little, to do honour to the memory of a man to whom I had in many instances been a friend, and who, on this occasion, demonstrated his sensibility of it, in a degree worthy of a much higher rank. His name was Leech, the Company's smith, as well as clerk of the parish; this man had made his escape when the Moghuls entered the Fort, and returned just as it was dark, to tell me he had provided a boat, and would ensure my escape, if I would follow him through a passage few were acquainted with, and by which he had then entered. (This might easily have been accomplished, as the guard put over us took but very slight notice of us.) I thanked him in the best terms I was able, but told him it was a step I could not prevail on myself to take, as I should thereby very ill repay the attachment the gentlemen and the garrison had shown to me; and that I was resolved to share their fate, be it what it would, but pressed him to secure his own escape without loss of time; to which he gallantly replied that 'then he was resolved to share mine, and would not leave me.'"

Leech's offer was made, of course, after the final surrender when the prisoners were waiting to know their fate, shortly

* Published in Holwell's *India Tracts*, and quoted in *Bengal in* 1756–77, Vol. III, p. 135.

before they were confined in the Black Hole. Leech paid for his fidelity with his life, being one of those who died in the Black Hole. In the same letter, Holwell states that the Nawab's orders for their confinement were general, that he did not intend the prisoners to be confined in that particular spot. John Cooke, in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, also makes this statement, but says that the Nawab expressed no regret afterwards. And it seems to be the case that the confinement of the prisoners in the Black Hole was more or less accidental, carried out by subordinates, without the Nawab's personal orders or interference. The Black Hole is not mentioned in the *Sair ul Mutakherin*, except in a footnote by the translator.

Not counting Holwell, there were at least six medical officers in Calcutta at the time of its capture; George Gray and William Fullerton, the two Surgeons of the Settlement, and William Inglis, John Knox, senior, John Knox, junior, and John Taylor, Assistant Surgeons. Five of them remained in the Fort up to the surrender, the only absentee being Fullerton, who is stated, both by Holwell and by Captain Mills, to have been on board the ships. Fullerton was a man of proved capacity and courage, and presumably he was on the ships on professional duty. One would consider it likely that one of the medical officers would be sent on board with the women and children; and the junior full Surgeon, in other words Fullerton, was the officer most likely to be so deputed. Besides these six medical officers, it appears that three other members of the medical profession were in Calcutta the time, Drs. Putham, Lewis, and Fletcher, the first probably, last certainly.

Some notes on the careers of Gray and of the two Knoxes have been given in the last chapter. Fullerton is the subject of the next. The little that is known about the others may be given here. William Inglis was appointed Surgeon's Mate at Calcutta on 4th Nov., 1753. On 28th Feb., 1754, he was posted as Surgeon to the *Falmouth*, and went home on that ship.* He was reappointed to the Hospital in Calcutta in *Cons.* of 29th Sept., 1755. His name is included in Orme's list of those who were killed or lost their lives during the siege. Mills says he escaped to the Dutch after the capture of the Fort. He appears to have reached Chinsura with the other refugees, and to have died there.

* See Chap. XVIII, *Pay*.

John Taylor's name is shown in the list of 1749 as a Surgeon's Mate in Madras. He was transferred to Bengal in 1753, and on 4th Jan., 1754, was appointed Surgeon's Mate at Fort William, in place of Owen Jones, going home. He stayed in the Fort up to the surrender, afterwards escaped, and made his way to Fulta. On Gray's resignation, on 3rd March, 1760, Taylor was appointed to succeed him, and joined as Surgeon to the Settlement on 2nd June of the same year. On 30th Nov., 1760, he and Hancock who had succeeded Fullerton as Second Surgeon, requested the indulgence of *dastaks*, or trade passes. In 1769-70 his name appears as one of the medical officers who received a share of the profits of the Private Trade Association. He resigned as Head Surgeon on 12th Feb., 1771.

William Putham, Surgeon, is mentioned in the *General Journal* of Sept., 1756. The Christian name is probably a mistake for John. Surgeon John Putham married Mrs. Esther Pomfret, widow, in Calcutta, on 18th July, 1751, and the name of John Putham appears in the list of those compensated after the siege for loss of property; so it is probable, but not certain, that he was in Calcutta at the time.

The name of Henry Fletcher appears in the list of 1754 as one of the Surgeons' Mates at Fort St. David. His name is also given in a list, dated 1st July, 1756, of inhabitants who bore arms during the siege of Calcutta. He appears to have been making his living at the time as a merchant.

Dr. Lewis is stated by Mills to have escaped during the confusion after the capture of the Fort. The name may have been given by mistake, as there is no other mention of any Dr. Lewis among the inhabitants at the time. A Letter from Bengal, dated 9th Feb., 1744/45, eleven years earlier, in para. 138, gives a list of bills drawn, which includes one for £110 drawn by Dr. Thomas Lewis and Mary Lewis.

Charles Weston acted for some time as an apprentice to Holwell while the latter was one of the Calcutta Surgeons, but abandoned his medical studies when Holwell returned to England in 1750. He was born in Calcutta in 1731, served in the Militia during the siege in 1756, married Amelia de Rozario on 9th Nov., 1758, and followed a mercantile career in Calcutta, during which he made a large fortune, much of which he dispensed in charity. He served as a juror during the trial of Nuncomar, or Nan-

Kumar, in 1775, and died in Calcutta on Christmas Day, 1809. His tomb may still be seen in South Park Street cemetery.

The *Cons.* of 13th Oct., 1757, contain a list of claims established for losses in the siege of Calcutta, in which the following names of medical men occur.

	Rs.
Forth, William	4,062
Fullerton, William	47,359
Gray, Dr. George	23,796
Holwell, J. Z.	83,513
Knox, John, senior	8,640
Knox, John	71,771
Putham, John	21,600
Wilson, Nathaniel, estate of	2,319

A sum of Rs.1409 is admitted as due to George Gray, junior. It seems curious that the claim of John Knox, junior, should be so much larger than that of John Knox, senior.

Two years later the Calcutta Treasury Accounts record the gradual payment of the sums due, as given below. The amounts paid, however, differ greatly from those first admitted; *e.g.* Fullerton here claims less than half a *lakh*, and received over two *lakhs*. The other payments are less than the amounts of the claims admitted in Oct., 1757. The explanation is that neither list, of claims or of payments, is complete.

Lists of payments to European sufferers by the capture of Calcutta, of compensation for losses, include the following names of medical men.* Probably these payments were partly renewals of bonds in favour of the men mentioned, duplicates of documents which had been destroyed in the sack of the Fort.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Sept., 1759.	John Putham	Sundrys	4,317	0	0
,,	William Fullerton	,,	1,597	0	0
,,	John Knox	,,	984	10	0
,,	J. Z. Holwell	,,	25,232	13	9
,,	George Gray	,,	7,138	10	6
Oct., 1759.	William Fullerton	,,	105,182	0	0
Nov., 1759.	J. Z. Holwell	,,	945	0	0
Feb., 1760.	George Gray	,,	8,002	10	6
,,	John Putham	,,	4,827	14	6
,,	J. Z. Holwell	,,	27,970	6	0
,,	William Fullerton	,,	122,089	5	3
,,	Dr. John Knox	,,	14,795	4	0

* From *List of Europeans and others in the English Factories in Bengal at the time of the Siege of Calcutta in the year 1756.* By S. C. Hill, Calcutta, Supt. of Government Printing, 1902.

At least three other medical officers were serving in Bengal, outside Calcutta, in 1756: Nathaniel Wilson, William Forth, and John Bristow.

Nathaniel Wilson was appointed Surgeon's Mate at Fort William towards the end of 1751, or early in 1752, as reported in para. 74 of a Letter from Bengal, dated 2nd Jan., 1752.

"Mr Nathaniel Wilson appointed a Surgeon's Mate in John Bristow's room, who returns p. *Kent*."

Another letter, dated 4th Jan., 1754, states in para. 137, that he has been appointed Surgeon to the Factory at Dakka, in place of George Alexander, going home as Surgeon of the *Montford*. Inglis then succeeded Wilson in Calcutta.

He was still at Dakka in 1756, when the English Factory there surrendered to the troops of the Nawab. The English officials were all taken prisoners, but set at liberty on the intercession of the French, and permitted to remain in the Factory. From Dakka Wilson went to Fulta, where he served for some time as Surgeon to Major Kilpatrick's force. He died either at Fulta or in Calcutta soon after the recapture in Jan., 1757, for the *Cons.* of 28th Feb., 1757, record the payment of a bill to his executors.

William Forth is mentioned in *Cons.* of 10th Oct., 1743, as Surgeon of the *Winchelsea*. The *Cons.* of 19th Jan., 1746/47, give a list of purchasers of madeira, which includes the names of Drs. "Fourth," Holwell, Lyndsay, and Irwin. Forth was Surgeon to the Factory at Kasimbazar when it surrendered to the Nawab. He was sent by the Chief, Mr. Watts, to ask for terms, and then went to the Nawab a second time with Watts. Afterwards he escaped and got to Chinsura. The *Cons.* of 31st Aug., 1756, held on board the schooner *Phoenix*, at Fulta, contain the following order—

"Agreed that Mr William Forth be appointed also to procure intelligence among the Dutch and French, and to submit the same by every opportunity, and that Mr Warren Hastings at Cossimbuzar be directed to remain there in order to observe their motions at Muxadavad."

The *Cons.* of 14th Feb., 1757, note payment of Dr. William Forth's bill for sundry disbursements at Hugli. A Letter from Fort William, dated 29th Dec., 1759, states in para. 104, that

rth is returning to Europe, and that Hancock has been appointed Surgeon at Kasimbazar in his place. He appears to have died some twelve years later. The *Court Minutes* of 9th March, 1774, record a petition from John Forth, for leave to proceed to Bengal, to recover the effects of his late brother William, who had served the Company there as a Surgeon.

Orme, in his *Military Transactions* (Vol. II, Book VI, p. 57), mentions that Forth attended Alivardi Khan, Nawab of Bengal, in his last illness in April, 1756.

Forth may have had a hereditary connection with India. The *Court Minutes* of 2nd Feb., 1646/47, a century earlier, note that Dr. William Forth, son of William Forth, was admitted to the freedom of the Company by patrimony, paying ten shillings to the poor-box.

John Bristow first appears in Calcutta in the parish register of St. Anne's, as married to Elizabeth Mackay on 18th Aug., 1750. He was appointed Steward to the Calcutta Hospital, on thirty rupees a month, as reported in para. 113 of a Letter from Fort William dated 4th Feb., 1750/51. The *Cons.* of 15th July, 1751, report his appointment to succeed Fullerton as Mate in the Hospital. In his petition for employment he states that he was Surgeon's Mate of the *Princess Amelia* when she was taken by the French in Madras Roads, lost all his property, and was a prisoner for twenty-three months, suffering great hardships, especially during the siege of Pondicherri. In the *Cons.* of 9th Dec., 1751, he was permitted to resign, and to return to Europe, which he did on the *Kent* early in 1752.

When he returned to India is not recorded, but in 1756 he was in charge of Balramghari, a small factory at the mouth of the Hugli, near Balasore; the only English station in Bengal which did not fall into the hands of the Nawab. It probably owed its safety to its insignificance. In his report to the Court of Directors, dated 30th Nov., 1756, Holwell wrote concerning Balramghari—

"By its situation having escaped the Government's notice, and by the prudent conduct of Mr John Bristow (left resident at Balasore by Mr Aldam) is still retained."

The *Cons.* of 28th April, 1757, record the appointment of John Bristow, a Surgeon by profession, as the Company's

Resident at Cuttack, on a salary of Rs.150 monthly. The C
of 8th Aug., 1757, contain a letter from him, proposing to hois
the English flag at Cuttack, and to put up a factory there. In
those of 10th Oct., 1757, is recorded receipt of a letter from him
stating that the house given for a factory is not capacious enough
for the Company's trade, that Dedar Ally and Sheikh Manje
have offered a piece of ground fronting the river to build a hous
or fort, that for twelve or fifteen thousand rupees he can mak
a very complete factory, capable of resisting any country power,
that he has visited Harryharpore, that there is a good manu-
facture of white goods there, and that twenty or twenty-five
thousand rupees' worth of goods may be disposed of to advantage.
In a letter recorded in *Fort William Select Committee Cons.*, o
15th Nov., 1757, he reports a revolution at Cuttack. A Lette
from Bengal, dated 10th Jan., 1758, commends him in para. 125.

"J. Bristow, Resident at Cuttack, recommended to the Court for hi
Assiduity and Diligence."

In spite of this praise, he was removed from his post two months later, as recorded in the *Cons.* of 3rd July, 1758.

"As Mr Bristow's behaviour at Cuttack is not approved of by the Board, and as it is esteemed requisite at this juncture to have a person of capacity at that place, and one who understands the language; agreed that Mr George Gray, junior, be appointed Resident at Cuttack, and that Mr Bristow be recalled."

Bristow protested against his supercession, but withou
effect. Another Bengal Letter of 26th Aug., 1758, reports in
para. 11 his transfer from Cuttack to Ingeram. Orme, who calls
him Bristol, states that Bristol, late Agent at Cuttack, had pr
ceeded thence to Ingeram; and in his account of the battle
Condore, on 7th Dec., 1758, says that Bristol commanded fo
Europeans, with four guns, in the service of Raja Anand
in that action.*

These services are also mentioned in the *Cons.* of 5th F
1759.

"Recd a letter from Mr John Bristow dated 6th Jany informing us
the Rajah was in his debt a months pay for fifteen soldiers and si
seapoys and that he has been oblig'd to advance them himself one thousa
six hundred and eighty-eight rupees which misfortune he hopes we will ta

* Orme, *History of Hindustan*, Vol. II, Book IX, p. 362, and Book X, p. 377

Consideration and further informing us that tho he joined the Rajah ur approbation and commanded a party of Europeans and Topasses in e action by order of Colonel Forde it has been judg'd by a majority of fficers that he was not entitled to share prizemoney but that on account f his behaviour the Gentlemen had made him a present equal to a subaltern's share Rs. 448 of which Col. Forde contributed three hundred upees and requesting if it be possible that he may again be appointed to eside at Cuttack."

Another reference to Bristow's service on the East Coast is contained in the *Secret and Mily. Cons.* of 4th July, 1758, in the shape of a letter from Bristow, Resident at Cuttack, dated 14th June, in which he states that the Raja of Gudgeputtee (*i.e.* Raja Anandaraz) had invited him to take possession of Ganjam and Vizagapatam for the Company, that he intends to set out for Vizagapatam in a few days, and suggests that Clive should march there in hopes of gaining Masulipatam.

The *Cons.* of 4th Aug., 1760, record that John Bristow has sent in a bill for allowances for March and April, at Rs.300 a month, as Resident at Rajamandri, to which post he was appointed by Colonel Forde on the expedition to the Dekkan, and in which station he was taken prisoner by the French, and has not yet been exchanged. His bills were considered extravagant; but on account of his good behaviour at Golkonda, he was allowed six rupees per day diet money.

A Letter from Fort William, dated 23rd Feb., 1761, in para. 21, reporting the abandonment of the Factory at Balasore, states—

"Ballasore Factory withdrawn, the Morattoes threatening to plunder it on refusal of their unreasonable demands of Duties, the Expence also exceeds the advantages. Mr John Bristow is, however, left to collect in the Outstanding Debts, after that the Company's Moonshey will reside there to forward Packets to & from the Coast."

Bristow died in Calcutta on 2nd Nov., 1761. John Bristow the Surgeon must not be confused with another officer of the same name, a covenanted civilian, John Bristow, who was Resident at Lucknow from 1774 to 1783.

The career of Archibald Keir offers a good instance of how, in India during the eighteenth century, "one man in his time plays many parts." He came out to India as Surgeon of the *Godolphin*, and served for about three years in the Madras Presidency. A letter from Thomas Saunders, dated Fort St.

George, 20th April, 1753, to Major Stringer Lawrence, in ca states— *

"There being two Surgeons on board the *Godolphin* and knowing there was only one Mate to attend the Army, I with a great deal of difficulty prevailed on Mr Keir to stay, promising him he should receive Surgeon's Pay and Batta, and act as such in the Field; I shall be oblig'd to you if you will make him easy in this Respect, supposing they took Week & Week."

The *Fort St. George Cons.* of 30th Jan., 1755, order that he is to rank next after Hancock in the list of Surgeons. After the capture of Calcutta in 1756, he accompanied the relieving force under Major Kilpatrick, sent from Madras to Fulta, as Surgeon. While at Fulta, he also acted as Secretary to the Council, and accepted a commission as Lieutenant, being shortly afterwards appointed Quarter-Master to the force. In 1758 he had risen to the rank of Captain, and was one of eight Captains who resigned their commissions because they were superseded by a Bombay officer, Captain Govin.† When he left the army he went home, but afterwards returned to India as a free merchant, settled at Patna, and engaged in heavy transactions in salt, the manufacture of which he greatly improved. At the time of the officers' mutiny in 1766 he rejoined the army as a captain in Sir Robert Barker's brigade at Patna, but when matters had been peaceably settled, he again resigned.

In Dodwell and Miles' Army List his name is spelt Kier; the only information given about him is—"Captain, 1758, resigned 1st Sept., 1768." The latter date is evidently that of his second resignation.

In the *Bombay Cons.* of 7th Jan., 1764, is quoted a letter from Archibald Keir, owner of the ship *Thetis*, at Cochin.

A Letter from the Revenue Department, Fort William, dated 9th Feb., 1779, records in para. 7—

"Mr Archibald Kier has purchased the mines of Ramgur of the Raja of that District. We have confirmed his Lease on condition that it was the Rajah's voluntary act."

Six years later he sought to re-enter the Medical Department, after nearly thirty years' absence, as reported in paras. 45, 46, of a Bengal General Letter, dated 22nd Feb., 1785.

* *Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book, Mily. Dept.*, 1753.
† *Fort William Cons.*, 27th and 31st Aug., 1758. The Bombay officer is called Gowen in these entries.

"Mr Chapman Chief at Boglepore has solicited our recommendation Mr Keir's Appointment of Surgeon on this Establishment. Mr Keir's rial referred to, hope the Court will confer on him the appointment icits."

The same letter forwards a memorial from him on his services. He does not appear to have got the post of Surgeon for which he applied, and no further mention of his name appears. He was the author of a pamphlet *Thoughts on the Affairs of Bengal*, printed in London in 1772. He also contributed to the first volume of *Asiatic Researches* (quarto, Calcutta, 1783), an article *Of the method of distilling as practised by the natives at Chatra, in Ramghur, and in other provinces, perhaps with little variation.*

Tyso Saul Hancock is shown as Surgeon's Mate at Fort St. David in the list of 1749. The *Fort St. David Cons.* of 30th April, 1751, record his appointment as Surgeon at Devecottah.

"It being Extreamly necessary to have an Able Surgeon at Devecotah and Mr Hencock who was upwards of Three Years a Mate in the Company's Service and Assisted in the King's Hospital at Cuddalore during the time of the Sea and Land Forces were here, being Esteem'd very skilful in that Profession. As we have but few Opportunitys of meeting with Persons so well Qualified It's Agreed to Entertain him to be Head Surgeon at Devecotah at the same Salary and Allowances as Our Head Surgeons here."

In 1753 he returned to Fort St. David. The list of 1754 shows him as one of the full Surgeons there. His wife Philadelpha is shown as one of the married women residing at Fort St. David in Dec., 1755. The *Fort St. George Cons.* of 31st Oct., 1754, order that he is to rank next after James Wilson.* On 23rd June, 1758, he was appointed Surgeon at Fort St. George. On 12th June, 1759, he was permitted to remove to Bengal. He drew his pay at Madras up to 6th July. A Letter from Fort St. George, dated 18th Aug., 1759, states that he has left, and has been relieved as Surgeon there by James Wilson.

The following autograph letter, from Clive, then Governor

* Two medical officers of the name of James Wilson were serving in the Madras Presidency at this time, a source of much confusion. One of them was appointed on 27th Jan., 1749, and ranked senior to Hancock. He had been Surgeon of the *Princess Amelia* in 1743, and of the *Kent* in 1745, and succeeded Andrew Munro as Surgeon at Madras on 27th October, 1757. He resigned on 1st October, 1763. The second James Wilson seems to have been appointed on 19th Dec., 1755, so was junior to Hancock, whom he now relieved at Madras. He had previously served at Vizagapatam, and been made prisoner when that factory was taken by the French in 1757. He died at Madras on 8th Dec., 1761.

of Bengal, to Warren Hastings, Resident at Murshidabad, preserved in the British Museum.*

"Sir.—I have received your letter concerning Dr Alves, which I confess has caused me much vexation, for I cannot persuade myself either you or the gentlemen of Cossimbuzar were ignorant of my intention of getting Dr Hancock appointed Surgeon on Mr Forth's resignation. I have that Gentleman's interest much at heart, there has been a long friendship subsisting between us, his merit and distressed situation entitle him to any service in my power, and it was with a view of getting him appointed Surgeon at one of the Subordinates that I obtained the Board's consent to his being appointed a Surgeon on the Bengal Establishment.

"I make no doubt of Mr Alves being the gentleman you represent, but I must tell you neither you nor the Gentlemen with you have any right to appoint a Surgeon without the Board's consent, and that I believe it is their design to nominate Mr Hancock to that employ whenever it becomes vacant.

"I cannot conclude this letter without saying that if you were apprized of my intentions in favour of Dr Hancock, much gratitude has been wanting in some of you, for never did you enjoy such indulgences as you do at present under my Government, and perhaps never will again. I am, Sir, Your most obedient servant, Robert Clive. Calcutta, 14th August, 1759."

A Letter from Fort William, dated 29th Dec., 1759, reports in para. 104 that Hancock has arrived, and has been posted to Kasimbazar.

"Surgeon Mr Tyso Saul Hancock is come hither in consequence of the Presidts Request to Govr Pigot to send him from Madras, he is appointed to Cossimbuzar in room of Mr Forth returning to Europe. Tis hoped their intention to let him succeed Mr Taylor will be approved, as nothing but the President's particulr Request would have prevailed on the Gentn at Madras to have spared him."

When Fullerton resigned his appointment as Surgeon of Fort William, Hancock succeeded him, but held the appointment for less than two years. A Letter from Fort William, dated 12th Nov., 1761, in para. 101, reports that he has resigned on account of ill-health, and that William Plenderleath succeeds him.† During the next ten years Hancock lived in Calcutta as a merchant. He was an intimate friend of Warren Hastings. A General Letter from Fort William, dated 25th Jan., 1770, states in para. 56—

"Surgeon Mr Tyso Saul Hancock, for his long services and experience appointed a supernumerary at the Presidency, but not to rise, which we hope you will confirm."

* *British Museum, Additional MSS.*, No. 29131, p. 84.

† Hancock's resignation, and Plenderleath's appointment, are recorded in the *Cons.* of 23rd March, 1761, where it is stated that he resigned on account of failing eyesight. Plenderleath came from Kasimbazar.

He died in Calcutta on 5th Nov., 1775, aged 64, and was buried in South Park Street Cemetery.

A letter from Major Stringer Lawrence to Clive, dated at Trichinopoly, 16th April, 1752, and contained in the *Orme MSS., India*, Vol. II, p. 462, contains a reference to the wounds received by Clive, about 14th April, at Samiavaram, for which he had been treated by Hancock.

Alves, the Surgeon mentioned in Clive's letter, is stated, in *Cons.* of 7th Nov., 1757, to have come from Bombay to Calcutta in medical charge of troops. The burial of William Alves, Bengal Surgeon, on 17th June, 1762, is recorded in Malden's *List of Burials at Madras.*

When the prisoners were confined in the Black Hole, Holwell seems to have been the only man who even for a time kept his head, offering bribes to the guards to release them, but without success. He was one of the twenty-three survivors, and, being known to have been the leading spirit in the defence, a Member of Council, and the highest in rank among the surviving prisoners, he was sent by the Nawab in chains to Murshidabad. He was released towards the end of the year, made his way to Fulta, and at last got his long delayed leave. His report of the circumstances of the siege and fall of Calcutta, to the Court of Directors, was written at Fulta, and is dated 30th Nov., 1756. On 16th Jan., 1757, he applied for leave home, which was granted on the 20th; in Feb. he sailed in the *Syren*, a sloop of eighty tons, and reached England after a voyage of five months, having written his *Narrative* on the way.

While at home he was nominated to succeed Clive as Governor of Bengal, but waived his claim in favour of Mr. Manningham. A despatch from Court, dated 11th Nov., 1757, appoints the following twelve officers to be President and Council of Fort William, the first four being President and Governor in turns for four months each: William Watts, Charles Manningham, Richard Becher, John Zephaniah Holwell, Major James Kilpatrick, Paul Richard Pearkes, William Frankland, Matthew Collett, William Mackett, Peter Amyott, Thomas Boddam, and Richard Court. The first four were also appointed members of the Select Committee to transact affairs with the country Government, and other matters which required secrecy; each to preside for four months in turn.

Kilpatrick was also given a seat at this Committee, for military affairs only.

Before Holwell left England, a new Court of Directors had been elected, who cancelled these arrangements, and sent him out as seventh in Council. By the time he landed he had risen to fourth, by the departure of seniors; in 1759 he was second. The *Bengal Secret and Mily. Cons.* of 6th Sept., 1759, record his taking his seat in the Select Committee, with the oath of secrecy.

Clive went home on the *Royal George* in Jan., 1760. He presided for the last time at the Council meeting of 24th Jan., 1760, when he handed in his letter of resignation, dated the 23rd. He nominated as his successor, as Governor of Bengal, Henry Vansittart, of the Madras Civil Service. Vansittart not being able to leave Madras at once, Holwell succceeded Clive as Governor, and presided for the first time at the Council meeting of 28th Jan., 1760. He held the Governorship for just six months, handing over charge to Vansittart on 27th July, 1760. He still retained his seat as Second in Council for two months longer. The *Cons.* of 29th Sept., 1760, contain a letter from him, asking permission to resign the service on account of unjust treatment by the Court of Directors, and to remain in Bengal for a time to settle his affairs. The Council accepted his resignation with regret. He finally sailed for England in the *Lord Anson*, which left Calcutta on the 10th, and Ingellee (Hijli) on the 18th March, 1761.

Another Holwell was also in the Company's service at this time, evidently a young man; possibly a nephew or even a son of J. Z. Holwell. The *Cons.* of 21st Feb., 1760, contain the following note.

"Mr John William Holwell being return'd from China, begs leave to return the Court of Directors His thanks for the Honor they intended him of being entertained in their service, and desires to be permitted to relinquish the same."

The *Cons.* of 16th Jan., 1764, note the appointment of John William Holwell as Lieut. Fireworker from 9th instant. He resigned his commission a few weeks later, on 2nd Feb., but remained in Bengal three years longer. The *Cons.* of 24th Feb., 1767, note that he is granted leave to return home on the *Nottingham.*

Fort St. George Cons. of 23rd July, 1753, record the payment of head-money to Edward Holwell, Surgeon of the *Harcourt.*

A Letter from Court to Bombay, dated 4th March, 1752, in para. 105 mentions the Rev. John Holwell as being then second Chaplain at Bombay.

A Letter from Court, dated 25th March, 1757, mentions a minute by Holwell about establishing a Residency at Agra, consideration of which is postponed, and praises his administration as *Zamindar.* The Court were of opinion that the revenues of Bengal had been greatly increased under Holwell's management, without imposing any new duties, or oppressing the poor, and that he had acted with integrity and lenity in the judicial work of his office. They add Rs.4000 a year to his salary, in lieu of all fees and perquisites, in addition to his former salary of Rs.2000.

That Holwell was a man fit for command was recognized by Clive, who, when Calcutta was altogether denuded of troops during the war with the Dutch in 1759, appointed him Colonel of the militia, consisting mainly of the European inhabitants, for the defence of the Fort and settlement. As it turned out, the militia were not actually called on to fight on this occasion. But had Forde been defeated at Biderra, the English in Calcutta would, within a few days, again have had to fight for their lives.

After Holwell's return to India, we again see numerous signs, in the *Cons.*, of his official activity. On 15th Feb., 1759, he asks, on behalf of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Masons, for payment of a bond for Rs.2475, which had been lost at the capture of Calcutta. On 2nd Feb., 1758, the Council had resolved that no European should be allowed to purchase any of the Company's farms in the Twenty-four Parganas. In spite of this order, we find Holwell purchasing two such farms, Medunmull and Ekaberpoor, when they were put up for sale by auction at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on 31st July, 1759. He paid a fair price for them, Rs.72,000 ; the upset price being Rs.57,000. Several other farms were purchased by other Europeans at the same time. On 4th June, 1759, a native syndicate had offered to farm the whole Twenty-four Parganas, at an advance of Rs.1,10,001 on the rent of the previous year. On 11th June, Holwell advised that this offer should be refused, saying that he would give Rs.10,000 more

himself, and that the farms were worth much more. His a was justified by events, the total realised by the auction on July, at which he himself purchased two farms, being Rs.7,65,700, an advance of over two *lakhs* above the previous year's revenues, Rs.5,46,044. On 9th Aug., 1759, the Council deputed Holwell to visit Murshidabad; his last journey to that city, three years before, had been as a prisoner in chains. During this period Holwell erected, at his own expense, a monument to the victims of the Black Hole, about the spot where their bodies were buried in, or rather flung into, the ditch round the Fort. This monument was pulled down early in the nineteenth century, about 1821. A facsimile of the old monument was re-erected at the north-west corner of Dalhousie Square, almost on the same spot where its predecessor had stood, in 1902, and unveiled by the Governor-General, Lord Curzon, on 19th December, 1902.

Holwell lived in England for thirty-eight years after his retirement. It says much for his constitution that, after surviving the Black Hole, the journey in chains to Murshidabad during the rains, and twenty-eight years' Indian service, he lived to the hale old age of eighty-seven. He died at Pinner, near Harrow, on 5th Nov., 1798. He was chosen a Fellow of the Royal Society on 29th Jan., 1767, being the first medical officer who had served in India, if we except John Fryer, to receive that honour.*

In a Letter from Fort William, dated 29th Dec., 1759, the Governor, Clive, and Council protested against the tone of the Directors' letters to them. The Court in answer ordered the dismissal of all those who had signed the letter, and were still in their service, including Holwell, Richard Becher, and John Cooke. Such was the reward, in these days, of service in India, even in the highest ranks. Cooke, like Holwell, had served with credit during the siege, and had been through the agony of the Black Hole. But to protest against the overbearing insolence of the Directors' letters was evidently thought a more serious offence, and one to be visited with more severe penalties, than the cowardly desertion of several members of Council in June, 1756. Holwell, fortunately, had resigned and left India before the receipt of these orders.

* Holwell was twice married. Three of his children survived him, Lieut.-Colonel James Holwell and the wives of William Birch and of Dr. Swinney.

Mr. Hill writes* about Holwell, at the time of the siege of Calcutta, in 1756—

"Mr Holwell appears to have been the only Member of Council who had any real knowledge of the natives of the country, and his reforms in the administration of the law in Calcutta had endeared him to them, though they had rendered him unpopular with many of the Europeans whose gains were interfered with."

Orme, in his account of the loss of Calcutta, calls Holwell—

"The gallant defender of the Fort and the asserter of the reputation of the nation."

It is not too much to say that, had Holwell been Governor of Fort William, instead of Drake, the loss of the Fort would never have occurred. Holwell's knowledge of the Government and of the natives of Bengal would probably have enabled him to avoid the quarrel altogether; had war come, his common sense would have been equal to making adequate provision for war and preparation for defence.

Holwell was a careful and assiduous student of the customs, manners, and religion, of the natives of Bengal, and was the first European official who made a study of Indian antiquities. After his retirement he published several works dealing with these subjects, as well as with the history of Bengal. His first work was the *Narrative* of the Black Hole, published in 1758. A list of his works is given below. Only one of them can be considered in any way connected with his original profession of medicine.

1. "A genuine Narrative of the deplorable death of the English Gentlemen and others, who were suffocated in the Black Hole in Fort William." 8vo, London, 1758; translated into German, 1799.

2. "India Tracts." 4to, London, 1758; 2nd edition, 4to, 1764, 3rd Edition, 8vo, London, 1774.

(*a*) "Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock setting forth the unavoidable necessity and real motives for the Revolution in Bengal in 1760."

(*b*) "Refutation of a letter from certain Gentlemen of the Council at Bengal to the Honble the Secret Committee. Serving as a Supplement to his Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock."

* *Bengal in* 1756-57; Vol. I, *Introduction*, p. xli.

(*c*) "Important facts regarding the East India Comp affairs in Bengal, from 1752 to 1760."

(*d*) The *Narrative*, No. 1, republished.*

(*e*) "A defence of Mr. Vansittart's conduct."

3. "Interesting Historical Events relative to the Province of Bengal and the Empire of Indostan." Vol. I, Beckett, London, 8vo, 1765; Vol. II, 1766; Vol. III, 1771; translated into German, 1767, and into French at Amsterdam in 1768. (Vols. I and II.)

(*a*) "A history of the succession to the Empire of Indostan, from Aurenge Zebe to Mahomet Shaw."

"Transactions in Bengall."

"Account of the province in Bengall."

(*b*) "View of the Religious Tenets of the Gentoos."

"Account of the Creation of the Universe, from the Shastah."

"The Gentoo manner of computing time."

"Explanation of the Gentoo fasts and festivals."

(*c*) "A Dissertation of the Metempsychosis of the Brahmins, or Transmigration of the Fallen Angelic Spirit."

4. "The East India Observer Extraordinary." London, 1766.

5. "An account of the manner of Inoculating for the Smallpox in the East Indies. With some observations on the Practice and Mode of treating that Disease in those parts. Inscribed to the learned the President and Members of the College of Physicians in London." 8vo, Becket, London, 1767.

6. "An address to Luke Scrafton, Esq., in reply to his Observations on Mr. Vansittart's Narrative." London, 1767.†

7. "On a new Species of Oak," 1772. [*Philosophical Transactions*, XIII, 306.]

8. "A new Experiment for the prevention of Crimes." London 1786.

* Cheap reprints of the *Narrative* were republished in Calcutta, by Lal Gopa Goswami, 16mo, 1884; and by R. B. Mitra, 8vo, 1899.

† Luke Scrafton was a covenanted civilian. He was third in Council a Dakka in 1756, and subsequently Resident at Murshidabad. At a meeting of the Court of Directors on 12th July, 1769, three Commissioners were appointed to examine and to rectify the affairs of the Government of India in every department. Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal from July, 1760, to November 1764, who had been elected a member of the Court that year, was appointed President; the members were Colonel Francis Forde, the victor of Biderra, and Scrafton. They sailed on 21st Sept., 1769, on the frigate *Aurora*, which reached the Cape on 6th Dec., sailed for India on 27th Dec., and was never heard of again. With the Commissioners was lost their Surgeon, John Drew; William Falconer the sailor poet, author of *The Shipwreck*, was also on board, as Purser.

Dissertation on the Origin of Intelligent Beings, and on Divine Providence, to which is added a Plan for the Relief of the Present Exigencies of the State, the Burdens of the People, and a more Honourable Mode of supporting the Clergy; also an Essential Sketch for a new Liturgy." Bath, 1786.

In this connection may also be mentioned a work entitled "A Vindication of Mr. Holwell's Character, from the Aspersions in 'Reflections upon the present state of our East Indian Affairs,' by his friends." 4to, 1764.

The French medical establishment in Bengal in 1756–57 included three Surgeons at Chandannagar, and one each at Patna, Dakka, Jagdia, and Kasimbazar (Saidabad). The names of the officers at Chandannagar in 1757 were Surgeon Major Mille, twelve years in India; Serron Messis, second Surgeon, twelve or fourteen years in India; and Mons. Fairie, Surgeon and manager of an Indigo concern.* The Dutch Surgeon at Chinsura in 1756 was Lucas Cramer, appointed in 1755.

* Article *The Chandarnagar Papers*, in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. VI, No. 13, Oct. to Dec., 1910.

CHAPTER XII

WILLIAM FULLERTON, AND THE PATNA MASSACRE

" Audentes fortuna juvat."
VIRGIL, *Æneid*, Book X, line 284.

WILLIAM FULLERTON appears to have come out to India about 1745, but the first definite mention of his name occurs in *Fort William Cons.* of 19th Aug., 1749, where he renews an interest note for Rs.16,137.* A Letter from Bengal, dated 23rd Aug., 1750, in para. 80, reports that Holwell has resigned his post as Second Surgeon from 30th April, 1750, and that Fullerton has applied to succeed him " agreeable to Compy's Recommendation Anno 1744," but that the President has given the appointment to John Knox, senior. The Court of Directors refused to confirm the appointment of Knox, and ordered that of Fullerton. He held the post of Second Surgeon for over ten years, and was present at the siege and capture of Fort William in June, 1756. At the time of the final surrender he was on board ship, presumably on duty, attending the women and children, some of whom were sick, among them Mrs. Mackett, wife of a Member of Council, and the wounded, of whom many had been sent on board. On 8th Dec., 1757, he was elected Mayor of Calcutta for the ensuing year.

Fullerton made a considerable amount of money in Calcutta. The lists of payments to European sufferers at the capture of Calcutta, quoted in the last chapter, show that he got compensation to the extent of nearly Rs.2,30,000, a sum not far short of £30,000. The *Cons.* of 1759 and 1760 contain numerous notices of bills for large amounts drawn in his favour by the Patna

* The *Bombay Cons.* of 19th Sept., 1746, record the appointment of Mr. Isaac Fullerton as Marine Surgeon. The *Bombay Muster Rolls* of Nov., 1746, show him as Surgeon of the *Bombay Grab*. The *Cons.* of 3rd May, 1750, post him as Surgeon at Gombroon, *vice* Hardcastle, sick.

† See Chap. X, *The First Half of the Eighteenth Century*.

y in Calcutta, which goes to show that he was then culating heavily and successfully in saltpetre in Bihar.

Early in 1760 Fullerton was temporarily transferred to Bihar. He was certainly in Calcutta as late as 6th Jan., 1760, when he signed a sick certificate for John Smith, which is entered in the *Cons.* of that date. The *Cons.* of 21st Jan. contain a note that Mr. Hancock's pay is fixed at Rs.3000 a year. As Hancock succeeded Fullerton in Calcutta in Sept., 1760, it seems likely that he had come to Calcutta to take Fullerton's place before 1st Jan. Fullerton was certainly in Bihar, and present in the tion at Mohsinpur (Musseempore), in which he distinguished mself, on 9th Feb., 1760.

In the beginning of 1760 the Emperor Shah Alam, who had st come to the throne, made war upon Mir Muhammad Qasim, ne Nawab of Bengal, and invaded Bihar. The Nawab's troops, commanded by Raja Ram Narayan, Governor of Patna, assisted by a handful of British *sipahis*, were completely defeated on 9th Feb., 1760, at Mohsinpur, near Patna. The action is described Broome's *History of the Bengal Army*, pp. 281–83. Only five nglish officers were present, Captain Cochrane, commanding; eutenant Buck, of the Artillery; Ensign Windebeck; Volunteer arwell, a young civilian of the Patna Agency; and Fullerton. he other four having been all killed—

"The only European officer now surviving was Dr W. Fullerton, the urgeon of the Agency, who assumed the command. Finding that the y was completely lost, this little party commenced their retreat to the r, surrounded by the enemy, but by the coolness and steadiness of their duct keeping the latter at a respectful distance. One of the two gun-iages having broken down, they were compelled to spike the piece and e it on the field, but the tumbril of the other having upset, Dr Fullerton d the party, deliberately righted it, and then resumed his march; heir cool and daring behaviour, this remnant of the party succeeded naking good their retreat to Patna."

The Emperor's troops then laid siege to Patna; Fullerton ain distinguished himself in the defence. Broome writes . 297)—

"The arrangements of the siege on this occasion were very different rom the former unscientific and dilatory proceedings, the ability and nergy of M. Law being chiefly instrumental in occasioning this change; he city was invested on all three sides, and batteries were opened with considerable effect; after five days of open trenches Monsieur Law resolved

upon an assault on the south side, but the breach not being p practicable, he supplied his party with scaling ladders, and havi stroyed the flanking defences covering the point to be attacked, he ma the assault in broad day, and that in so sudden and unexpected a manner, that the party had gained the wall before the alarm was given. At the first intimation of this attempt, Dr Fullerton, who had so greatly distinguished himself in the action of Musseempore, hastened with English *sipahis* to the spot, accompanied by several of the gentlemen of the factory, who volunteered their services as officers on the occasion; when they arrived, they found the ladders planted, and some of the French troop actually on the ramparts; a fortunate discharge of rockets, and the fir of the *sipahis*, quickly drove them back, and Raja Shitab Roy making a judicious sally at the same moment from one of the neighbouring gate took them in flank; and compelled them to retreat with considerab loss."

Later in the year Fullerton, who still held the appointment Second Surgeon at Calcutta, returned to the Presidency. Whe he did so is not recorded, but he cannot have been at Patna man months. The *Cons.* of 1st Sept., 1760, contain a letter of the same date from Fullerton, in which he asks leave to resign the Service, as he intends to return to Europe next season.

The services of Fullerton, like those of Holwell, gained littl appreciation from his superiors. He seems to have associate with native gentlemen much more than was usual among th English in Bengal, and to have mixed himself up a good deal i native intrigue. Saiyid Ghulam Husain, the author of the *Sai ul-Mutakharin*, writes of him as an intimate friend. That h knew the vernacular well is shown by the fact of his employmen as interpreter at the inquiry, held at Patna in 1764, into th conduct of Nanda Kumar, employment which was destined bring him to grief and to close his Indian career. A letter fr Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, dated 16th Jan., 17 speaks of him as follows :—*

"*Para* 6. Mr Fullerton, formerly Surgeon, has been of late Nu coomar's Associate; this Gentleman had the principal hand in peñi the Minute entered by Mr Amyott in Cons. the 8th Inst & subscribed Messrs Ellis and Smythe, he has always been at the head of a Part unless he could be at the head of the Government, which he is unfit fo by the Govrs Minute on Consns ye 12th he imagines the three Counsillors a convinced they have been misled.

"*Para* 7. Mr Fullerton has taken his passage home on the Latham He is Suspected of encouraging the Correspondence to promote the disaffection of ye Burdwan Rajah.

* *Abstracts, Letters from Bengal*, Vol. I, 1760–70, p. 5.

ara 8. Mr Fullerton is a great Bane to Society, and the Company's ; so much is said of him that he may not on any account be suffer'd turn. His Rect for destroying of Parties is not to give himself any abot opposing them."

Fullerton duly went home in the spring of 1761. The *Cons.* of 9th March, 1761, note that a vacancy in the Court of Aldermen has been caused by his resignation and departure in the *Latham*, which sailed on 2nd March.

When Fullerton returned to Bengal is not recorded, but he cannot have been absent from India much over two years, for he was certainly again serving as Surgeon to the Patna Agency in June, 1763, when the war in Bihar began. So the Governor's strictures do not seem to have done him much harm, as, in spite of Vansittart's recommendation that he should never be allowed to return to India, he was again serving in a post of some importance during Vansittart's Governorship.

In 1761 the Bengal Council had dethroned the Nawab of Bengal, Mir Jafar, and in his place had raised to power his son-in-law, Mir Muhammad Qasim. Unlike Mir Jafar, the latter was not content to be a mere figurehead. The privilege of the *dastak*, or pass exempting merchandise from all transit dues, originally granted in favour of the public trade of the Company, had been abused by its use by most of the senior servants of the Company, to exempt their private trade from these duties. This was carried to such an extent that it became impossible for native merchants, who had to pay the dues, to compete in trade with the civilians. Unable to obtain redress in any other way, in 1763 Mir Qasim retaliated by abolishing all such dues entirely, thus placing all inland trade, public and private, native and European, on an equal footing. The Calcutta Council, who saw their advantage over their commercial competitors and their large profits cut away at one stroke, protested vigorously that this order was beyond the powers of the Nawab. This position now seems hardly tenable. Their argument was, that the duties were imposed by the Emperor at Delhi, and by him remitted in their favour ; and that the Nawab, who was, nominally at least, only the Emperor's deputy, had no power to interfere with these orders. The remission, however, had been made in favour of the public trade of the Company, not in favour of the private trade carried on by the Company's servants, and nominally

forbidden, though more or less tacitly permitted. The Gov[ernor] Vansittart, and Warren Hastings, then the junior member, [appear] to have been the only members of Council who took up [the] position that the Nawab was within his rights in issuing the order abolishing the transit duties.

William Ellis, the Chief of the Patna Agency, was one of those who were most strongly opposed to the Nawab. Ellis was a man of courage and resolution, but of violent temper, and, as the subsequent events at Patna showed, no leader of men. He had been one of the small band of ten volunteers who distinguished themselves in the early part of the siege of Calcutta, and had been sent on board ship among the wounded, so escaped the final surrender. In Clive's attack on the Nawab's army, on the north-east of Calcutta, on 5th Feb., 1757, he served as an Ensign, and lost a leg. He was appointed Chief of Patna in the *Cons.* of 22nd Sept., 1761.

In April, 1763, the Calcutta Council deputed two of their members, Amyott and Hay, to visit the Nawab at Monghir, and present an ultimatum. In May a boat touched at Monghir, laden with firearms and supplies for the English garrison and factory at Patna. The Nawab seized this boat. After long negotiations, towards the end of June, he detained Hay, as a hostage, allowing Amyott to set out for Calcutta.

The Military Commandant at Patna was Captain Peter Carstairs. He had served as an Ensign in the siege of Calcutta in 1756, was wounded, and sent on board ship. He was present at Plassey, where he was one of the minority who voted for immediate attack. He was one of the eight Captains who resigned in 1758, because superseded by Captain Govin from Bombay. He was restored to the service soon after, and in 1761 succeeded Major Carnac in command of the troops at Patna.

The force under his command consisted of four companies of European infantry, 220 rank and file, with 57 European artillerymen, and four battalions of *sipahis*, amounting to over 2500 rank and file, with over thirty European officers in all. Considering the size of his force, he appears to have done remarkably little with it. It is probable, however, that a large number of the *sipahis* deserted with their plunder after the capture of Patna city, and many of the European soldiers were Frenchmen and Germans, in whom little trust could be placed.

soon as he heard that negotiations at Monghir had been off, Ellis determined to seize the Nawab's fort at Patna. n the morning of the 25th June the English attacked the y, and, the Nawab's troops making little resistance, took it, ut not the Fort. The English troops dispersed to plunder the ity, and many of the officers returned to the English factory for reakfast. A small reinforcement arriving from Monghir about oon, drove the scattered English troops out of the city. Ellis nd Carstairs determined to retreat into Oudh, but met with eat difficulty owing to floods, the *sipahis* deserted in large mbers, and after a few days they were surrounded. A battle ok place at Manjhi, now in Saran district, on 1st July, where e English were defeated, and Carstairs was mortally wounded. e died at Hajipur on 3rd July. The remaining English took o their boats, and on their way down the river surrendered.

Fullerton accompanied the force in its retreat to Manjhi, and was present in the action there on 1st July. As described in his *Narrative*, he was sent back to Patna on 2nd July, with a letter from Ellis to Mehndi Ali Khan, the commander of the Nawab's troops at Patna. Ellis and the other prisoners, the party with Campbell and Anderson excepted, were brought into Patna on the 6th July, and taken on to Monghir on 8th July. On the 16th July Fullerton was also sent to Monghir, and there confined separately from the others. On 10th Aug. he was allowed to see the other prisoners, in order to treat Captain Turner, who was suffering from flux (dysentery) and died at Monghir. Apparently this was the only occasion on which he saw any of the others; his *Narrative* is not clear as to whether he saw them more than once, or whether he treated Surgeon Ham, who also died at Monghir. On 13th Sept. the other prisoners were sent from Monghir to Patna. On the 19th Fullerton was also sent to Patna, and confined alone in the Fort there. On the 7th Oct. he had an interview with the Nawab, who proposed to send him with a letter to Calcutta, but changed his mind, and allowed him to stay in the Dutch Factory.

On hearing of the success of his arms at Patna, the Nawab issued orders to seize the English throughout Bengal. The Factory at Kasimbazar was the first taken, and the officials carried off as prisoners to Monghir. Amyott was killed at Murshidabad on 3rd July on his way to Calcutta.

On 7th July the Calcutta Council declared war on the N and on the 25th reinstated Mir Jafar on the throne. A under the Commander-in-Chief, Major Thomas Adams, of 84th Foot, was despatched to Bihar, and completely defeat the Nawab's troops in three important engagements—on 19t July opposite Katwa, on 2nd Aug. at Gharia, and on 5th Sept at Undwa Nala, east of Rajmahal. Monghir surrendered withou resistance on 1st Oct., the Nawab having previously retreate to Patna. That city and fort were taken on 6th Nov.; th Nawab fled into Oudh.

The victory at Undwa Nala and the surrender of Mongh sealed the fate of the English prisoners. The majority of the were murdered on the night of the 5th Oct. under the Nawab orders, in the "Patna Massacre," by the infamous Walte Reinhardt, known as Sombre or Somru. Seven others, who ha been confined separately from the rest in the house or prison known as *Chihal Satun* (forty pillars), were murdered on 11th Oct. The only officer spared was Fullerton, who had been confined separately from the rest, and allowed to live in the Dutch factory.

Thus Fullerton found himself, for the second time, the sole survivor of the force to which he belonged. He was the only officer present at Mohsinpur who did not fall in the action, the only officer of the Patna force who was not murdered. So nearly eighty years later, of the army in retreat from Kabul Surgeon William Brydon was the only man who made his way through to Jalalabad. But on that occasion many others sur vived, as hostages and prisoners.

In the Patna massacre perished sixteen civilians, viz. two members of Council, Ellis and Hay, seven Factors, including Henry Lushington,* and seven writers; six officers of artillery and eighteen of infantry; three Surgeons; and eight English merchants, serving as officers for the time being—in all fifty-one Including those killed in the assault on Patna, and the battle of Manjhi; five, among them Amyott, killed elsewhere; and two who died of disease while prisoners at Monghir, the total number of officers who lost their lives was sixty-five. The figures are those given by Fullerton, in his *Narrative.*

* Lushington was one of the survivors of the Black Hole. Under Clive's orders, he wrote out the Red Treaty for Omichand, and forged Admiral Watson's name to it. He made a fine fight at the massacre. (Adams' letter, quoted by Beveridge.)

e last certain information we have of Ellis shows him in a rable light. After the battle of Undwa Nala Mir Qasim ote to Major Adams, telling him that if he advanced further the English prisoners would be killed. Adams then wrote to llis and Hay, recommending them to purchase their liberty at y price. Their answer was, that their countrymen need not nk of them, and that they desired that no consideration of eir situation should delay the progress of the army.*

The authorities for the story of the Patna massacre are a tter from Major Adams, dated 18th Oct., giving what informa- on he could gather after the event, Fullerton's *Narrative*, and e diaries of Surgeons Campbell and Anderson, who were murdered at *Chihal Satun*. Fullerton had seen nothing of the ther prisoners, and his account of the massacre is only hearsay evidence. The diary of Campbell ceases on 16th Aug., that of Anderson is continued up to the 6th Oct., the last entry being that the seven prisoners at *Chihal Satun* had been informed that the others had been killed. Anderson writes Thursday, the 5th Oct., but Thursday was really Oct. 6th. Details of the massacre re also given in the *Sair-ul-Mutakherin*.

Fullerton's *Narrative* is partly in diary form, though probably written after his escape. He says that most of the prisoners were killed on the 5th Oct.; that on the 7th the Nawab proposed o send him as an envoy to Calcutta, but subsequently counter- manded the order; that he interceded for the remaining prisoners t the *Chihal Satun*, but without success, as they were killed n 11th Oct.; that the Nawab fled on 14th Oct.; after which he made his escape on 25th Oct., and joined Major Adams the same night. He gives a list of all the officers who lost their lives. His eport was read at a meeting of the Calcutta Council on 19th ec., 1763.

Short extracts from the diaries of Campbell and Anderson re quoted in Wheeler's *Early Records of British India*, pp. 320 o 324. Fullerton's report is given in Broome's *History of the Bengal Army*, Appendix T, p. xli. All three are published in wo articles on *The Patna Massacre*, by H. Beveridge, I.C.S., n the *Calcutta Review*, No. 158, 1884, and No. 168, 1887. They have also been republished in 1909 by the Calcutta Historical

* Statement by Major Grant, A.D.C. to Adams, before the Committee of the House of Commons; quoted by Beveridge, *Calcutta Review*, 1884, No. 158, p. 371.

Society as *Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna*, edited b
Rev. W. K. Firminger.

Reports of the events at Patna, including the massacre, we
sent home in Letters from Calcutta, dated 29th Sept., and t
dated 19th Dec., 1763. The second letter of this date state
in para. 6—

"Mr Fullerton, Surgeon of Patna Factory, was the only one spar
in this Massacre, and by his Narrative it seems that ye Nabob did thi
with the View of employing him to Treat for Peace."

Broome, in his *History of the Bengal Army*, Appendix
p. xlii, quotes the account of the massacre given in the *Sair-u
Mutakherin*, which ends thus—

"Of all the prisoners, not a man remained alive, save Dr Fullerton
who, by assisting professionally most of the Grandees of the Court, had
endeared himself to them, he even had Mir Kasim himself for an acquaint
ance and friend."

At least four medical officers perished in this war, Crooke,
Ham, Campbell, and Anderson; apparently also two others
called Harling, or Harlan, and Smith.

Clement Crooke was a native of St. Kitts, in the West Indies
who in 1753 took the degree of M.D. at Edinburgh with a thesi
De Pleuritide. He was Surgeon at Chittagong in 1761–62. A
Letter from Fort William, dated 8th April, 1762, in para. 24
reports his appointment as Head Surgeon at the Presidency
in place of William Plenderleath, drowned. He accompanie
Amyott and Hay on their mission to Monghir, and set out with
Amyott to return to Calcutta, was taken prisoner when Amyot
was killed at Murshidabad on 3rd July, and sent to Monghir
Along with the other prisoners, all except the seven at *Chiha
Satun*, he was sent to Patna a few days before the massacre
6th Oct., in which he perished.

Another officer with the same surname, Edward Crook,
young civilian, was one of the staff of Kasimbazar Factory, wa
taken there, and murdered at Patna.

John Ham was appointed Surgeon to the Factory at Kasim
bazar, in the *Cons.* of 23rd May, 1763, as being the oldest (senior)
Assistant Surgeon, in place of Surgeon William Stuart, who had
died there of apoplexy. Ham was taken prisoner with the other
officials at Kasimbazar, and sent to Monghir, where, according

Fullerton, he died. The Fort William Letter of 19th Dec., [illegible], gives his name as one of those killed in the Patna massacre [illegible]th Oct., but this is probably a mistake; Fullerton was in a [illegible]ition to know the truth.

William Anderson came to India as Surgeon's Mate of the *[illegible]gbaston* in 1753, and was left sick at Madras. The *Fort St. [illegible]orge Cons.* of 29th Oct., 1753, record his appointment as [illegible]rgeon to the settlement at Negrais Island, in relief of Charles [illegible]aule, sent back sick to Madras. Anderson remained at Negrais [illegible]arly three years. On 26th Jan., 1756, he applied for sick leave, [illegible]d on 8th Oct., 1756, reported his arrival at Vizagapatam, and [illegible]sked permission to remain there till his health was restored. [illegible]ow or when he came from Madras to Bengal does not seem to [illegible]e recorded.

In 1763 he was serving as Surgeon to the troops at Patna. After the battle of Manjhi on 1st July, he got into a boat along with Captain Carstairs, Captain Wilson, Surgeon Campbell, and Ensigns Armstrong and McKay. They surrendered themselves [illegible]t Hajipur, where Carstairs died, on 3rd July, and were sent to [illegible]atna, and thence sent on in their boat to Monghir. Apparently, [illegible]hey were not landed there, but were sent back at once to Patna, [illegible]here they were confined in the *Chihal Satun*, till they were [illegible]nurdered on 11th Oct. On 11th Aug. two other prisoners were [illegible]dded to this party, Bennett, a factor at Kasimbazar, and [illegible]hompson, a merchant. This latter name is not included in [illegible]ullerton's list, which, however, gives Johnstone as the name of [illegible]ne of the merchants killed in the massacre. This party at *[illegible]hihal Satun* never saw any of the other prisoners.

Peter Campbell had been Surgeon of an Indiaman, and certainly, [illegible]s his diary shows, served as a Surgeon during the fighting, though [illegible]ullerton calls him a merchant. He was with Anderson's party [illegible]hroughout, and perished with the rest of that party.

How many of the European soldiers, who were taken prisoners, [illegible]vere murdered, is not known with certainty. To begin with there were nearly three hundred, of whom a large number were foreigners. Some must have been killed in the fighting. Probably some of the foreigners took service under Somru, and some deserted. It seems likely that all those who remained prisoners, including probably most of the English, were murdered. A letter, dated 25th Nov., 1763, from Fort William to Fort St. George,

entered in the *Madras Mily. Cons.* of 8th January, 1764, that all privates, as well as officers, were murdered. One of lists of victims states that about one hundred and twenty sold were massacred.

There were a few ladies and children at Patna, who must h been taken prisoners with the men; among them Lady Ho wife of Lieut. Sir William Hope, Bart., who fell in the massac of 5th Oct. As it is not stated that they were killed, it is probab that they were released. Lady Hope, like Fullerton, was allow to live in the Dutch Factory. In the letter from Major Adam however, quoted by Beveridge, it is stated that Somru killed young child of Mr. Ellis'.

A copy of Fullerton's *Narrative* is preserved in the Indi Office among the *Orme MSS.* (*Orme, Various,* Vol. XXI, pp 113–126). A few pages further on are two lists of the victims The first of these lists, like Fullerton's, gives sixty-five names in all. In this list it is stated that Clement Crooke was dangerously wounded in the head, when Amyott's party were captured at Murshidabad on 3rd July, and that he died a few days later This list states that Campbell had been Surgeon of an Indiaman It also gives the names of two more medical officers among thos killed at Patna.

"Doctor Smith, a Swiss, massacred; Doctor Harlan, formerly in th King's train * at Bombay, massacred."

The second list increases the number of officers killed t seventy-two, plus about one hundred and twenty soldiers. Thi list gives the name of Dr. Harling among the Surgeons killed, i does not give Dr. Smith's name.

About Dr. Smith nothing more seems to be known. Ther are several references to Harling, none much to his credit, in th records. The *Fort St. George Cons.* note the payment of head money to Henry Harling, as Surgeon of the *Norfolk*, on 2nd Sept., 1754; and again as Surgeon of the *Delaware* on 1st June 1756. On 16th Nov., 1758, they record, with reference to an order from Court for his dismissal as an impostor,† that he is now at Bombay, and that a copy of the orders will be sent there. On 29th Aug., 1756, the *Bombay Cons.* note a dispute about

* The King's Train, *i.e.* the Royal Artillery.

† *Pub. Desp. from Court,* 8th March, 1758; *M.P.L.*, No. 4834 of 8th March, 1758; *Pub. Desp. from Court,* Vol. LXI, pp. 101–114.

nt of customs on liquor, between Thomas Byfeld, Customter, and Lieutenant H. Harling, of the King's Train. In ose of 12th Jan., 1759, is entered a letter dated 9th Jan. from ieutenant Henry Harling, in which he states that he was appointed by Mr. Boulton, Surgeon of the *Norfolk* Indiaman, and hat after his return to England he was appointed Surgeon of he *Delaware*. At this time Harling seems to have been in trouble r drawing a bill, which was protested, against Mr. Boulton. hose of 20th May, 1760, contain a petition from Henry Harling, sking leave to go to the Coromandel Coast, to seek redress, for aving been dismissed from his post of Lieutenant Fireworker, y Captain Richard Maitland, commanding the artillery at Bombay. He states that no orders were given to dismiss him rom the rank of Lieutenant, but only from that of Surgeon. Orders were passed on this petition, that he must go to England. On 26th Aug., 1760, are noted orders to the Captain of the *Cumberland* not to take Harling on board as a passenger to Madras, as he has been ordered home. On 4th Nov. are noted orders to send him home as a charterparty passenger on the *Houghton*. On 25th Nov., 1760, is noted receipt of a letter from Henry Harling, on which the Bombay Council ordered that as Harling has withdrawn himself from their jurisdiction, they have nothing more to do with him, but must report to Madras his absconding to the "Morattoes." The *Madras Mily. Cons.* of 24th Dec., 1760, record receipt of a letter, dated 27th Nov., 1760, stating that Henry Harling, late Surgeon and Lieutenant Fireworker in the King's Artillery, has gone to the Marathas, instead of proceeding home on the *Houghton*, and asking that he may be arrested and sent home, if he comes within the Madras jurisdiction.

Unfortunately no record exists of Harling's adventures among the Marathas, or of how he got to Bengal, and obtained employment again there as Surgeon. He had evidently been there for some time, and seems to have served at Kasimbazar, for the *Fort William Cons.* of 30th April, 1764, contain a reference to the estate of the late Dr. Henry Harling, which mentions his house at Kalkapur, the Dutch Factory at Murshidabad.

A copy of Anderson's diary is preserved in the records of the India Office; *Home Series, Miscellaneous*, Vol. 456D. On the 19th Sept. he notes that the other prisoners, except Fullerton,

had arrived at Patna from Monghir, but that Lady Hope and other women had been left behind. On the same day he mentions that "our servant, Dr. Nicola," has been arrested for trying to communicate with the other party of prisoners. This Nicola was a dresser serving under Anderson, and is the "black slave boy Nicholas," said by Dr. Kerr to have been appointed an Assistant Surgeon.* He ran great risk of losing his life in the service of Anderson and the other prisoners, and well deserved all he got. Probably it was he who took Anderson's letters and diary, perhaps Campbell's diary also, to Davidson. On 21st Sept. Anderson mentions Nicola's release, and on 27th Sept. he states that Lady Hope had arrived at Patna, and had been placed in the Dutch factory.

The same volume contains two letters, dated 26th Aug. and 6th Oct., from Anderson to John Davidson, Surgeon at Chatigan (Chittagong), Bengal, in which Anderson asks Davidson to settle his affairs for him after his death. The second of these two letters is given below.

"Patna, 6th October 1763.

"Dear Davidson.—Since my last, His Excellency has been compleatly defeated, and, in consequence, obliged to retreat to Jaffier Cawn's Gardens yesterday, and purposes coming into the City to-day. Sumroo with the Sepoys, arrived here last night, and I suppose to effect his wicked designs; for last night Mr Ellis and 48 Gentlemen were murdered, and as about an equal number remains of soldiers and us, I expect my Fate this Night. Dear Davidson, this is no surprise to me, for I have all along expected it. I must therefore as a dying Man, request of you to collect and remit home my Fortune as soon as possible, and write home a comforting Letter to my Father and Mother. Let them Know I die bravely, as a Christian ought, for I fear not him who can kill the Body, and nothing more, but rejoice in hopes of a future Existence through the merits of my Saviour. O Davidson be not over anxious for a Fortune; let mediocrity satisfy you, and go home and comfort your friends and mine. Endeavour to recover Mr Ellis's money if possible, but I believe the 14,000 Rupees with Hancock is safe, which will be a help for my poor Friends. You have full Instructions in my other papers. You may give Nicola, if he comes to you, 200 Rs and, *if you can*, provide for him, for he is a good Boy. Now Dear Friend I take my leave of you, hoping that that Friendship will still subsist—for why may there not be the same friendship in a future State,—Friendship, founded on Virtue, must subsist for ever.

"Fare you well, and may God give you Satisfaction in Life, and Joy in Death.—Yours, William Anderson."

John Davidson, to whom this letter is addressed, was Surgeon to the army in 1760. He succeeded Crooke as Surgeon at

* See Chap. XXII, *Appointment to the Service, Examinations.*

ong early in 1762. Like Fullerton, he declined the offer rooke's place as Head Surgeon at Calcutta, after Crooke's th; but accepted it later on, in May, 1766. The *Cons.* of th Jan., 1768, record his resignation as Head Surgeon, Calcutta, account of ill-health. Some further correspondence in the me volume, between Davidson and General Caillaud, shows that was still living, and residing at Restalrig, near Edinburgh, in 792, when he made over copies of Anderson's diary and letters John Bruce, historiographer to the East India Company.

Apart from Fullerton, the only prisoners who are definitely nown to have survived were four sergeants, Peter Davis, Douglas, Speedy, and a fourth whose name has not been preserved. They were taken prisoners at Manjhi, and sent to the Nawab of Purnea, who treated them kindly, and refused to put them to death when rdered to do so. He was then obliged, by orders from Mir Qasim, to send them to Patna. On the way, they overpowered the crew of the boat in which they were travelling, and joined Major Adams at Undwa Nala. Speedy had served at Dettingen nd Fontenoy; he died in 1767. Douglas was killed in Captain Edwards' disastrous engagement with *sanyasis* at Rangpur in 1773. Davis got a commission as ensign on 4th July, 1770, and died at Buxar, as a captain, on 24th March, 1788.*

The *Cons.* of 18th June, 1764, contain orders to the Patna Council to apply to the Nawab to grant them the house in which he massacre was perpetrated, with instructions to demolish the house, to rail in the ground, and to erect a monument. In obedience to these directions was erected the monument which now stands in the old burial ground in Patna city, the surrounding nclosure having been used as the European cemetery of Patna r about a century. Apparently no inscription was placed on it t the time. The present inscription, which contains several rrors, was added so recently as 1880, under the orders of Sir Ashley Eden, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

Major Adams died in Calcutta on 12th Jan., 1764, when about to embark for England. Mir Qasim took refuge with the Nawab of Oudh, Shuja-ud-daulah, who took up his cause, and along with him invaded Bengal. Shah Alam, the Emperor, who had also

* The story of the four sergeants is given at length in *History of the Bengal Infantry*, by Capt. Williams, London, 1827. Speedy gave Williams the story of their escape. The name of the fourth man is not given.

sought the assistance of the Nawab of Oudh to seat him throne at Delhi, accompanied them. The invaders were be by Major Carnac at Patna on 3rd May, and finally routed Buxar on 23rd Oct., 1764, by Major Hector Munro. Chunar an Allahabad were taken in February, 1765. The victory of Buxa brought the war in Bihar to a successful conclusion. Mir Qasi fled to Rohilkand, and eventually died in poverty at Delhi, in 177

The vacancy as Head Surgeon in Calcutta, caused by th death of Crooke, was offered successively to Surgeons Russell Dakka, Fullerton of Patna, and Davidson of Chittagong; bu all three preferred to keep their own stations. It was then give to James Ellis, who subsequently, in 1786, became the first Physician General, and senior member of the Medical Board.

Fullerton remained at Patna rather more than two years after the massacre. On 16th July, 1764, under the orders of Carnac who had succeeded Adams as Commander-in-Chief, but had himself been superseded by Munro on 28th June, an inquiry was held at Patna into the conduct of Nanda Kumar, whom Carnac wished to remove from the Nawab's service, on a charge of disaffection. This inquiry was conducted by four officers Fullerton, and Captains A. Swinton, Stables, and Pierson, the two first acting as interpreters. Nanda Kumar had written a letter to Raja Balwant Sinh, of Benares, who fought under the Nawab of Oudh at the battles of Patna and Buxar, advising him against an alliance with the English. Fullerton knew of this letter, and did not mention it. The proceedings at this inquiry are entered in the *Fort William Secret and Mily. Cons.* of 11th Oct., 1764, and 16th March, 1765, in the latter at great length. In the former, it is stated that the inquiry ended inconclusively the officers who held it reporting that the accuser, Haji Abdallal varied in his accusations, and either could not or would no produce his proofs. Carnac again became Commander-in-Chie from Jan. to April, 1765, when Clive returned to Bengal a Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

On 16th March, 1765, it was determined to call Fullerton down to Calcutta for a further inquiry into the matter. The *Cons.* of 11th Nov., 1765, contain a minute by Carnac, accusing Fullerton of having known of this letter of Nanda Kumar's, and of having deliberately concealed its existence; and requesting that Fullerton may be sent for without delay, as Captains Swinton

ables, who would be material evidence against him, are going home.

ullerton reached Calcutta in the middle of December. A ter from him, in the *Cons.* of 6th Jan., 1766, states that he has en three weeks in Calcutta, and asks to be brought to trial ithout delay. On 17th Feb. he again made the same request. he case was taken up on 24th Feb., and is recorded in the *Cons.* f that date, where it occupies a considerable space. The charge gainst Fullerton is contained in the following letter from Carnac.

"From sundry letters I wrote to the Board in April 1764, it will ppear how urgent I was with the Nabob Myr Jafer, so as to be upon the oint of entirely falling out with him, to dismiss Nundkomar from his rvice, as I had been led to believe he was engaged in a criminal corre-ondence, and how anxious I was to get proofs of the same, as the Nabob sted his refusal upon the want thereof. It is since come to light that M[r] ullerton had seen the very letter said to be wrote to Bulwant Sing by undkomar, which was the foundation of the charge against him. I annot conceive how he can reconcile with his duty to the Company the oncealing such a letter, yet heartily wish he may be able to clear up a onduct which is at present so mysterious. His keeping this a secret om me is the more extraordinary, as no one was better acquainted how uch I had this enquiry at heart, a great intimacy having always sub-ted between us, and I had reposed such a particular confidence in him to have requested his attendance on me as Interpreter, till the arrival Capt. Swinton."

* * * * *

The Council acquitted Fullerton of serious default, but nsured him in the following terms:—

"As M[r] Fullerton interpreted at the Examination of Nundcomar and s acquainted at that time of an intercepted letter of a treasonable ature supposed to be written by Nundcomar, it was his Duty to desire ssrs Batson and Billers to inform Gen[l] Carnac of the Contents and if ey declined he then ought to have made them known himself. In this nsaction M[r] Fullerton appears the more inexcusable on Account of Intimate Connection between General Carnac and him, more parti-arly as he had so fair an opportunity of making the Discovery during Examination, however as the Board do not suppose that his Conduct ld have proceeded from bad Design but from Inattention, they pass r with Censure what must otherwise have called for the most exemplary erity. They cannot but remark at the same time that the General s been extremely illused in this, but particularly by Messrs Batson and llers whose duty it more immediately was to have given him the nformation."

Batson and Billers were both members of Council. Stanlake Batson, like Ellis, was a man of violent temper. The *Cons.* of

10th June, 1763, contain a report of a quarrel in the C Chamber, between Batson and Warren Hastings, in which lie direct was exchanged, followed by blows. The Council f Batson was the aggressor, and suspended him from the Co pany's service; but subsequently removed the suspension, his making a full apology. He was appointed Chief of the Patn Agency after the city was retaken in Nov., 1763. In the *Con* of 20th Feb., 1764, he was recalled, and William Billers wa appointed in his place. Batson was subsequently appointe Resident with the Nawab of Oudh. The death of Billers reported in the *Cons.* of 22nd July, 1765.

On 10th March Fullerton sent in a letter defending himse against the charges on which he had been censured. This lett is very long, filling six and a quarter closely written folio page He states that the letter from Nanda Kumar to Raja Balwa Sinh was first seen by him on 12th or 14th July, 1764, when M Batson showed it to him, but told him to keep it secret; and tha Billers also knew of it; that Batson asked him to try and find out whose was the handwriting; that he got it identified the handwriting of Ackichund, a munshi of Nanda Kumar but not until after the inquiry had been completed; and th he thought that Carnac did not wish Nanda Kumar to convicted.

On 21st March Fullerton sent in another letter resigning t service. This letter is given below, also the orders passed in t *Cons.* of 24th March, accepting his resignation.

"To the R^t. Honble Robert Ld Clive President and Governor Council of Fort William.

"My Lord and Gentlemen.—Having come down from Patna in Ap last in consequence of an Order from the Board to attend as an Evide at the Examination which was proposed to have been made into N comar's Conduct I request your Lordship &c will be pleased to order such Allowance as you may judge reasonable to defray my travell Expences to Calcutta and back again As I do not think I can rem with honor in the Service after the Censure which has been passed u me I now beg leave to resign and request You will order me a Passage board the Ponsborne. I have the Honor to be My Lord and Gentlen Your most Obed^t Servant, William Fullerton.

"Calcutta 21st March 1766."

Cons., 24th March. "Letters from M^r. William Fullerton of the 1 & 21 Inst read The first in answer to the Censure past on him in Council the 24th Ulto the other applying for an Allowance in Consideration o his travelling Expences on his being summon'd to Calcutta to answer the

made against him by General Carnac & requesting leave to Compys Service & to return to England in the Ponsborne d Mr Fullerton's travelling Charges be paid.
e Secretary is directed at the same time to acquaint him that tter of the 10th Inst is express'd in very unbecoming terms and as must have been publickly taken Notice of had he not resign'd.
Agreed that Mr Fullerton be permitted to take his Passage for land in the Ponsborne and that Captain Payne have the usual permit eceive him on board with his Necessaries."

Fullerton sailed for England, in April, 1766, in the *Ponsborne*, ich went aground going down the river, lost her passage to gland for the season, and on 5th June was waiting at Malacca. s successor at Patna was Thomas Carnegie, appointed in *Cons.* 5th May, 1766, who did not hold the post for long, as he died Calcutta on 31st Oct., 1768.

His friend Saiyid Ghulam Husain, the author of the *Sair-ul-takherin*, writing about 1781, thus laments his departure—*

"But it was General Carnac who enjoyed now the full sunshine of favor: he had these many years enjoyed the friendship and confidence of Lord Clive's; and he became now the principal manager of his politics and governement, as well as the center of all business public and private. He had been heretofore a warm friend of Doctor Fullerton's; but having become his sworne enemi, he had put some matters into Lord Clive's mind, that made him dismiss the Doctor from the service. This gentleman, ter taking an affectionnat leave of his friends by whom he was exedingly retted, set out for his country, from which he promised to come back ain, on his being able to obtain certain conditions and stipulations for mself. It appears that his intention did not tally with the decrees of ovidence; for he has not yet appeared; although there is intelligence his being alive and in health. Wherever he may be, God almighty eserve him in peace of mind."

Here Fullerton passes out of history. He may be called the st member of the Indian Medical Service, for he was certainly rving for over two years after that Service was regularly con-ituted, on 1st Jan., 1764, and throughout that time he was the nior medical officer in Bengal.† The service may well be proud of

* Vol. II, p. 382. This book was translated into English by a Frenchman led Raymond, who was converted to Islam, and took the name of Haji Mustafa. rgeon Francis Balfour is said to have made another translation, but, if he ever d so, nothing is known as to what became of it.

† Only one medical officer of longer service than Fullerton seems to have en serving in Madras, and only one in Bombay, on 1st Jan., 1764. The former as Robert Turing, who was appointed Surgeon's Mate on 27th Aug., 1729, and n 1764 was Surgeon and Medical Storekeeper General at Madras; he died there n 26th Dec., 1764. The latter was Robert Trotter, who joined the Bombay Marine in 1739, was transferred to Anjengo on 20th March, 1759, invalided there in 1770, and died at that station on 4th September, 1771.

him as their first representative. Throughout the twen
of his career, we hear much in his favour, and little ag
True, Vansittart speaks badly of him in 1761, but that
may mean only that he was on more friendly terms with I
gentlemen than was common among the English in Benga
that time. His one great mistake, which finally ended his ca
was his failure to press home the evidence against Nanda Ku
in 1764. Had he done his duty on this occasion, in court,
well as he did it in the field at Mohsinpur and Patna, he mi
have saved much trouble, eleven years later, to Warren Hastin
and the transaction, on which one of the gravest charges again
the Graat Proconsul was based, would never have taken place.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FOUNDATION OF THE SERVICE

" He builded better than he knew."
R. W. EMERSON, *The Problem.*

HE Bengal Medical Service was founded by orders passed in *Fort William Cons.* of 20th Oct., 1763, by which the individual edical officers then serving in the Bengal Presidency were, ith effect from 1st Jan., 1764, combined into a regular medical establishment, with fixed grades, and definite rules for promotion rom grade to grade. These orders run as follows :—

" At a consultation present
The Honble Henry Vansittart, Esq. President.
John Carnac, Esq.
Warren Hastings, Esq.
Randolph Marriott, Esq.
Hugh Watts, Esq.

* * * * *

" As there has never been any proper Establishment settled for the ppointment and Succession of the Surgeons employed under this Presiency,

" It is now agreed that the following Plan shall be established regulting their Number, Rank, and Succession and Appointments and that shall take place the 1st Jany 1764—vizt.

" 4 Head Surgeons to reside at Calcutta and have the Privilege of mpany's Servants.* The two first to have the Hospital Contract.

" 8 Surgeons of which the four eldest to be stationed at the Factories atna, Cossimbuzar, Chittagong and Dacca. And the other four to urgeons of the Army, and the whole of this Rank to succeed in Rotation be Head Surgeons at Calcutta.

" 28 Surgeons Mates who are to succeed in their Seniority to be Surgeons. these the eight eldest upon the list to live in Calcutta, the next Eight to Surgeons Mates of the Army, and the other twelve to be Surgeons Mates the Seapoys, one to each Battalion.

" Head Surgeons and Surgeons at the Subordinates † and the Army

* *I.e.* the privilege of private trade, with the use of the *Dastak*, or trade pass.
† At the subordinate factories, Patna, Dakka, etc.

to have ten shillings a Day Pay, and the latter when in the Fiel
Captain's Batta.

"The Surgeons Mates at Calcutta to have 7/6 per Day ea
Army and Seapoys 5/- a Day, and Lieutenants Batta when in the F

"Agreed that we write to the Court of Directors to send Us ou
Surgeons Mates to compleat this Establishment."

The constitution of the Medical Service was reported to
Court of Directors at home in paras. 83 and 84 of a Letter f
Fort William, dated 19th Dec., 1763.*

"*Para.* 83. Surgions, to encourage capable men to engage in
Service, they have fix'd the following rule of Preferment, wch they des
may be confirmed.

"1st. Four head Surgeons to be at the Presidency, to be allowed
a day each, and the two Senior of them to have the Hospital Contract

"2nd. Four, with the same Allowance, to be stationed at Pa
Coss^r^, Dacca, and Chittigong, These to Rank next & Succeed ye l
Surgeons in rotation.

"3rd. Four, with the like allowance, to attend the Army, who are
succeed in like manner at the Subordinates and the Presidency.

"4th. Twelve Surgeons Mates, the 4 Senior to attend the Hospitals,
with an All^ce^ of 7/6 a day, & the other 8 to attend the Army, with 5/- a day
& the whole to succeed in turn to be Surgeons."

"*Para.* 84. Surgeons Mates it is recommended to appoint one to eac
Battalion of Seapoys who are sometimes Lost for want of Assistanc
A Number of Young Men instructed in the rudiments of this professio
are desired."

It will be observed that, while the order of 20th Oct., 176
provides for twenty-eight Surgeons' Mates, the report of 19th De
mentions only twelve. Presumably it was not found possibl
at first to appoint a sufficient number of Mates to allow one t
each battalion of sepoys. The Court were therefore asked, i
para. 84, to sanction such appointments, and to send out me
to fill them.

The Madras and Bombay Medical Services appear to ha
come into existence at about the same time as the Bengal Ser
But no orders regarding the formal constitution of these serv
appear in the *Cons.*, Military or Civil, or in the Letters to the Co
of Directors, of either Madras or Bombay, in the years 17
and 1764.

* *Abstracts, Letters from Bengal*, Vol. I, 1760–70, p. 120.

CHAPTER XIV

STRENGTH FROM TIME TO TIME

" The work under our labour grows."
MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, IX, 208.

om the earliest times the East India Company seem to have ctioned a medical officer, when one was available, for each their permanent Factories. Appointments to these posts were ually made from among the Surgeons of the Company's ndiamen.

A second Surgeon at Fort St. George was sanctioned in a Company's General Letter dated 24th Dec., 1675, and in Aug., 1676, Bezaliel Sherman arrived to fill the post. Previous to his date a Surgeon's Mate, Henry Mallory, had been appointed. The post of second Surgeon was disallowed by the Court with effect from 30th Nov., 1697; but was again instituted from 24th uly, 1710.* In the following year the Council of Fort St. George ive the strength of the medical establishment required at the ort as two Surgeons and two Mates. *Cons.* of 21st July, 1711, fter noting the appointment of Anthony Supply as Surgeon, *ice* Chadsley, deceased, continue—

" The number of Company's Servants and Souldiers in this Garrison quireing two able Surgeons and two very good Mates if we knew where gett them."

There were also, at this time, a Surgeon and a Mate at Fort . David, a Surgeon at Masulipatam or Vizagapatam, sometimes he at each of these factories, and one or more medical officers erving on the West Coast, in Sumatra.

In the Western Presidency a Surgeon was always employed on the staff of the Factory at Surat. During the greater part

* See Chap. VII, *Early History; Madras and the Coast*, and Chap. X, *The First Half of the Eighteenth Century*.

of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was usu another Surgeon posted to the Persian factories, at first at Ispa afterwards at Gombroon. Bombay also had one Surgeon its first occupation, and by the end of the seventeenth cen a second. A post-mortem report entered in the *Bombay Di* of 12th Nov., 1680, and quoted in Chap. VI, *Early Histor* signed by no less than five Surgeons. Two of these five probably Surgeons of Indiamen; a third had quitted the Ser the other two were the Surgeon and Assistant Surgeon of settlement.

Entries in the *Bombay Cons.*, and in the half-yearly pay l therein included, show the number of medical officers in t settlement as varying from time to time. But from the begin of the eighteenth century the medical staff of Bombay alw comprised two Surgeons, though one post might from time time be vacant for a while. The pay lists in the *Cons.* of 5th Apr 1705, show two Surgeons; on 26th May, 1708, only one; o 16th June, 1711, one Doctor and one Surgeon; on 25th Nov., 1712, two Doctors and one Surgeon; on 20th Jan., 1714/15, one Doctor and two Mates; in Jan. and in July, 1721, three Surgeons then for several years two Surgeons are regularly shown; o 5th July, 1728, three; from 1728 to 1730 two; on 9th July, 1731 and for several succeeding years, three.

In Bengal there was at first only one medical officer, at Hugl About 1684 a second was added, for Kasimbazar. A secon Surgeon was sanctioned at Fort William in the *Cons.* of 20th Aug 1705, when Michael Gray was appointed as junior to Willian Warren. For nearly sixty years the medical establishment Fort William remained at two Surgeons, with a least two Mate At the time of the capture of Calcutta, in June, 1756, there wer two Surgeons and three Mates on the regular establishment, a well as two or three other Mates, who formed a waiting list hope of getting posts on the regular staff. At this time th were also Surgeons at Dakka and Kasimbazar, and also, eith then or soon after, at Patna. In April, 1763, the establishmen of Surgeons at Calcutta was increased from two to four. A lette from Fort William, dated 18th April, 1763, reports, in para. 41—

"Surgeons, the establishment of two at this Presidency being insufficient for the Demands of the Comp^ys Servants & Inhabitants of the

Town in the sickly season. They have appointed two additional ones to succeed as principal Surgeons, after those nominated by the Company." *

This increase was sanctioned in para. 119 of a Letter from Court dated 22nd Feb., 1764.†

In the *Fort William Cons.* of 20th Oct., 1763, the same date as that of the foundation of the Service, is given a scheme by Major Carnac for the organisation of the Bengal Native Army in twelve battalions, each consisting of ten companies. If possible, a Surgeon's Mate was to be attached to each battalion; as the Gentoos (Hindus) would take physic only from a member of their own caste, a Gentoo doctor also was to be attached to each battalion.

It was not till near the middle of the eighteenth century that the English in India found it necessary to employ Surgeons with troops, as well as at their factories; or, indeed, to employ troops at all, other than the small standing garrisons maintained at each factory. In 1745 war broke out between England and France, and was fiercely waged in the Karnatik between the French and English companies. It was then found necessary to appoint medical officers to accompany the troops in the field; military surgeons, in addition to those stationed at the factories, civil employment. Between 1745 and 1760 the number of medical officers on the Coast increased rapidly.

In Calcutta the need for Military Surgeons, in addition to the Surgeons at the factories, who might be called Civil Surgeons, was first experienced some ten years later than in Madras, in the war against the Nawab of Bengal, which followed the capture of Fort William. In both Bengal and Madras the Surgeons were liable to transfer from civil to military duties, and *vice versa*, the seniors, as a rule, holding the civil posts.

The order, quoted above, of 20th Oct., 1763, founding the Bengal Medical Service, fixed the strength of the medical establishment at forty, twelve full Surgeons and twenty-eight Mates; a considerable increase over the sanctioned strength of six or eight, in 1756; but a small number compared to the strength maintained during the next twenty years.

Broome, in his *History of the Bengal Army* (pp. 533 *et seq.*), thus describes the constitution of that army in 1765. It consisted

* Also *Cons.*, 12th April, 1763. † Quoted in Chap. XVIII, *Pay*.

of three brigades, the first stationed at Monghir, furnishing the garrisons of the Presidency and Kasimbazar, the second at Allahabad, and the third at Patna. Each brigade consisted of one company of artillery, one regiment of European infantry, one *Risala* of native cavalry, and seven battalions of sepoys.

Each European regiment had one Surgeon and three Mates, each company of artillery one Mate, each battalion of sepoys had three native doctors, with one Surgeon and two Mates on staff of the whole seven battalions of the brigade. On the of each brigade was a Surgeon-Major, on the General Staff of army a Surgeon-General. The total medical establishment the Bengal Army came, therefore, to twenty-eight, one Surgeon-General, three Surgeon-Majors, six Surgeons, and eighteen Assistant Surgeons.

A list of the Bengal Medical Service in 1774, preserved in the Calcutta Record Office, gives a total strength of sixty-nine, viz: eighteen Surgeons, including the Surgeon-General and Surgeon-Majors; seven "Subordinate Surgeons," a rank not mentioned elsewhere, and forty-four Assistant Surgeons. A list compiled by Surgeon-General Daniel Campbell in 1777 comprises sixty-four names: twenty-two Surgeons and forty-two Assistant Surgeons. Another list compiled for the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, in 1777, gives twenty-seven Surgeons and forty-five Assistant Surgeons; total seventy-two. Of these, eleven Surgeons and thirteen Assistant Surgeons are shown in civil employ, fifteen Surgeons and thirty-two Assistant Surgeons on military duty, while one man, noted as dead, is not shown under either head.

A list compiled by the Commander-in-Chief, General Stibbert, dated 12th Nov., 1783, in connection with his proposal to separate the civil and military branches of the service, contains 140 names, nearly double the number given in any of the three previous lists.*

In the years 1780 to 1784 the Indian Government found the Medical Department very short-handed, as, we may say, it found it on many subsequent occasions. The first Maratha war occurred in 1780–81, the second Maisur war in 1781, the campaign against the Raja of Benares in the same year. Five battalions, under Colonel T. D. Pearse, marched from Bengal to Madras towards the end of 1780. Six battalions, with artillery and

* See Chap. XVI, *Military and Civil.*

cavalry, were detached to Bombay from 1778 to 1784. All these troops required extra medical officers, and vacancies caused in these campaigns required to be filled up. To indent on the Court of Directors at home for more medical officers was of little use, as new men from home, even if recruited in sufficient numbers, could not arrive for more than a year after the requisition for their services was sent home. The Indian Government accordingly appointed a large number of men, recruited locally, to the Bengal Medical Service.

These men locally recruited appear to have been obtained chiefly from two sources: firstly, the Surgeons of the Indiamen trading between England and India; and, secondly, subalterns or free adventurers who had had some medical training, in some cases had practised medicine at home before coming to India.

The Court of Directors showed great displeasure at the number of these local appointments, and in a Letter from Court, dated 16th March, 1784, published in the *C.G.* of 16th Sept., 1784, wrote as follows:—

"*Para* 10. We disapprove the appointments made by you between the 1st January 1782 and 10th March 1783, of twenty-four Assistant Surgeons, *viz*" *

"And positively direct that on receipt of this letter you revoke the said appointments.

"*Para* 11. And in order to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the removal of the said twenty-four persons, we do permit twenty-six Assistant Surgeons should so many offer to proceed to India this season on the usual conditions.

"*Para* 12. We do permit the twenty-four Assistant Surgeons appointed by you to remain in India to practise in their profession and direct that they be reappointed to vacancies as they may happen after the said twenty-six Assistant Surgeons shall have been provided for.

"*Para* 14. We have further resolved that no more Surgeons be allowed to proceed till it shall be known whether their services be wanted in India, and in order to ascertain this point we direct that you regularly transmit to us statements necessary for your establishment, describing the different departments where they are to be employed, and also that you forward annually (in duplicate at least), list of Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons belonging to your Presidency.

"*Para* 15. And in case it should happen at any time that the establishment at one Presidency should be more than complete while that at another is deficient, it is our order, that the deficiency at one settlement be supplied from the redundancy of the other. We, therefore, direct you to advise the other Presidencies from time to time of the number upon your establishment, in order for their making the necessary arrangements accordingly.

* Here follow twenty-three names, not twenty-four, as stated.

"*Para* 16. We have permitted the following persons to proceed to India in part of the twenty-six Assistant Surgeons before mentioned, their rank by a future conveyance." *

A subsequent order by the Government of India on the subject of the respective seniority of these officers, published in the *C.G.* of 10th July, 1788, runs as follows :—

"The Governor-General in Council is of opinion that the Assistant Surgeons nominated by the Court of Directors to supply the vacancies, occasioned by the removal of twenty-four Assistant Surgeons, as directed to take place by the General Letter of 16th March 1784, should rank before all the Gentlemen who were appointed in the country between 1st January 1782 and 10th March 1783, whether their names are specified in that letter or not, it being evidently the spirit of the order to disapprove of all appointments made within that period.

"That the Assistant Surgeons appointed between the periods above mentioned, should rank next to those appointed from Europe, and with respect to each other according † their original appointments in the country.

"And that the Assistant Surgeons, subsequently appointed in this country, should rank next under them again, and in respect to each other, according to the dates of their original appointments in the country.

"Agreed that the Hospital Board or Adjutant General be directed to prepare a list conformable to these resolutions, of the order in which the Assistant Surgeons appointed in the country, since the 1st of January 1782, should stand, that the same may be issued in General Orders, and their rank thereby permanently fixed.

"Ordered that the Directors be requested by the first conveyance to fix the rank of Assistant Surgeons nominated by them in the General Letter, dated 16th March 1784, and that they stand in the meantime in the order in which they are mentioned in the 16th paragraph of the above General Letter."

Among numerous other complaints and protests about the reduction in rank of the locally appointed Assistant Surgeons, two of them, James Ross and William Hunter, sent in a long memorial to the Medical Board, and to this memorial is attached a list of the Service as it stood in 1782. This memorial is entered in full in the *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board for 6th March 1787. The list has two defects: firstly, it is of course quite unofficial and without authority; and, secondly, it was compiled five years after the date to which it refers.

All the locally appointed Assistant Surgeons, removed by the orders of 16th March, 1784, did eventually get confirmed in the service, with the exception of a few who died before vacancies had occurred.

* Here follow twenty-two names.

† Word "to" apparently omitted

In the *Cons.* of 9th Sept., 1785, occurs the following undated note by the Secretary, on the Assistant Surgeons reduced :—

"The Hon'ble Court of Directors, in the 12th paragraph of their General Letter, dated 16th March 1784, permit the 24 Assistant Surgeons who are ordered to be dismissed by the 10th paragraph of the same Letter, to remain in India, and direct that 'they be provided for after the 26 who are appointed to their places from England.' Of these 26, the Court of Directors have only nominated twenty-two, and there are substantial Grounds to believe that no more will be nominated by them, as in the 13th Para. of that Letter they mention having given Mr Morris Leave to proceed to India under the same circumstances as those Assistant Surgeons who are dismissed. That is, to succeed as vacancies may occur, altho' the number they at first determined on was not complete.

"By the Surgeon General's Report it appears that the following casualties have happened since the Europe appointed Assistant Surgeons were admitted.

Gone home.	Surgeons 6.	Asst. Surgeons 3.	
Dead	,, 2	,, 3. (Total)	14
The number dismissed was twenty-four, of whom now present			13
Gone home, Dead, Dismissed by the sentences of Courts Martial			11
			24

"If therefore the number present, *thirteen*, were added to the Regular st in consequence of the *fourteen* casualties, the number of Surgeons and sistants on the establishment will then be less than was the case, when orders arrived.

"*N.B.*—One Assistant Surgeon wrecked in the Hinchinbrooke has plied to be readmitted."

The order of the Board on the re-appointment of the re-aining Assistant Surgeons is the next item in the *Cons.* After ding letters from General Stibbert, Colonel Pearse, and geon-General Ellis, the Board passed the following resolution :

"'The Board having maturely considered the very unfortunate predica-nt of these gentlemen, that many of them served the Hon'ble Company y and faithfully when attached to the Bombay and Carnatic Detach-ts where they were subjected to the most trying and fatiguing services at they all relinquished their former Views in Life for the purpose of ring into the Company's service, implicitly relying for Support and sistence on the rewards of their Abilities and Exertions—that their nstatement will be not only an Act of real Humanity and Justice, but consistent with the Orders of the Court of Directors to provide for m as Vacancies shall occur, the Report from the Surgeon-General oving that the Establishment even after the Admission of those remaining the Country will be less than it was when they were reduced. Agreed

therefore that Messrs. Hugh Mahon, Rt. Anderson, James Grant, Wm. Hunter, Walter Williams, Thos. Luke Stoakes, Geo. Davidson, John Burgh, Alexr. Russell, Thos. Wilkins, Wm. Davidson, and Wm. Cooke, be readmitted, and that the particular Circumstances of this Transaction be stated in the next Letter to the Court of Directors, whose Approbation of the measure when duly considered the Board have no doubt of obtaining.'"

"A return of Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons gone Home and Dead since Nov. the sixth 1794.

Mr. Urquhart	Gone Home.
Mr. F. B. Thomas	
Mr. Jo. Armstrong	
Mr. Alexr. Walker	Gone Home.
Mr. Clement Francis	
Mr. Robt. Johnston	
Mr. James Hunter	Dead.
Mr. George Harrison	

"Assist.-Surgeons—

Mr. Chas. Browne	Dead.
Mr. Thos. Minchin	
Mr. Wm. Smith	
Mr. Robt. Church	Gone Home.
Mr. Charles Kegan	
Mr. Charles McCra	

"Dismissed From Home by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors the 16th of March 1784.

Mr. Hugh Mahon	Present.
Mr. Robt. Anderson	
Mr. Jas. Grant	
Mr. Wm. Hunter	
Mr. Walter Williams	
Mr. Thos. Luke Stoke	
Mr. Jo. Burgh	
Mr. Jas. Orrack *	
Mr. George Davidson	
Mr. Alexr. Russell	
Mr. Thos. Wilkins	
Mr. W. Davidson	
Mr. W. Cooke	

* The name of James Orrack is not included in the list of Assistant Surg confirmed by the orders of 9th Sept., 1785. He was, however, duly confi in the Service. He died in Calcutta a few years later. His tombstone in S Park Street Cemetery gives the date of his death as 25th June, 1788, and sp his name Orrok. His death in the General Hospital, Calcutta, is announ without any date, in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 3rd July, 1788, where his nam spelt Orrick. In the *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board of 8th Ju 1788, he is noted as "dead," his name is spelt Orrock. Dodwell and Miles sp his name Orrock, and say (evidently erroneously), "died at Chitpore, June 1789." Orrock's case is one of many instances which show how difficult it to ascertain the exact facts.

Mr. Alexr. Morine	Dead.
Mr. W. Cooper	
Mr. Jo. Shaw	Dismissed here.
Mr. W. Jones	
Mr. Thos. Parks	
Mr. Jo. Lamb	Gone Home.
Mr. Jas. Campbell	
Mr. Thos. Clark	
Mr. Patk. Ivory	Surgeon of Valentine.
Mr. Thos. Morris	Reinstated.
Mr. Thos. Watts	

J. ELLIS, *Surgeon-Genl.*"

The question of relative seniority among these officers was not finally settled until 1797. In a General Letter of 5th July, 1797, published in the *C.G.* of 1st March, 1798, the Court of Directors give a list of the surviving officers of the years 1782 to 1784, most of whom had by this time reached the rank of Surgeon, and state that they are to be considered as ranked in the order now given; and that these orders on the subject are final. In the meantime, from one-third to one-half of the original parties to the dispute had died or left the country, only fifty-one names being given in this final settlement.

The two memorialists of 1787, William Hunter and James Ross, fared very differently in this final adjustment of rank, for Hunter stands twelfth, and Ross forty-fifth, out of the fifty-one. Both were men of some note in their day. William Hunter was born in 1755, became M.A. in 1777, and M.D. in 1805, of Marischal College, Aberdeen; was promoted to Surgeon on 21st Oct., 1794, and to Superintending Surgeon on 19th Jan., 1811. He served with the Bengal detachment in the second Maisur war in 1781, and at the capture of Java in 1811, and died in Java on 15th Dec., 1812. He was the author of many works on Indian subjects, the chief of which are *A Concise Account of the Kingdom of Pegu* (1795), and *Essay on the Diseases of Indian Seamen or Lascars, on Long Voyages* (1804). James Ross was born on 21st June, 1769; he also was educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen; there also took the M.A. in 1777; served as Surgeon's Mate in the Navy in 1782, before entering the I.M.S.; was promoted to Surgeon on 31st Dec., 1802, more than eight years after Hunter; retired on 19th July, 1804, and died at Exeter on 22nd July, 1831. He was a noted Persian scholar, and

published a translation of the *Gulistan* of Saadi in 1823. He does not appear to have had any war service.

The *Minutes of Council* of 20th Dec., 1784, and 27th Jan., 1785, quoted in the *C.G.* of 17th Feb., 1785, give the strength of the Army in Bengal. The medical establishment, who are classified as warrant officers, include four Surgeon-Majors, fifty-two Surgeons, and ninety-three "Surgeons-Assistants"; total 149.

The *Proceedings* of the second meeting of the Calcutta Medical Board, held on 6th June, 1786, contain extracts from a General Letter from Court dated 21st Sept., 1785, which sanction the following medical establishment, in all three Presidencies.

Each regiment of European Cavalry . .		1 Surgeon and 2 Mates.	
Each battalion (five companies) of Artillery .		1 Surgeon and 1 Mate.	
Each battalion of European Infantry . .		1 Surgeon and 1 Mate.	
Each regiment Native Cavalry . . .		1 Asst.-Surgeon and 1 black Doctor.	
Each battalion Native Infantry . . .		Ditto.	Ditto.
Staff of General Hospitals, Bengal	7	Surgeons and 45	Asst. Surgeons.
,, ,, Madras	6	,, 52	,,
,, ,, Bombay	3	,, 14	,,
Peace establishment of regiments,			
Bengal	9	,, 35	,,
Madras	7	,, 41	,,
Bombay	3	,, 12	,,

Thus the medical establishment of the whole Indian Ar on a peace footing, of course exclusive of the men in civil empl comes to a total of 234.

The letter of 21st Sept., 1785, then goes on to state that more Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons than required, as abo are to receive pay and allowances; but supernumeraries m depend on private practice till they succeed to vacancies; exc those who have been on actual service with troops in the war, w may receive pay and half *batta*.

A Military Letter from Bengal, dated 17th Nov., 1790 paras. 8 to 12, states that the total number of Assistant Surg required is 100.

"Assistant Surgeons, number required for the Civil and Milita Service is 100. The number of Assistants at present on the List, i cluding those sent this year is only 95, which leaves a deficiency of request that the Court will therefore appoint 10 Assistants for the ensuin Season."

The *Minutes of Council* in the Mily. Dept. of 24th June, 1796, give the number of medical officers required in Bengal, military and civil, as 142.*

Military,	Surgeons,	30,	Asst. Surgeons	66,	total 96.
Civil,	,,	10,	,,	36,	,, 46.

In the *Madras Mily. Cons.* of 27th Nov., 1767, is given a list of *The Establishment of Surgeons and Surgeons' Assistants in the Honble Company's Service in the several Garrisons and for the Troops on the Coast of Choromandel.* This list gives twenty-eight names, fifteen Surgeons, and thirteen Assistants. Two Surgeons, the two senior officers of the Service, Stephen Briggs and Gilbert Pasley, were stationed at Fort St. George; with two Assistants. The first and second regiments and Vellore garrison had each one Surgeon and two Assistants. The third regiment, the artillery, and Trichinopoly, had each one Surgeon and one Assistant. The other seven Surgeons were posted as follows: one supernumerary in the field, and one each to Cuddalore, Chingleput, Metchlepatam, Circars, Vizagapatam, and Madura; while Arcot and Palamcottah had each one Assistant Surgeon only. There were actually, however, more than twenty-eight medical officers then serving in the Madras Army. In these the *Cons.* of 27th Nov., 1767, another Surgeon, Bowen, is transferred to Madras, whose name is not included in the list. Neither Jean Martin, Surgeon to the Corps of Foreigners, included.†

In the *Mily. Cons.* of 11th Sept., 1769, it is stated that one Surgeon and two Assistants have now been attached to each regiment and to the Corps of Artillery.

Another list, in the same *Cons.* of 8th April, 1771, gives twenty-eight names, eighteen Surgeons, four Mates, and six styled "Assistants in the Hospital, and not to rise." These last had all, from time to time, been appointed as Assistant Surgeons or Hospital Mates. Four of them were foreigners, Tenier, Simoens, Buirette, and Suffrein. A fifth, Terence Gahagan, or, as his name is here spelt, Geoghegan, subsequently rose to be Senior Member of the Medical Board.‡ Simoens also became a full Surgeon. Buirette, after serving in the second Maisur war, when

* This minute is quoted at length, giving the names of the different appointments, in Chap. XVI, *Military and Civil.*

† For Martin, see Chap. XXXIV, *Courts Martial.*

‡ For Gahagan, see Chap. XXIII, *Administration, the Medical Boards.*

he was taken prisoner at Gingee, was pensioned from 21st May, 1794, and afterwards served for many years as Police Surgeon in Calcutta, where he died on 4th June, 1811.*

These twenty-eight officers were posted as follows:

	Surgeons.	Mates.	Assistants.
Madras . . .	2	2	1
Vellore . . .	3	1	1
Trichinopoly . .	3	–	1
Cuddalore . . .	1	–	1
Masulipatam . .	1	1	–
Ganjam . . .	1	–	–
Ellore	2	–	1
Vizagapatam . .	–	1	–
Palamcotta . . .	1	–	–
Madura . . .	1	–	–
Punamali . . .	1	–	–
Chingleput . . .	–	–	1
Chicacole . . .	1	–	–
Total . .	17	5	6

The figures do not exactly correspond. Jean Martin, the eighteenth Surgeon, was posted to the Foreign Corps, and was considered as a supernumerary, thus reducing the number of Surgeons to seventeen; while a fifth Mate, Lamie, whose name is not included in the first list, is given in the table.

A Madras G.O. of 17th Oct., 1784, organises the medical staff of the Madras Army as follows:

"That the establishment of Surgeons shall in future consist of a Surgeon General, two Surgeons Major, and 27 other full Surgeons, comprehending in the whole 30 Surgeons, who are to be, and to rank as follow, and in future there is to be no appointment made of a full Surgeon but upon an actual Vacancy in the number hereby established."

Then follows the list of stations where the medical officers are to be posted. The Surgeon-General, of course, was stationed at the Presidency, the two Surgeon-Majors were posted to the Presidency and to Arcot cantonment. The stations for the executive officers were—

	Surgeons.	Asst. Surgeons.
Presidency	2	2
Artillery at the Mount	1	1
Cantonment at Arcot	2	2
Vellore	2	1

* This table is quoted in Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, Vol. I, p. 33. Some of the information given below is taken from that work, Vol. II, p. 18, 1784; Vol. II, p. 297, 1796; Vol. III, p. 350, 1810.

	Surgeons.		Asst. Surgeons.
Tanjore	2		1
Trichinopoly	2		1
Ellore	2		1
Masulipatam District	2		2
Vizagapatam and Chicacole	2		1
Ganjam and Ichapur	2		1
Injeram and Madapollam	1		—
Nagore and Negapatam	1		—
Southern Cantonments, including Wariur and Shevalipotur	2		2
Madura	1		—
Palamcotta	1		—
Ambur and Satgarh	—		1
Permacoil	—		1
Chingleput	1	*or*	1
Nellore	1	*or*	1
Ongole	—		1
Committee of Circuit	—		1
Total	25 or 27		19 or 21

The *Madras Mily. Cons.* of 4th March, 1788, contain a list of the Madras Medical Service, submitted by the Hospital Board the Council. This list contains sixty-three names, viz. Medical ard, 3; Head Surgeons, 3; Surgeons, 25; Assistant Surgeons, Two medical officers holding special posts, Patrick Russell, uralist, and Jean Martin, Surgeon to the Corps of Foreigners, not included. On the other hand, two Surgeons, James yte and Robert Turing, who had just resigned their posts as d Surgeon and retired, are shown as resigned; four more as on leave to Europe, and one as invalided. One Assistant eon had not yet joined, and, indeed, never did join. If we t these eight, and add Russell and Martin, the strength comes to fifty-seven. The Hospital Board note that six more Assistant Surgeons are needed to complete shment, *i.e.* to fill vacant appointments. Within the three months three more Assistant Surgeons were locally ted, and fourteen sent out from England arrived in Madras. tween 1771 and 1784 the total had risen from twenty to -nine. The figures thus given for 1784 are, however, very rent from those fixed by Court's Letter of 21st Sept., 1785, ed above, viz. thirteen Surgeons and ninety-three Assistant urgeons for the Madras Army. And both are quite different om the figures given by Wilson for 1786, which include a number

of appointments which seem to be wholly of a civil nature; they are as follows :—

	Surgeons.	Asst. Surgeons.
Madras Hospital	2	3
Trichinopoly ,,	2	2
Vellore ,,	2	2
Masulipatam ,,	2	2
Four European Battalions	4	2
Cavalry	—	1
Artillery, each Battalion	1	1
Garrisons, Palamcotta, Madura, and Chingleput	3	1
Chiefships, Ganjam and Vizagapatam (two each)	2	2
Cuddalore	—	1
Residencies, Aska, Samulcotta, and Negapatam	3	—
Residencies, Tanjore, Nagore, Injeram, and Ongole	—	4
Committee of Circuit	—	1
Cantonment at Wallajabad	1	—
Total	22	21

The *Madras Army List* of 1793 includes the names of 1 medical officers : Medical Board, 3 ; Head Surgeons, 3 ; Surgeo 21 ; and Assistant Surgeons 74. These figures are much n like those laid down by the Court in 1785. Eleven Surgeons six Assistant Surgeons are shown as in civil employ; the o seventy-eight were doing military duty.

In 1796 the medical establishment of the Madras Army fixed at sixty full Surgeons, including the Administrative Me Officers, and forty-four Assistant Surgeons. Wilson remarks an Assistant Surgeon was then posted to each regiment of cavalry and battalion of native infantry, and that then first time a regular medical officer was posted to each regiment. The orders of 20th Oct., 1763, founding the Medical Service, allowed one Surgeon's Mate to each bat but apparently it was not found practicable at that ti appoint a sufficient number of medical officers to allow this to be carried out. The Court's Letter of 21st Sept., 1785, certainly seems to infer that each native regiment had a me officer. A Letter from Bombay, dated 2nd Dec., 1768, in para. reports that a Surgeon has been appointed to each battalion the Bombay Army.

In 1810, out of sixty full Surgeons on the Madras establishment only nine were doing regimental duty. It was then determined that a larger number of junior officers should be posted to civil employ, and that the medical officers in military employ should be distributed as follows :—

	Surgeons.	Asst. Surgeons.
Horse Artillery	1	1
Cavalry	8	8
Artillery	2	4
European Infantry	1	1
Native Infantry	23	46
Pioneers	—	2
Total	35	62

As in Bengal, so in Madras also, it was found necessary, during the years 1784 to 1790, to supplement the number of Assistant Surgeons sent out from home by numerous local appointments. A Fort St. George Mily. Letter of 16th Sept., 1790, states in para. 17—

"Assistant Surgeons. The number sent out from England not being sufficient a few have been appointed to act until Court's pleasure shall be known.'

Another Mily. Letter of 29th Sept., 1794, reports in paras. 10 14—

"Want of Assistant Surgeons represented. The Medical Board requested permission to recommend such eligible People as could be obtained, the restraining orders of the Court prevented our compliance there- An early supply requested."

At least twenty-five Assistant Surgeons were locally appointed in Madras during the seven years 1784 to 1790. All seem to have been finally confirmed in the Service, except some who died soon after appointment.

In 1769 there were four Surgeons in Bombay City. The *Bombay Diaries* of 16th June, 1779, give a list of the Bombay Medical Service, which contains twenty-seven names, civil and military. Between 1780 and 1790, in Bombay, as in Bengal and Madras, it was found necessary to make a large number of local appointments, twenty at least, of Assistant Surgeons, to provide for the work and to fill vacancies.

Bengal G.O. No. 129 of 6th May, 1824, published in the

C.G. of 17th May, gives the strength of the Indian Armies, as laid down in a Letter from Court dated 25th Nov., 1823. The Medical Dept. had by this time increased in numbers to 630, distributed as follows :

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.
"Surgeons . . .	100	70	40
Asst. Surgeons . .	200	140	80

including all Ranks, whether Members of the Medical Board, Superintending Surgeons of Divisions, Civil Station Surgeons or Assistants, as well as those who have given up promotion to permanent stations."

Only two years later it was found necessary to increase the strength of the Bengal Service by no less than fifty. The wa in 1825, in Burma in the East, and in Bharatpur in the Wes had necessitated the employment of a large number of temporar acting Assistant Surgeons. Bengal G.O., No. 90, of 5th May 1826, published in the *C.G.* of 8th May, quotes extracts from General Letter from Court, dated 9th Nov., 1825 :—

Para. 2. " On a review of the considerations suggested in your separate letter in this Department, dated the 24th March last, and in the State ments of the Medical Board which accompanied that letter, we ha resolved to augment the number of Surgeons upon your Establishm from 100 to 120, and of Assistant Surgeons from 200 to 230.

Para. 3. " You will therefore promote the first 20 Assistant Surg (omitting any who may have relinquished promotion) to the Ran Surgeons, and we shall take measures for supplying you with 50 Assis Surgeons in addition to the number required to meet Casualties.

Para. 4. " This supply will render it unnecessary for you to cont the services of the gentlemen whom you have temporarily employed.

Of the temporary Assistant Surgeons whose removal from Service was thus ordered, about one-half succeeded in obtai commissions in the ordinary way, by nomination by Directors; the rest were struck off.

A Bombay G.O. of 29th May, 1834, fixes the establishment of Surgeons in the Western Presidency at forty-five, an increase of five over the figures of 1824.

An article on the Constitution of the Medical Department published in *The India Journal of Medical and Physical Science* New Series, Vol. I, 1836, edited by Frederick Corbyn (pp. 12 and 346), gives the strength of the Medical Service in that year as 745, little less than at the present day, three-quarters of a century later.

	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Medical Board . . .	3	3	3	9
Supg. Surgeons . . .	10	9	4	23
Surgeons	107	61	33	201
Asst. Surgeons . . .	243	160	109	512
Totals . . .	363	233	149	745

Bengal G.O., No. 238, of 4th Nov., 1840, notes a small increase; in Bengal one Superintending Surgeon; in Madras one Surgeon and three Assistant Surgeons; in Bombay five Surgeons and five Assistant Surgeons. On this occasion the post of Superintending Surgeon at Calcutta was abolished, and two similar posts, at Barrackpur and Dakka, created in its stead.

Bengal G.O. of 5th July, 1848, publishes extracts from a Mily. Letter, No. 6 of 7th March, 1848, from the Court of Directors, increasing the establishment in Bengal by nine.*

Para. 12. "We observe, with satisfaction, that great care has been bestowed by your Government in enquiring into the wants of the Service as regards medical officers at the several stations, and in the several corps and departments. The results at which you have arrived as to the numbers of Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons and native Sub-Assistant Surgeons required at the several stations, Civil and Military, appear to be correct.

Para. 13. "The results, as regards the European medical officers, are as follow:—

Members of the Medical Board . . .	3
Superintending Surgeons . . .	11
Surgeons	115
Assistant Surgeons	230
	359

Para. 14. "The present authorized establishment is—

Surgeons, including Members of the Medical Board, and Superintending Surgeons	120
Assistant Surgeons	230
	350
But in consequence of the urgent demand for additional medical aid during the military operations of 1844–45, supernumeraries have been kept up to the number of	20
	370

Para. 15. "The establishment, as above described, amounting to 359 medical officers, has our sanction.

Para. 16. "The number of native Sub-Assistant Surgeons it is

* Paras 6–11 of this letter, published in the same G.O., refer to promotion, and are quoted in Chap. XVII, *Rank*.

proposed to increase from thirty-four to fifty-six. The increase to fifty-six has our sanction.

" The promotions consequent on the increase sanctioned in paragraphs 13 and 15 of the foregoing despatch, will have effect from the 17th of April, 1848, the date of its receipt."

The *Bengal Medical Regulations* of 1851, in Chap. III, pp. 24, 25, give the following strength of medical establishment for the Bengal Army :—

For a Brigade of Horse Artillery	1	Surgeon and	1	Asst. Surgeon.
For a Battalion of Foot Artillery	1	,,	1	,,
For a Co.'s European Regiment	1	,,	2	,,
For a Native Cavalry Regiment	1	,,	1	,,
For a Native Infantry Regiment	1	,,	1	,,
For a Battalion of Golandauze	1	,, *or*	1	,,

The word *Golandauze* (*Gol-andaz*) literally means ball-thrower *i.e.* musketeer or rifleman. It was applied to the numerous irregular infantry corps then in existence.

The actual strength of the Bengal Army, in the middle of the nineteenth century, in the years before the Mutiny, was as follows; the medical officers being entered according to the scale given above. The Haidarabad Contingent, though shown in the Army List as part of the Bengal Army, was almost entirely supplied with officers, both combatant and medical, from the Madras Army. The Gwalior and Haidarabad Contingents each had a senior medical officer as Superintending Surgeon, who, however, only had local rank as such, and was not included among the Superintending Surgeons of the Army.

The twenty irregular infantry corps of the Bengal Army were the Calcutta Native Militia, the Ramghur Light Infantry Battalion, the Bhagalpur Hill Rangers, the Nasiri Rifle Battalion (Gurkhas), the Sirmur Rifle Battalion (Gurkhas), the Kumaon Rifle Battalion (Gurkhas), the First and Second Assam Light Infantry, the Arakan Battalion, the Hariana Light Infantry Battalion, the First and Second Oudh Infantry, the Sylhet Light Infantry Battalion, the Malwa Bhil Corps, the Mewar Bhil Corps, the Sebandi Corps of Sappers and Miners,* the Shekhawati Brigade, the Jodhpur Legion, the Pegu Light Infantry Battalion, and the Mhairwara Battalion.

* *Sebundy* or *Sihbandi*, pioneers, or irregulars, expected both to work and to fight. The word is supposed to mean " paid quarterly," every three months, (*Hobson-Jobson*).

The seventy-seven infantry regiments comprised seventy-four regiments, numbered from one to seventy-four, the Kelat-i-Ghilzai regiment, the Firuzpur Sikhs, and the Ludhiana Sikhs.

Though the regulations allow either a Surgeon or an Assistant Surgeon as medical officer of the irregular corps, they all appear to have had only Assistant Surgeons in medical charge up to 1858.

	Surgeons.	Assist. Surgeons.
Sappers and Miners	–	1
Horse Artillery, three Brigades	3	3
Foot Artillery, nine Battalions	9	9
Company's European Regiments, three	3	6
Native Cavalry, ten Regiments	10	10
Native Infantry, seventy-seven Regiments	77	77
Irregular Native Cavalry, eighteen Regiments	–	18
Panjab Cavalry, five Regiments	–	5
Panjab Infantry, five Regiments	–	5
Sind Rifle Corps	–	1
Sikh Infantry, four Regiments	–	4
The Guides	–	1
Irregular Infantry Corps	–	20
Gwalior Contingent, Cavalry Corps, two	–	2
,, ,, Infantry Corps, seven	–	7
Kotah, Malwa, and Bhopal Contingents	–	3
Total	102	172

To the above total of 274 should be added fifteen administrative appointments, three in the Medical Board and twelve Superintending Surgeons; and seventeen staff appointments, almost all held by senior officers of the rank of Surgeon. These seventeen posts were, the Apothecary to the Company, or Medical Storekeeper at the Presidency, with Storekeepers at Cawnpur, Ambala, and Sialkot; six Garrison Surgeons, at Calcutta, Chunar, Allahabad, and Agra, with Assistants at the two first; two officers in medical charge of Studs; the Superintending Surgeon, Gwalior Contingent; the Marine Surgeon, the Surgeon to the Commander-in-Chief, and the Surgeon to the Viceroy's Bodyguard. This makes a total of 306 military appointments, in addition to men on furlough and men in civil employ.

The actual strength of the Bengal Medical Service at this time, taken from the *Army List* of 1854, was 382, including men on furlough and men in civil employ, viz. A.M.O.'s, 15; Surgeons,

127; Assistant Surgeons, 240. Of these twenty Surgeons and sixty-three Assistant Surgeons were in civil employment.

Much the same distribution of medical officers may be given for the Madras Army, except that the Artillery had not so many medical officers as that of Bengal. The Coast Army, moreover, while it furnished officers to the Haidarabad Contingent, had no local or irregular corps of its own.

	Surgeons.	Assist. Surgeons.
Sappers and Miners	–	1
Horse Artillery, one Brigade; Foot Artillery, five Battalions	3	6
Company's European Regiments, three . .	3	6
Native Cavalry, seven Regiments . . .	7	14
Native Infantry, fifty-two Regiments . .	52	104
Haidarabad Contingent, Cavalry, four Regts.	–	4
,, ,, Infantry, six Regts.	–	6
Total . .	65	141

To these should be added thirteen administrative appointments, three in the Medical Board, and ten Superintending Surgeons; and nine military staff appointments, viz. Superintending Surgeon, Haidarabad Contingent, Medical Storekeeper, Secretary Medical Board, and six Garrison Surgeons, at the Presidency, Trichinopoly, Bangalore, Bellary, Vizagapatam, and Kadalur, making a total of 228 military medical appointments.

The actual total strength of the Madras Medical Service in 1854, however, including men on furlough and men in civil employ, was only 217, viz; A.M.O.'s, 13; Surgeons, 60; and Assistant Surgeons, 144. Of these eight Surgeons and thirty-eight Assistant Surgeons were in civil employ. And, as a matter of fact, very few of the native regiments, infantry or cavalry, had more than one medical officer, though each was supposed to have both a Surgeon and an Assistant Surgeon.

The Bombay Army had six regiments of Irregular Horse, the First and Second Sind Horse, the Puna Horse, the Maratha Horse, the Guzarat Horse, and the Cutch Horse; and ten such infantry corps, the Guzarat Provincial Battalion, the Marine Battalion, the Khandesh Bhil Corps, the Sawantwari Corps, the Kolapur Corps, the First and Second Biluchi Battalions, the Ratnagheri Rangers, the Ghat Police Corps, and the Guzarat Police Corps. Of these the sixth cavalry corps, the Cutch Irregular Horse, and the last three

infantry corps, had no medical officers. The medical staff of the Bombay Army may therefore be tabulated as follows :—

	Surgeons.	Assist. Surgeons.
Sappers and Miners	—	1
Horse Artillery, one Brigade; Foot artillery, four Battalions	2	3
Company's European Regiments, three . .	3	6
Native Cavalry, three Regiments . . .	3	3
Native Infantry, twenty-nine Regiments .	29	58
Irregular Horse, five Regiments . . .	—	5
Local Infantry Corps, seven Regiments . .	—	7
Total . .	37	83

To these should be added eight administrative officers, three in the Medical Board, and five Superintending Surgeons; and nine military medical staff appointments; four Staff Surgeons at Karachi, Mhau, Ahmadabad, and Puna; three medical store-keepers, at the Presidency, Belgaum, and Nimach; the Secretary to the Medical Board, and the Garrison Surgeon at the Presidency, making a total of 137 appointments; or, if we include, say, twenty for the Indian Navy, which was always considered as military employment, 157 military medical appointments, without counting men on furlough and men in civil employ.

The actual strength of the Bombay Medical Service in 1854 was 181, viz. A.M.O.'s, 8; Surgeons, 46; Assistant Surgeons, 127. Of these six Surgeons and thirty-seven Assistant Surgeons were in civil employ, and seventeen Assistant Surgeons were serving in the Indian Navy. As in Madras, most of the native regiments had only one medical officer, though both a Surgeon and an Assistant Surgeon were nominally allowed.

Mily. Letter No. 340 of 7th Nov., 1864, from the Secretary of State for India, published in India as G.G.O., No. 1060 of 23rd Dec., 1864, in paras. 17 and 18, fixes the strength of the I.M.S. as 861. This number, however, was never actually attained.

Para. 17. "In my despatch No. 152 I authorized your augmenting the number of officers above the rank of Assistant Surgeon in Bengal to 152, Madras to 36, Bombay to 69, leaving the aggregate establishment of medical officers in each Presidency the same as before.

Para. 18. "That establishment is at present as follows :—Bengal, 425; Madras, 243; Bombay, 193."

It may be of interest to give the actual strength of the I.M.S. at different periods in the last half century, as calculated from

the *Army Lists*. The numbers given cannot be considered as exact to single units, for every *Army List* must necessarily be a few weeks out of date by the time it is published. In each case, except in 1861, when there were none, there was a contingent of newly-joined officers on probation, under training, whose names are not given in the *Army List*. But the figures will be found correct to within two or three units in each total. The dates chosen are—

July, 1861, including the last entries before the service was closed to competition for four and a half years.

July, 1865, just before the first admissions joined, after the closure.

January, 1871, just before the Service was closed for two years.

January, 1873, just before the first men admitted after the closure joined.

January, 1882, when the Service was at fairly full strength, after the Afghan War.

January, 1886, when the numbers had fallen, by the reduction of the Army in 1882, and by four years' restricted recruiting.

July, 1897, including the last men admitted to the three separate Services, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay.

January, 1913, the present day.

The numbers in the new junior Service or General List passed the totals in the three old Services for the first time in 1907. The figures for Jan., 1908, were: Bengal, 217; Madras, 92; Bombay, 58; total, 367; General List, 394.

Date.	Rank.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
July, 1861	A.M.O.'s	15	10	8	33
	Surgeons	125	66	48	239
	Asst. Surgeons	264	143	140	547
	Total	404	219	196	819
July, 1865	A.M.O.'s	16	10	8	34
	Surgeon Majors	53	38	22	113
	Surgeons	60	35	51	146
	Asst. Surgeons	116	91	70	277
	Total	245	174	151	570

Date.	Rank.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Jan., 1871	A.M.O.'s	13	7	5	25
	Surgeon Majors	44	36	25	105
	Surgeons	157	78	71	306
	Asst. Surgeons	126	65	60	251
	Total	340	186	161	687
Jan., 1873	A.M.O.'s	12	7	5	24
	Surgeon Majors	39	35	24	98
	Surgeons	167	79	66	312
	Asst. Surgeons	107	57	58	222
	Total	325	178	153	656
Jan., 1882	A.M.O.'s	13	6	4	23
	Brig. Surgeons and Surgeon Majors	173	83	72	328
	Surgeons	172	96	69	337
	Total	358	185	145	688
Jan., 1887	A.M.O's	11	5	4	20
	Brig. Surgeons and Surgeon Majors	164	69	54	287
	Surgeons	157	77	62	296
	Total	332	151	120	603
July, 1897	A.M.O.'s	10	5	4	19
	B. S. Lt.-Cols. and Surgeon Lt.-Cols.	92	38	31	161
	Surgeon Majors	78	51	28	157
	Surgeon Captains	158	43	35	236
	Surgeon Lieutenants	28	23	10	61
	Total	366	160	108	634

Date.	Rank.	Bengal.	Madras.	...bay.	I.M.S.	Total.
Jan., 1913	A.M.O.'s	11	5		—	20
	Lt.-Colonels	83	20		—	126
	Majors	58	29		131	231
	Captains	—	—		324	324
	Lieutenants	—	—		69	69
	Total	152	54	...0	524	770

A despatch from the Secretary of State for India,* dated 11th Dec., 1908, advocating the encouragement of the local medical profession in India by handing over to private practitioners some of the appointments now held by members of the I.M.S., a despatch which created a good deal of discussion in 1909, in para. 3, definitely ordered that no further increase of the civil appointments of the Service could be permitted.

"Notwithstanding the necessity for restriction, the cadre of the Indian Medical Service has in recent years continued to increase, and, apart from other objections, its further increase would be likely to cause serious difficulties in the matter of recruiting. I have consequently decided that the time has now arrived when no further increase of the civil side of the service can be allowed, and when a strong effort should be made to reduce it by gradually extending the employment of civil medical practitioners recruited in India."

The figures given above show that the total strength of the I.M.S. in 1861 was 819, and that in 1864 the strength sanctioned was 861, a figure which it does not appear ever to have actually attained. On 1st Jan., 1913, the actual strength was 770, having as a matter of fact, during the last half century, not only not increased, but having diminished, as compared to the strength of 1861, by some fifty units, or about 6 per cent.

* This despatch is quoted below in Chap. XLI, *The Future*. The correspondence was published in the *Gazette of India* on 22nd May, 1909.

CHAPTER XV

THE DOUBLE COMMISSIONS

" I do perceive here a divided duty."
SHAKESPEARE, *Othello*, Act I, Scene 3.

A TRADITION exists, or used to exist, that in the early days of the I.M.S., after its foundation on 1st Jan., 1764, men appointed to the Service held commissions as combatant officers, in addition to their warrants * as Assistant Surgeons, entering the Service as Ensign or Lieutenant *and* Assistant Surgeon; and performing their double duties, combatant and medical, indiscriminately, or both at the same time, until promoted. When a man's turn came for promotion, either to Captain or to Surgeon, he was obliged to make his choice between the two branches, either taking the promotion which came to him, and permanently relinquishing the other branch, or once for all declining it, if he preferred to wait for promotion in the other branch.

Such a combination of duties seems strange to us in these times of greater specialisation, and would now be an impossibility. But a century and a half ago things were different, and in many cases a man might have no great difficulty in carrying on both duties at the same time, or in changing from time to time from one to the other.

The subject is one of great interest, and careful search has been made for information bearing upon it in all the original authorities available. It seems certain that no such combination of duties ever existed *as a general rule.* But undoubtedly some

* Assistant Surgeons were, strictly speaking, not commissioned officers, but were appointed on warrants, until 24th Oct., 1788, when the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, withdrew their warrants, granting them commissions as officers instead. For the last forty years the title of Assistant Surgeon has been confined to the Sub-Medical Departments, Military and Civil. But up to the 1st July, 1873, all Medical Officers, entering both the A.M.D. and the I.M.S., entered as Assistant Surgeons, and held that rank for twelve years.

individuals did hold double rank, military and medical, simultaneously, for several years, until they made their final choice. This choice, in one case at least, was bitterly resented by the juniors of the favoured officer, who vainly protested that he had left the Medical Department years before, and had no claim to revert thereto.

The officer in question, Francis Balfour, took his M.D. degree at Edinburgh in 1767, was appointed to the I.M.S. in England in Nov., 1768, and was ranked as Assistant Surgeon from 2nd July, 1769, probably the date of his arrival in India. Nine days later, on 11th July, 1769, he received a commission as Ensign, became Lieutenant on 26th June, 1771, and Surgeon on 10th Aug., 1777, when he relinquished his combatant rank.

The *Bengal Mily. Cons.* of 14th Sept., 1778, record Balfour's reversion to the Medical Department, as follows :—

"That Mr Francis Balfour be permitted to retain his proper Rank in the List of Surgeons according to his Original Warrant of Assistant Surgeon dated Fort William 2nd July, 1769, which intitles him to be a full Surgeon next under Mr William Walker.

"Ordered that a Warrant be accordingly granted him to rank as a Surgeon on this Establishment from the 10th August 1777.

"That the name of Lieut. Francis Balfour be struck off the List of the Army."

Balfour was fortunate in his promotion, becoming Head Surgeon on 20th Oct., 1786, and officiating in the Medical Board from 15th Jan., 1788. He did not, however, reach the Medical Board permanently until 1798. He retired on 16th Sept., 1807, and was living up till 1816.

When Balfour was promoted to full Surgeon, and returned to the medical line, three Assistant Surgeons, W. R. Munro, J. Ferguson, and G. Boyd, who considered themselves aggrieved by their supersession by an officer who they thought had years before quitted the Medical Department, memorialised the Government against his promotion. Balfour's answer to their memorial is as follows* :—

"Read letter referred to Medical Board by Council. To the Hon'ble John Macpherson, Esq., Governor-General, and Members of the Supreme Council.

"Hon'ble Sir and Sirs.—The Remonstrance of Mr. Monro, Mr. Ferguson and Mr. Boyd against my Rank, to which I am desired by your Hon'ble

* This letter is embodied in the *Proceedings of the Calcutta Medical Board* of 14th Sept., 1786, which may be seen in the Record Office in Calcutta. These Proceedings are contained in 289 thick folio volumes of bound manuscript, and run from 1786 to 1854. Balfour's letter, and also Robert Anderson's letter of 21st June, 1786, given below, are summarized in a paper called *Gleanings from*

Board, to reply, seems to contain four objections or arrangements * which I shall consider separately. However, I cannot help expressing my surprise that a Remonstrance addressed in July 1784 to the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esq., should be for the first time transmitted to me for a reply in August 1786, when Mr Hastings is no longer Governor-General, and when Mr Ferguson, one of the gentlemen who signs the Remonstrance, has been more than a twelve-month dead.† These Circumstances subject the Remonstrance in its present form to much Objection and remark; but being eager to obey implicitly every Order of your Hon'ble Board, I shall proceed to communicate all the information you may require upon the points in Question.

"The following are all the Objections that seem to be contained in the Remonstrance:

"1st. That I resigned my Appointment of Assistant Surgeon.

"2nd. That previous to my promotion to the Rank of Full Surgeon, I never did more than a few months' duty.

"3rd. That I have obtained my promotion to the Rank which I hold contrary to the Custom of Service, and to the Adjustment of Field Officers who sat for that Purpose.

"4th. That the Case of Mr Craigie is exactly parallel to mine, and that the decision of the Military Board in that case, furnishes a rule for determining my Rank.

"1st.—With regard to the first I must inform your Hon'ble Board that when I received a Commission in the Army I *never* did resign my appointment of Assistant Surgeon, my eagerness to acquire the Persian language, and my desire to give myself as much as possible to this study prevented me, it is true, from applying for several Months at this period for any medical charge, because I found that it would be too great an interruption to the object I had in view. But I never relinquished my Claim to the indulgence which the Service then afforded, of enjoying both appointments and of choosing and attaching myself to that line, which I should like best, when it should become necessary by arriving at a certain Rank to keep ‡ the other.

"2nd.—In reply to the second Objection of the Remonstrance I must inform your Hon'ble Board, that, instead of doing duty only for a few months, previous to my promotion to the rank of Full Surgeon, I will pledge myself to prove that I did duty effectually and officially not less than *five years*, with Success and Reputation.

"In 1769, I acted as an Assistant Surgeon at the Presidency and in the Hospital, immediately after my arrival, and before I got a Subaltern's Commission, about six months.

"In 1770, I acted as an Assistant Surgeon with the Troops at Giretty, under the command of Sir John Cummings, about six months.

"In 1771, I lost my health, was obliged to leave Bengal, and was not able to return to my duty for many months.

"In 1772, being still intent upon the study of the Persian language, I

Early Records of the Bengal Medical Department, by T. H. Hendley, C.I.E., I.S., in the *Transactions of the Indian Medical Congress* of 1894 (pp. 402–7).

* *Arrangements* is the word used in the MS., probably by miscopying the word *guments*.

† J. Ferguson died at Chunar on 4th Nov., 1785.

‡ Word difficult to make out, looks like *keep* in MS., probably should be *drop*.

confined myself to the duty of an officer, and applied for no medical charge. During this interval, however, I was not altogether useless to the service in the line of Physic. For in the course of this year, I put into form the Medical Observations I had collected during the two unhealthy seasons in which I was employed at Calcutta and Gyretty. These observations describe a successful and I may say a certain method of curing the destructive Remittent Fever of Bengal by giving the Bark in the Fit as well as in the Remission of the Fever. This practice was *first* introduced by me immediately after my arrival, and I hope it will not be overlooked by your Hon'ble Board in forming an estimate of my services previous to my promotion to the Rank of Full Surgeon.

"In 1773, finding that the attainment of the Persian was now within my reach, I applied for, and obtained, the charge of a detachment that was then proceeding to Cooche Behar, and I acted in that unhealthy country as an Assistant Surgeon about 14 months.

"In 1774, after my return from Cooche Behar I acted for five month as an Assistant Surgeon at Chunarghur under the command of Colonel Muir, and had charge of the Hospital, whilst Mr Armstrong was sick.

"In search of the health which I had lost in Cooche Behar and which did not recover for several years, I went to Madras, in December, 1774 I was there appointed Surgeon to the Nabob, and attended him for th space of three years, the Nabob himself applying at the expiration of every year to the Government of Bengal for permission to detain me in that Capacity. By this detail your Hon'ble Board will perceive that previous to my promotion to the rank of Full Surgeon, I was officially employed in the medical line not less than five years. And all that the Authors of the Remonstrance can possibly urge against my rank, amounts to not more than this, 'That for the space of a few months whilst they were proceeding in the common road of their Profession, I confined myself solely to the duty of an officer, and employed all the hours of my leisure, ambitiously laboring to recommend myself to my Hon'ble employers, by facilitating the study of the Persian language, the knowledge of which is inseparably connected with their prosperity in India.' This application of my time has received the approbation of the Supreme Council and of the Court of Directors, and another Gentleman * of the Faculty who is now engaged in labors similar to mine, has, on this account, not only been excused from all medical duty for a much longer period, but has, besides been honored with other Indulgences and testimonies of encouragement from your Hon'ble Board.

"3rd.—I now proceed to consider the third objection of the Remonstrance, *viz.*, 'That I was promoted to the Rank of Full Surgeon contrary to the *Custom* of the Service, and to the arrangement of the Medical Line by the Board of officers who sat for that purpose in 1777.'

"When I arrived in Bengal, and until within these few years, I have already observed, that it was customary in the service, for an Assistant Surgeon to hold likewise a Subaltern's Commission in the Army, and was allowed to retain both until he arrived at the rank of either a Full Surgeon or of a Captain, at which time he was obliged to relinquish the other appointment, and to attach himself to that line only in which he had received his promotion. Mr Cranston enjoy'd both for several years, and

* Assistant Surgeon John Borthwick Gilchrist.

held them both at the time of his death ; and if I be not mistaken, Captain Frederick Breton held both until he was promoted to the rank of Captain, at which time he lost his appointment of Assistant-Surgeon.

" There are other examples which I don't recollect exactly.

" In these examples your Hon'ble Board will discern the Custom of the Service at the time in question, and it is in Conformity *to that rule*, that I have arrived at my present rank on the list of Surgeons. I held both appointments until I returned from Madras in 1778. I was then promoted and became a Full Surgeon, and dropt, of course, my Commission in the Army.

" With respect to the adjustment of the Medical List by the Board of officers in 1777, your Hon'ble Board will easily determine with what degree of Justice any arrangement made by them is proposed as a rule for ascertaining my rank, when you are informed that during the whole interval in which they were constituted, sat, and were dissolved, and for many months afterwards, I was absent at Madras, never heard of it, and knew nothing of these proceedings, until I arrived in Bengal, and never had an opportunity of laying my claims before them. If the decision of this Military Board had ever received the unconditional and unreserved approbation of the Court of Directors, the Circumstances of my absence from Calcutta, and of their want of information with respect to my claim, rendered their proceedings and decisions altogether irregular, and in the highest degree objectionable, and left me open a door for remonstrance and redress. But the approbation of the Court of Directors was not given without condition or reserve. They wisely and equitably provided a Clause against any mistake into which the Military Board might have fallen from want of sufficient information or otherwise. On this Clause I should undoubtedly have claimed and recover'd the Station from which they had excluded me during my absence on the list of Surgeons. But I had no occasion, for the Supreme Court perceiving the Justice of my Claim, and anticipating the provision that was made for it, in the orders of the Court of Directors, put me in possession of my proper rank immediately upon my return to Bengal, and it is that rank which I now enjoy.

" 4th.—Great stress has been laid on the case of Mr Craigie. It is called by the author of the Remonstrance a case exactly parallel to mine, and is proposed as a rule for ascertaining my proper rank on the List of Surgeons.

" On a former occasion I took the Liberty of laying before your Hon'ble Board Certificates of three *different* Commissions from the Company. By the first I was appointed an Assistant Surgeon in November 1768, by the Hon'ble Court of Directors, by the second my rank on this Establishment was fixed, and confirmed in July 1769 by the Hon'ble Harry Verelst, Esq., and Council, and by the third I was promoted to the rank of Full Surgeon in August 1777 by the Supreme Council, in Conformity with the Custom of the Service, and with the resolution of the Court of Directors, upon the proceedings of the Military Board, who sat to adjust the rank of the Medical Line. In short, I hold my present rank by every Right and Form which the nature of the case can possibly admit or require.

" If Mr Craigie, therefore, possesses a claim that is exactly parallel to mine, and does not enjoy the corresponding rank to which he is by that claim entitled, it follows by a conclusion which is obvious and unavoidable that Mr Craigie has suffered an injustice, and it is much more consistent

with Justice to re-establish Mr Craigie in his proper station, than assume the injury which he had received as a rule or precedent for grading me.

"On the other hand, if Mr Craigie had aspired to promotion up grounds that are not similar and corresponding to mine, the two c are not parallel, and the resolution of the Military Board to rej claim, cannot be applied as a proper rule for determining my ra

"Your Hon'ble Board will now be surprised to learn after all about supersession and hardship, that at this moment I possess rank than that which was originally given me by the Hon'ble Directors, and that the Authors of this Remonstrance enjoy the that was originally confer'd upon them by their first Commission Service.

"Long before any of these Gentlemen had reached Bengal, and their names were heard of in this country, I had established a charac in my Profession by the Success of my practice. I have supported tha character for the space of seventeen years and have raised it higher, and I have been promoted agreeably to the dates of my different Commissions, to the Custom of the Service, and to the Clause contained in the con ditional approbation given by the Court of Directors to the proceedings of the Military Board. Above all, I am confirmed in the possession of m present Rank by the late Act of Parliament, and I trust that the Justice of your Hon'ble Board will find in my character and conduct no occasion sufficiently urgent to require a deviation from that rule. I have the honour to be, &c., Francis Balfour. Benares, 15th August, 1786."

It may be of interest to give the opinions of the Medical Board on Balfour's case. These opinions are contained in the Board's *Proceedings* of 28th Sept., 1786, and are somewhat mixed.

James Ellis, the senior member, considers that Balfour did not resign his commission as Asssistant Surgeon, and that he is entitled to his original place in the list, by the orders of Council of 14th Sept., 1778. The opinion of Ellis is of special interest, as he was himself one of the few officers who had held a double commission.

The second member, Andrew Williams, states that he considers that Balfour has no claim to his original rank, nor to rank in the Medical Dept. from any date prior to 14th Sept., 1778, and that Munro and Boyd have established their claim to rank above him.

John Fleming, the third member, is of opinion that Balfour left the Medical Dept. when he became an Ensign, and that his restoration in 1778 to his original place was an act of injustice to Munro and Boyd, and to all the other men who had entered as Assistant Surgeons before 1778. At the same time, he considers

that the Council, when they restored Balfour to his original place, must have had good reasons for doing so, that they then pledged the public faith to Balfour, and that the question cannot now be reopened.

The decision of Government was in favour of Balfour.

The only available evidence that it was *customary* for men to serve as combatant and medical officers at the same time is contained in: first, Balfour's statement in the above letter that it was customary in the service for an Assistant Surgeon to have likewise a subaltern's commission, and he was allowed to retain both until he arrived at the rank either of a full Surgeon or a Captain"; and, secondly, a letter from Lieut. Thomas Staunton, contained in the Medical Board's *Proceedings* of 24th May, 1787, which runs as follows:—

Proceedings, Medical Board, 24th May, 1787. "Letter from Thomas Hamilton, Head Surgeon, Futty Ghurr, forwarding an application from Thomas Staunton, Lieutenant, to act as Regimental Surgeon's Mate.

"To Thomas Hamilton, Esquire, Senior Surgeon at the Hospital, Futty Ghurr. Sir,—Having been bred a Surgeon and having served with the Sepoy Corps of the 1st and 3rd Brigades from October, 1781 to the date of the General Order in 1783 by which Gentlemen serving in both the Military and Medical lines were desired to relinquish one or the other; I am induced to offer my services as Regimental Mate to the 8th Battalion of Sepoys to which I belong, and which I request you to submit to the Medical Board, that if they approve, I may be favored by their recommendation to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to carry my appointment thereto into effect. Any monthly allowance that may be ordered for me to receive, I will gladly accept. I am, &c., Tho. Staunton, Lieutenant. Futty Ghurr, 11th May, 1787.

The answer to this letter was given at the same meeting, and was to the effect that as the Board had no power to comply with Lieut. Staunton's request, he must apply to the Governor-General. He does not appear to have rejoined the Medical Dept., but continued to serve as a combatant officer (Cadet, 1781, Ensign 11th July, 1782, Lieutenant 8th Jan., 1785), becoming Captain on 17th July, 1801, and dying at Futty Ghurr (Fatehgarh) on 21st Nov., 1805.

On the other hand, it seems evident that, if the practice of holding double rank, military and medical, were common and customary, Balfour's acceptance of promotion in the medical line would have been recognised as being in the ordinary course of events, and would not have elicited complaints of supersession

from his juniors; nor would the Medical Board have been so divided in opinion in the matter.

The oldest list of the Bengal Medical Service which appears to be in existence is one dated 30th May, 1774, preserved in the Calcutta Record Office, in manuscript. In this list Andrew Cranston's name stands fifth among the Assistant Surgeons, with the remark opposite to it "is an officer likewise." Had it been customary, or even common, for medical officers to hold the double rank, it is not likely that such a remark would have been entered opposite the name of one Assistant Surgeon, and of one only. Incidentally, this remark also seems to show that an Assistant Surgeon was not then considered an officer.

In this list Balfour's name is omitted, which seems to show that, at that time, he was considered permanently to have left the Medical Department.

No trace can be found of the G.O. issued in 1783, directing that officers doing the double duties should relinquish one or the other, which is mentioned in Staunton's letter. No such order can be found in the *Mily. Cons.* and *G.O.'s* for the years 1782, 1783, and 1784.

On 4th Aug., 1777, a Board of Field Officers was appointed, with instructions "to investigate and determine the rank of Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons" in Bengal. They drew up a list in accordance with their instructions. This list is included in the *Mily. Cons.* of 20th Oct., 1777. It comprises sixty-three officers, twenty Surgeons and forty-three Assistant Surgeons. Balfour's name is not included, though his rank as Surgeon is dated from 10th Aug., 1777. The name of John Craigie stands twenty-sixth among the Assistant Surgeons. No mention is made of his ever having held a combatant commission. The officer referred to is John Craigie, who entered the service as Assistant Surgeon on 28th April, 1772, became Surgeon on 21st Feb., 1780, and died on board the *Houghton*, on his way home, on 10th Feb., 1795.

Captain Frederick Breton certainly served for some time in the Medical D[illegible], as is shown by an entry in the *Mily. Cons.* of 1st Jan., 1779.

"That Mr Lynd, who was appointed Surgeon to Major Carnac's Detachment, having reported himself unable to proceed with it, from Indisposition, Lieutenant Frederick Britton, at the recommendation of

Major Carnac, be Appointed to act as Surgeon, and Lieutenant John Hicks in the room of Lieutenant Britton as Adjutant to the Detachm[t]."

A memorial by Breton about his rank, dated 16th Dec., 1776, contained in the *Mily. Cons.* of 26th Feb., 1777, two years before the date of the above order, says nothing about his ever having served as a medical officer. He was commissioned as Ensign on 22nd Dec., 1772, became Lieut. on 25th March, 1777, and Captain on 23rd March, 1781, and resigned in Dec., 1790.

Andrew Cranston, who, as well as Balfour, undoubtedly held a combatant commission in addition to his medical warrant, entered as Assistant Surgeon in Oct., 1769, received a commission as Ensign on 5th Oct., 1769, became Lieut. on 28th March, 1773, and died on 5th Sept., 1776, at Barhampur. In his case, therefore, the question of promotion never arose.

The only other cases in which medical officers can be shown with certainty to have held combatant commissions and medical warrants at one and the same time are those of James Ellis, and of two brothers, Charles and James Laird.

James Ellis went to India in 1758 as Surgeon's Mate of the *Streatham*, and after the loss of that ship was appointed in the same capacity to the Bengal Service from 1st Nov., 1759, was promoted to Surgeon less than two years later, on 1st Oct., 1761, and after Crooke's death at Patna became Head Surgeon in Calcutta from 25th Nov., 1763. He became First Surgeon, *vice* Taylor, resigned, from 12th Feb., 1771, and went home about April, 1774, but came out again about May, 1783, and succeeded Daniel Campbell as Surgeon-General. On the foundation of the Medical Board in 1786, he became its first President, with the title of Physician-General. He resigned on 24th Dec., 1789, and died on board the *Burbidge*, on his way home.

Among the *Orme MSS.* (*Orme, Various*, Vol. CXCVII, pp. 13 to 18) are preserved two copies of a memorial from Ellis, the first apparently in his own handwriting, recounting his services. The memorial is not dated, but from internal evidence appears to have been written after he went home in 1774. In this memorial he tells how he was sent on active service in Midnapur, received a commission as Ensign, and resigned it by the Company's rules on his promotion to Surgeon.

"This campaign was active and sharp, and the conduct of your memorialist was satisfying to the Commander, on whose recommendation

without the previous knowledge of your memorialist, Governor Vansittart gave him an Ensign's Commission, which your memorialist, by the Company's rules, resigned on his return to Calcutta in December, and was then appointed by Governor Vansittart a full Surgeon." . . .

Charles Laird certainly held a commission at the same time as his medical warrant. The Bengal *Mily. Cons.* of 24th May, 1781, state—

"Agreed also that Mr Charles Laird, who has served for some time with Reputation in the Army as an Assistant Surgeon be placed at the head of the List of Cadets who have been appointed in the Country since the 1st of January last."

The same *Cons.* of 24th June, 1781, contain a list of cadets appointed Ensigns, at the head of which comes the name of Charles Laird. Those of 22nd Nov., 1781, announce his appointment to succeed the late Mr. Inglis as Surgeon of Ramgarh.

Charles Laird entered as Assistant Surgeon on 10th April, 1780, and became Surgeon on 21st Oct., 1783; resigned, with permission to return, on 22nd Dec., 1788; was struck off, on completion of five years' absence, in 1793, and died at Florence in 1795. James Laird entered as Assistant Surgeon on 7th April, 1780, three days before his brother, but was six years longer in getting promotion to Surgeon, on 2nd May, 1790; he retired on 27th May, 1801, and died in London on 6th Jan., 1816. Dodwell and Miles include the names of both brothers in their *Bengal Medical List.* Their *Army List* does not mention the name of Charles among the Bengal Infantry officers, but that of James is duly entered. In the *Muster Rolls* of the Bengal Army for 1782 James Laird is shown as Ensign of Infantry in the First Brigade. The *Bengal Mily. Cons.* of 5th Dec., 1785, note the grant of leave to Europe for three years on full pay, under the regulations of 19th Aug., to Lieut. James Laird. The same *Cons.* for 6th Dec. grant the same leave to Breton.

In the Hastings papers * a list is given, on page 802, of the Europeans present at Benares, at the time of Chait Sinh's rebellion, in Aug., 1781. This list included "Mr. Totty, Surgeon to the Residency," and, among the military officers on active service, "Surgeon and Ensign Laird."

* *Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India*, 1772–85. Edited by G. W. Forrest, B.A. In three volumes, Calcutta. Printed by the Supt. of Govt. Printing, India. 1890.

James Laird held his combatant commission up to 23rd July, 1789, twelve years later than Balfour or Cranston; and, as Assistant Surgeons received commissions in 1788, he may truly be said to have held a "double commission." The *Proceedings* of the Medical Board of 3rd Aug., 1789, contain the following notification :—

G.O. of 23rd July, 1789. "Mr James Laird, whose name stands in the list of the army as a Lieutenant, and on the medical list as an Assistant Surgeon, having been required to make his election of either line, and having in consequence declared his preference for the Medical Department, his name is to be struck out of the list of the army. (Signed) Peter Murray, Adjt. Genl."

It will be seen that, if any order was really issued in 1783, that officers holding double rank, military and medical, should resign one or the other, James Laird in some way or other evaded it.

Some earlier cases, prior to the formation of the Medical Service, of such double rank, may be quoted. The *Fort St. George Cons.* of 2nd Sept., 1713, note—

"Capt Richard Phrip representing to the Board that he was obligd to leave his Surgeon behind in England for debt, and that his Surgeons Mate is now upon his deathbed so that he is in great distress as being bound on a sickly voyage, and Ensign Heydon that come out on the *Hannover*, who was bred a Surgeon petitioning to quit the Service and go with Capt Phrip the Board agrees thereto."

This appointment is also referred to in para. 178 of a General Letter from Fort St. George, dated 16th Sept., 1713.*

"Ensign Saml Heydon spared to Captn Phrip for a Surgeon, being a better Surgeon than Souldier."

Three months later, the *Fort St. George Cons.* of 22nd Jan., 1713/14, note Heydon's permanent appointment as Surgeon in Sumatra.

"Samuel Heydon petitioning to go to the West Coast as Surgeon of York ffort, and Capt Phrip giving him the character of a sober able man. Agreed he be entertain'd and sent thither by the Dolben, their letters acquainting us that they are under a great necessity. Ordered that John George Stevens be entertaind Surgeons Mate for that purpose."

Heydon subsequently served again as a combatant officer in the Western Presidency. The *Bombay Cons.* of 16th April, 1718, note the grant of a commission as lieutenant to Samuel Haydon.

* *Abstracts, Letters from Coast and Bay*, Vol. I, 170[illegible]-15, p. 428.

Those of 27th May, 1722, record the despatch of a letter to Captain Samuel Heydon at Mahim. He served in Bombay for over fourteen years. The *Cons.* of 5th June, 1732, mention the dismissal of Captain Samuel Heydon, Captain Commandant, for illegally confining in the Fort guardroom Mr. Joseph Gunning, first Lieutenant of the *Prince of Wales* galley.

Again, the *Fort St. George Cons.* of 13th July, 1719, record that Dr. John Strahan, who was Physician at Bencoolen, and had also a commission as Ensign, is posted to Vizagapatam as Ensign and Surgeon. Strahan died there six months later, in the following January.

A General Letter from Bombay, dated 15th Nov., 1720, reports in para. 128 that Ensign Gordon is to be employed as Surgeon in vessels.

Nearly forty years later, a letter from Fort Marlborough, dated 10th March, 1759, notes the grant of a "breviate" as Ensign to Surgeon Stevenson at Moko-Moko.*

Several cases occur in the records of appointments to the Medical Service of men who had come out to India in the ranks, having enlisted as privates in the Company's troops, *e.g.* Stewart at Madras in 1688, Holmes at Anjengo about 1717, Raworth at Madras in 1724, Trotter at Bombay in 1745, Thomas Walker in 1765, and Thomas Wilson in 1770 (both in Madras), Sloper in 1815 and John Smyth in 1820, both in Bengal. These cases are more fully described in Chap. XXII, *Appointment to the Service, Examinations.*

Numerous cases are mentioned in the records, in which combatant officers were appointed to the Medical Department, and three of these officers rose to distinction in the Service, Mein, Gilman, and Scott.

An obituary notice of Gilbert Pasley, in *Hickey's Gazette* of 20–27th Oct., 1781, states—

"Death: Gilbert Paisley Esq: Surgeon General on the Coast whose services at Madras had rendered him greatly respected having been resident there upwards of 25 years. He came out Originally in the Artillery as a Lieut. Fireworker, but soon exchanged the Sword Spungeworm and Ramrod for the Lancett Gold Headed Cane and Snuffbox."

There does not appear to be any other evidence of Pasley's ever having been an officer in the Artillery. He came to India

* *Abstracts, Letters from Coast and Bay*, Vol. VI, 1754–60, p. 250.

as a Surgeon's Mate in Adlercron's regiment,* but may possibly have served previously in the Artillery in England.

A Separate Letter from Madras, dated 6th Feb., 1771, reports in para. 13 the appointment of Cadet George Binney as Assistant Surgeon. In para. 80 of a similar Letter of 15th Oct., 1772, is noted the appointment of Cadets Nicol Mein and John Simson to be Assistant Surgeons.

6th Feb., 1771, *para.* 13. "Geo. Binney, a Cadet of last year, from our want of such has been appointed a Surgeon's Mate."

15th Oct., 1772, *para.* 80. "Cadets Nicoll Mein and John Simson are appointed to act as Surgeons Assistants till Court's pleasure is known or till they are in turn for Commissions."

The appointments of Binney and Mein are entered in *Madras Mily. Cons.* of 13th Aug., 1770, and 20th July, 1772.

13th Aug., 1770. "Mr George Binney Cadet having applied to be appointed a Surgeons Mate, in which Profession he has been brought up, & as we are in great Want of Persons in that Capacity, It is agreed that he be examined by the Surgeons and if he is found properly Qualified that he be appointed accordingly."

20th July, 1772. "The President acquaints the Board that Mr Nicol Mein, One of the Cadets of this Year, having been bred to Surgery, had express'd a desire of acting as Surgeons Assistant & for which he had been recommend'd by Mr Pasley. As We are in great Want of Surgeons Assistants, it is agreed that Mr Nicol Mein be appoint'd to act as such for the present, and that he be sent with the Detachment now under Orders to embark for Masulipatam."

The same *Cons.* of 27th Oct., 1773, note the appointment of Ensign Alexander Ferrier as Assistant Surgeon.

"The President informs the Board that Ensign Alexr Ferrier has applied to resign his Commission in the Military and to be admitted on the List of Surgeons Assistants. Agreed that Ens. Ferrier's request be granted."

In 1775 Ferrier applied, but without success, to take rank as Assistant Surgeon from the date of his arrival in India. He came out as a Cadet in 1770, was appointed Ensign on arrival, and in 1772 served in Achin as Assistant Surgeon, in addition to his military duties.

None of these four names are included in Dodwell and Miles' *Madras Army List*, and that of Mein only, out of the four, in

* *Madras Mily. Cons.*, 16th Feb., 1761. For Pasley see also Chap. XVII, *Rank*.

their *Medical List.* Binney became Head Surgeon on 15th Feb., 1780, and died at Masulipatam on 20th May, 1793. Mein became member of the Medical Board on 20th May, 1800, and died at Madras on 3rd April, 1804. Ferrier became Surgeon in 1780, went on furlough to Europe in March, 1788, and retired without rejoining. John Simpson or Simson became Surgeon on 10th March, 1777, and died at Vizagapatam in Oct., 1779.

Robert Anderson states, in a letter to the Calcutta Medical Board about his rank, dated 21st June, 1786, that he had practised as a medical man for over thirteen years, before he became a combatant officer. He was appointed a Cadet of Infantry in 1781, and became Ensign on 29th Sept. of the same year. Before the end of the year he was appointed to do duty as an Assistant Surgeon, and granted a warrant as such by the Indian Council from 2nd Jan., 1782. His letter, which is contained in the *Proceedings* of the Medical Board of 7th Aug., 1786, is as follows :—

"To the Hon'ble John Macpherson, Esq., Governor-General, and Supreme Council.

"Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,—I respectfully beg leave to represent to your Hon'ble Board that I was an Ensign on the Establishment in 1781, and doing duty as such with the first European Regiment in Fort William. There being no Surgeon with the said Regiment and the Commander-in-Chief being informed that I had regularly studied and practised that Profession for upwards of 13 years, he was pleased to order me to act as an Assistant Surgeon, and after acting for some months I applied to be appointed an Assistant Surgeon and to resign my Commission as an officer. The Hon'ble Board was pleased to grant me a warrant, dated the 2nd January, 1782. But by the order of the Hon'ble the Court of Directors I was included in the list of Gentlemen they ordered to be discharged the Service. I further beg leave to inform you that I was readmitted to the Service by the Resolution of your Hon'ble Board in September last, but with the loss of Rank. I flatter myself you will be pleased to take the peculiarity of my case into your consideration and have to hope the causes of my resignation of my Commission will weigh with you Gentlemen, in admitting my claim to rank in the Service from the 2nd January, 1782, and above all appointments that have taken place posterior to that period in the line of Assistant Surgeons. I beg your excuse for thus trespassing on your Hon'ble Board and have the honour to be, &c., Robert Anderson, Assistant Surgeon. Camp near Chunar, 21st June, 1786"

It will be noticed that Anderson distinctly states that he applied to be confirmed as Assistant Surgeon, and to resign his commission as an officer, in 1782. It if had been common or customary for officers to hold double rank, there would have been no necessity for him to resign his Ensign's commission.

A second memorial from Anderson, in the *Proceedings* of the Medical Board of 15th Feb., 1787, states that he was discharged from 15th Nov., 1784, and reinstated in Oct., 1785.

The *Bengal Mily. Cons.* of 4th Jan., 1782, record—

" Agreed that Mr R. Anderson be appointed an Assistant Surgeon on this Estt if on examination by the Surgeon Genl (whom he is directed to attend for the purpose) he shall be found duly qualified for that profession, and that in such Case his rank do commence from this day."

Robert Anderson's name figures twice in the General Orders of 1783.

G.O. 14th April, 1783. " Order'd that Ensign Robert Anderson be permitted to resign his Commission and to take rank as Assistant Surgeon from the Date of his Warrant from the Board, viz. 2nd Jany 1782."

G.O. 23rd Nov., 1783. " Ordered that Mr R. Anderson's Rank as Assistant Surgeon be confirmed from the time of his making Choice of the Physical line."

Dodwell and Miles include his name in their lists both of Bengal Infantry and of the Bengal Medical Service.

John Gilman was appointed to the Bombay Army as a Cadet in April, 1781. In March, 1782, he reached the Madras Presidency, in the Bombay contingent sent to the war in the Karnatik, and, having had some medical education, at Bart.'s, was appointed by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Eyre Coote, Assistant Surgeon to the Bengal contingent from 6th April, 1782, and confirmed from 22nd May, 1782.* He became Surgeon on 21st Sept., 1795, Superintending Surgeon on 17th Dec., 1811, third member of the Medical Board on 30th Jan., 1817, second member on 21st Jan., 1819, went on furlough on 27th March, 1823, retired 24th March, 1824, and died at Cheltenham on 8th Jan., 1830. His name is included in Dodwell and Miles' *Bengal Medical List*, but not in that of the Bombay Army.

A Bombay General Letter of 10th Feb., 1784, reports, in para. 170, that Mr. Helenus Scott, a cadet, had been admitted Assistant Surgeon after examination. He introduced the use of a new kind of alkali in 1784, and was appointed agent for the manufacture of gunpowder. He became second member of the Medical Board in 1801, with eighteen years' service, his commission as Assistant Surgeon dating from 13th Jan., 1783 [Gilman

* *Proceedings, Calcutta Medical Board*, 8th July, 1788, [G.O., 1st March, 1783]; 9th Oct., 1795, and 21st Nov., 1795.

took thirty-five years to reach the Board], President on 22nd April, 1806, went on furlough on 15th April, 1809, retired on 30th March, 1810, and died on a voyage to New South Wales on 16th Nov., 1821. Dodwell and Miles give his name in their *Bombay Medical List*, but not in that of the Bombay Army.

The *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board for 21st Aug., 1796, note that Assistant Surgeon J. Corse, who joined the Bengal Service in 1783, had served as Hospital Mate in H.M. South Fencible Regiment, commanded by the Duke of Buccleugh, from 1st Sept., 1779, to April, 1783, and also as Ensign in that corps from 1781 till it was disbanded in April, 1783. Corse afterwards added the surname of Scott to his name. He became Surgeon on May 22nd, 1796, and retired on 30th July, 1800. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society on 16th Jan., 1800, being the first Indian medical officer actually serving to attain that distinction.

In the *Indian Medical Gazette* for Nov., 1889, was published a list of the Bengal Medical Service in 1789. In a footnote to the name of Assistant Surgeon Patrick Ivory it is stated that in 1781 he was an ensign in the First European Regiment. The *Muster Rolls* of the Bengal Army for 1781 are not to be found in the records of the India Office. Ivory's name does not appear as an Ensign in those of 1780 and 1782. He came to India as Surgeon of the *Valentine*, and was appointed locally as Assistant Surgeon from 1st April, 1782, being an M.A., 1770, and M.D. 1773, of Paris, as well as holding the Certificate of the Corporation of Surgeons, now the London College. He became Surgeon on 21st Oct., 1794, retired on 17th March, 1802, and died in London on 28th May, 1810. Dodwell and Miles include his name in their *Bengal Medical List*, but not in that of the Bengal Army.

James Denny was appointed Cadet of Infantry in 1783, Ensign on 21st Feb., 1785, and transferred to the Medical Department as Assistant Surgeon on 11th July, 1789.

The *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board of 9th July, 1789, contain the following letter :—

"Letter from the Assistant Secretary to Government, dated Council Chamber, 1st July, 1789, to the Secretary, Hospital Board. Sir,—Ensign Denny having made an application to the Governor-General in Council to be removed into the medical line, I am directed to submit to you the enclosed certificates from the Master, Wardens, and the rest of the Court

of Examiners of the Company of Surgeons in London, which he has produced, and to desire that the Hospital Board will report, whether Mr Denny is thereby qualified to be an Assistant Surgeon on this establishment. (Signed) J. Fombelle, Sub-Secretary."

Denny was duly reported qualified. Unfortunately his certificates are not further mentioned in the records. The Board's *Proceedings* of 24th July, 1789, contain the following further notice about him—

G.O. 15th July, 1789. "Resolved that Mr James Denny be appointed an Assistant Surgeon upon this establishment until the pleasure of the Honourable Court of Directors shall be known.

"Mr James Denny, admitted as an Assistant Surgeon upon this establishment, by minute of Council of the Military Department of the 10th instant, being a Supernumerary Ensign, his name is to be continued on the List of the Army until the pleasure of the Court of Directors shall be known, respecting the above-mentioned appointment, but he is not to be permitted to draw any pay or allowance whatever in his military capacity.

"Mr Denny is appointed to do duty at the Hospital at Chunar."

Denny was confirmed as Assistant Surgeon; he became Surgeon on 5th July, 1805, retired 7th Oct., 1818, and died in London on 9th March, 1830.

He may certainly be said to have held a double commission for a short time, but obviously his so doing was only temporary, and for a special purpose, that he might not be permanently struck off the list of combatant officers, until permanently confirmed in the Medical Department. It is clear that he was not doing the double duties at the same time.

Gilbert Briggs of the Madras Army, also followed the same course. He was appointed a Cadet of Infantry in 1795, became Ensign on 21st March, 1796, and Lieutenant on 29th Nov., 1797. He was appointed Assistant Surgeon on 1st Jan., 1797, but was not finally struck off the Infantry List until 17th Dec., 1799, so he also held a double commission for nearly three years, probably under the same conditions as Denny. He became Surgeon on 29th March, 1805, and died at Madras on 4th Nov., 1820.

Dodwell and Miles give the names of Denny and Briggs in both their medical and combatant lists.

A Mily. Letter from Bengal, dated 7th Aug., 1813, states in paras. 61, 62, that some Assistant Surgeons will be appointed from among the subaltern officers. There is no record of any

subalterns being transferred to the Medical Department at this time, but Assistant Surgeon John Smith Sloper was commissioned from the ranks of the Company's Artillery in 1815.

William Turnbull, a Lieutenant in the Champarun Light Infantry, a local corps, was appointed to officiate as an Assistant Surgeon, in the *C.G.* of 21st June, 1819. He was struck off, with other temporary men, from 31st Oct., 1820.

The last case of this kind seems to have been that of Hugh Mackenzie. He joined the 57th Foot, the "Diehards" of Albuera, as an Ensign, on 24th Feb., 1813, and became Lieutenant on 25th Feb., 1814. With that regiment he served in the Peninsula and was present at the battles of Vittoria, Nive, and Nivelle. On the conclusion of the war with France he was placed on half-pay on 24th Feb., 1816. He became a Lieutenant in the Lanarkshire Militia on 5th July, 1820, and studied medicine at Glasgow University, where he took the degree of M.D. in 1823. He entered the Bengal Medical Service as Assistant Surgeon on 15th Jan., 1829, and died at Sandoway in Arakan on 24th Dec., 1831.

The number of medical officers who have left the Medical Department for combatant commissions is not so large as that of those transferred from the combatant to the medical line. The career of Archibald Keir has already been described in Chap. XI, *Holwell, and the Fall of Calcutta.*

Archibald Swinton, like Keir, left the Madras Medical Service for the Bengal Infantry. He was appointed an Assistant in the Hospital at Fort St. George in July, 1752. A letter from Thomas Saunders, President and Governor of Fort St. George from 19th Sept., 1750, to 13th Jan., 1755, dated at Fort St. George, 26th April, 1753, to Major Stringer Lawrence, states that Swinton had recently been wounded at Vellore.*

"Captain Sanderson has very indiscreetly sent out a Small Party very near Veloor who are all kill'd, wounded, or taken Prisoners with the Loss of their Guns, Lieutenant Smith and five men are prisoners at Velour, Ensign Melotte and Doctor Swynton wounded, this has oblig'd us to reinforce that Place."

On 16th Nov., 1758, he applied to resign, when stationed at Negrais Island, having by that time reached the rank of Surgeon. He got a commission as Ensign in the Bengal Infantry from 1st Aug., 1759, but did not leave the Medical Department until

* *Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Cons. Book, Mily. Dept.*, 1753,

Jan., 1761. That he held simultaneously a combatant commission as Ensign and a warrant as Surgeon is shown by his letter of resignation contained in the *Fort William Cons.* of 16th Jan., 1761. This, however, was before the foundation of the graded Medical Service. His request to resign his appointment as Surgeon was granted.

" Honble Sir and Sirs,—Permit me to return you my grateful acknowledgments for continuing hitherto the Indulgence which Colonel Clive was so good as grant me: I mean that of remaining on the List of Surgeons and enjoying a Military Commission at the same time: However as I now propose to apply my whole attention to the latter Profession, and have long been an useless Member of the former, I must beg that you will give me leave to resign it, especially as my continuing on the List may retard the promotion of M[r] Anderson,* who I understand has apply'd for it, and whose long services have so well deserved it.

" The Treasure that was sent up with me for the Nabob's Troops arrived safe yesterday morning.

" I am with much respect, Honble Sir and Sirs, Your most obed't Servant, Arch[d] Swinton. Camp at Futwa, Jan. 4th 1761."

Swinton was promoted to Lieutenant on 10th Sept., 1761, to Captain on 18th Oct., 1763, and resigned on 23rd Jan., 1766. As a Lieutenant at Midnapur in 1763, he raised the original 10th Battalion of Native Infantry, which retained as its name, up to 1857, a corruption of Swinton's name, *Sulteen-ki-paltan.* This regiment went through many changes during the ninety-six years of its existence. Originally a local corps, it became the 13th Battalion in 1764, the 6th in 1775, the 6th Bombay Battalion in 1781, the 6th Bengal Regiment in 1784, the 6th Battalion in 1786, the 1st Battalion 6th Regiment in 1796, and the 3rd Regiment in 1824. It mutinied at Phillour in 1857.†

Swinton served in the Bihar War of 1763, was wounded at the occupation of Monghir, and lost an arm at the capture of Patna.

After leaving the army he founded, along with Mr. Burn, in 1766, the firm of Burn & Co., Engineers, still, after a century and a half, a leading firm in Calcutta.

The names of both Swinton and Keir are included by Dodwell and Miles in their list of the Bengal Army, but not in their *Medical List.*

The *Madras Mily. Cons.* of 16th July, 1759, contain a memorial

* James Anderson, of the Madras Medical Service.

† *The Services of the Bengal Native Army*, by F. G. Cardew, p. 434.

from five Lieutenant Fireworkers of the Company's Train of Artillery, against their supersession by the appointment of Edward James, late Fireworker in his Majesty's Train, to be Captain-Lieutenant in the Company's Train. One of the five who protest was Richard Pottinger, who is stated to have been Surgeon's Mate of H.M.S. *Bridgwater* before his appointment as Lieutenant Fireworker on 5th Dec., 1758. Dodwell and Miles do not give Pottinger's name. How and when he left the Service does not seem to be recorded.

The career of Henry Harling, first as Surgeon, then as Fireworker in the Artillery, then Surgeon again, when he perished in the massacre at Patna, has been described in Chap. XII.

Moses Crawford is mentioned in Broome's *History of the Bengal Army*, p. 615, as having been a Surgeon's Assistant before he received a combatant commission as Ensign in May, 1766. He became Lieutenant 30th Aug., 1767; Captain 28th Nov., 1772; Major 27th Jan., 1781; resigned 14th Oct., 1782, and died in Scotland in 1794. In the *Hastings Papers* (p. 779) he is mentioned as commanding two battalions, with which he came to Hastings' assistance at the time of Chait Sinh's rebellion.

Lieutenant-Colonel Peter MacGregor Murray, Adjutant General of the Bengal Army, was killed on board the Indiaman *Lord Nelson*, when she was taken by the French privateer *Bellone*, near Ferrol, on 14th Aug., 1803. An account of the action will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1803, Vol. II, Sept., p. 884. In this account it is stated that Colonel Murray went out to India as a Surgeon's mate about 1773, and soon after landing received a combatant commission, also that he was retiring with a fortune of £200,000. No other reference occurs to Colonel Murray's having begun life as a doctor, and, as he entered the Bengal Army as a Cadet in 1771, he cannot have come to India as a Surgeon's Mate in 1773; though it is possible that he may have done so at an earlier date. Dodwell and Miles' *Army List* gives the dates of his commissions as Cadet 1771, Ensign 9th March, 1773; Lieutenant 27th March, 1778; Captain 18th Oct. 1781; Major 30th Oct., 1797; Lieut.-Colonel 21st May, 1800.

The *Muster Rolls* of the Bengal Army, First Brigade, for 1778, show the name of James Robinson as Assistant Surgeon in the Infantry, with the remark, undated, "appointed Lieutenant

Fireworker." The *Muster Roll* for the same year of the Bengal Artillery, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel T. D. Pearse, shows "James Robinson, Cadet, appointed 1778." In the Artillery *Muster Roll* for 1779 he appears as Lieutenant Fireworker. In the *List of the Officers of the Bengal Artillery*, by Major-General F. W. Stubbs, the dates of his commissions are given as follows: Cadet, 1778; Lieutenant Fireworker 29th Oct., 1778; Lieutenant 23rd June, 1783; Captain 23rd Jan., 1794; Brevet-Major 1st Jan., 1798; Major 28th May, 1804; Lieut.-Colonel on augmentation 21st Sept., 1804; died at Cawnpore 27th Feb., 1806. General Stubbs states that his name is frequently given as Robertson, but that he has identified his original signature in the *Muster Rolls* as Robinson. Dodwell and Miles give his name in their *List of Bengal Artillery Officers* as James Robertson; it is not included in their *Medical List*. In the *Bengal Mily. Cons.* of 10th Sept., 1778, the name of James Robinson occurs in a list of newly-appointed Artillery Cadets.

Robert Witherstone was appointed Assistant Surgeon on 1st July, 1774, and after four years' service in the Medical Department became a Cadet of Infantry in 1778; Ensign in the same year; Lieut. 14th Feb., 1779; Captain 1st June, 1796; Major 8th Jan., 1801; and Lieut.-Colonel 30th Sept., 1803; he died on 7th May, 1806.

John Stark also joined the Medical Department in 1774. He became an Artillery Cadet in 1778; Lieut. Fireworker on 18th Sept., 1778; First Lieut. on 16th Sept., 1779. Dodwell and Miles' *Army List* gives no further information about him, except "not to be traced." General Stubbs adds, "Died at Calcutta, date unknown."

The *Bengal Mily. Cons.* of 2nd Nov., 1780, contain the following entry—

"Ordered that Messrs. John Stark and Robert Witherstone be struck off the List of Assistant Surgeons, being Officers of the Army serving with Brigadier General Goddard."

Dodwell and Miles give the names of both Witherstone and Stark in their *Medical List*, Witherstone's also in their *Infantry*, and Stark's in their *Artillery List*.

John Taylor or Tailour was appointed Assistant Surgeon on 10th April, 1780; became Second Lieut. of Infantry on 25th Feb.,

1781; Lieut. on 1st Oct., 1781; and died in Calcutta on 1st Dec., 1791. In the *India Office M.S. Records* * he is stated to have acted again as Surgeon on Field Service on 1786. Dodwell and Miles spell his name Taylor in the *Medical List*, Tailour in the *Infantry List*. The *India Office Records* spell it Tailour.

In the MS. *Service Army Lists, Medical, Madras*, in the India Office, occurs the name of John Campbell, nominated by Government Assistant Surgeon from 20th May, 1786, appointed Ensign of Infantry 18th Aug., 1788, ranked from 23rd July, 1788. His name, with the above dates, is included in a list of Assistant Surgeons in the *Madras Mily. Cons.* of 6th March, 1789. There are many John Campbells in Dodwell and Miles' lists, but none, either combatant or medical, whose dates correspond to those above.

A few cases are on record in which subalterns were appointed Assistant Surgeons, and after serving in the Medical Department for some time, resumed their combatant commissions.

The *Calcutta Cons.* of 13th May, 1780, contain a letter from Colonel T. D. Pearse, commanding the Artillery, requesting that Lieut. Henry Grace, who was bred a Surgeon, may be appointed to act as Assistant Surgeon to the Artillery, which he is willing to do. There does not seem to be any evidence that Grace ever did serve as a medical officer, though he may have done so for a short time. He certainly did much better in the Gunners than he could ever have done in the Medical Department, as he rose to be Major-General. The following are the dates of his commissions, as given by General Stubbs: Cadet 1778; Lieut. Fireworker 26th Dec., 1778; Lieut. 8th July, 1784; Captain 1st Feb., 1795; Brevet Major 1st Jan., 1798; Major on augmentation 21st Sept., 1804; Brevet Lieut.-Colonel 1st Aug., 1805; Lieut.-Colonel 28th Feb., 1806; Brevet Colonel 4th June, 1813; Colonel 1st Sept., 1818; Major-General 12th Aug., 1819; died at Calcutta, aged 62, 3rd May, 1820.

John Wynne entered the Bombay Army as an Infantry Cadet in 1780, and became Ensign on 21st Nov., 1782. In 1783, while serving with the Bombay contingent in the Karnatik, he acted for some time as Assistant Surgeon. On 14th May, 1783, he sent in a bill from St. Thomé, for medicines supplied to the field hospital at Punamali. On 24th Sept., he was permitted to return

* *Service Army Lists, Medical, Bengal* (five volumes, names roughly in alphabetical order).

to Bombay. On 19th Dec. he requested to be allowed the *batta* either of a Surgeon or of an officer on the Bombay Establishment. On 25th Dec. he was granted pay as a Bombay officer.* Dodwell and Miles include his name in their *Bombay Army List.* He became Lieut. on 29th March, 1788; Captain 6th Sept., 1797; and died at Bombay on 10th Sept., 1798.

Augustus Pitt Knight was appointed an Infantry Cadet in the Bombay Army in 1802; Ensign on 8th July, 1803, and Lieut. on 30th Jan., 1804. In the latter year he joined the Medical Department, which was short-handed, as reported in paras 100–102 of a Bombay Mily. Letter of 10th Aug., 1804.

"Assistant Surgeons. Mr Hewitt, Surgeon of the Company's ship Prince of Wales and Mr H. Bell late Surgeon of the Navy, appointed till the pleasure of the Court be known, recommended to take rank from their appointment. Hope to be relieved from the responsibility attending such conditional appointments by the Court being enabled to send out annually as many professional Men as may supply the increased Demand for Medical Assistance. Lieutenant Knight has likewise been admitted with a reservation to return to the Military Service without prejudice to his Rank should the Court disapprove of the Transfer."

These three appointments, of Hewitt, Bell, and Knight, were sanctioned in paras. 59 to 62 of a Mily. Despatch to Bombay, dated 9th Oct., 1805.

A later Mily. Letter from Bombay, dated 25th Feb., 1807, in para. 65, reports that Lieut. Knight had not entered the Medical Department. He had in fact been dead more than two years. Dodwell and Miles' *Bombay Army List* gives his name, and states that he died at Baroda on 12th Jan., 1805.

The combination of military and medical functions in one man, though not frequent, does not lack early authority. Homer, indeed, supplies an instance, quoted in the *British Medical Journal* of 25th June, 1910.

"In Homer's *Iliad,* II, 729 to 733, two Grecian army surgeons are mentioned as commanding the combined contingents of Œchalia, Tricca, and Ithome. In Lord Derby's translation the lines are numbered II, 844–847, and run—

> "'Who in Œchalia, Eurytus' domain,
> In Tricca and in rough Ithome dwelt,
> These Podalirius and Machaon led,
> Two skilful leeches, Aesculapius' sons.'

* *Madras Mily. Cons.* of dates given.

" As rendered by Andrew Lang, Walter Leaf, and Ernest Myers in their *Illiad of Homer done into English Prose* (Revised Edition: London, 1893), the passage reads:

" ' And of them that possessed Trikke and terraced Ithome, and that possessed Oichalia city of Eurytos the Oichalian, of these again Asklepios' sons were leaders, the cunning leeches Podaleirios and Machaon, and with them were arrayed thirty hollow ships.'

" At Trikke, it may be noted, was one of the most famous healing temples of Asklepios. There was, therefore, a special fitness in the sons of the god commanding the contingent from that place."

In the British Army such a combination of duties seems to have been, when a standing army first came into existence, after the Restoration, the rule rather than the exception. In an article by Major H. A. L. Howell, R.A.M.C., entitled *The Story of the Army Surgeon and the Care of the Sick and Wounded in the British Army from* 1660 *to* 1688, in the *R.A.M.C. Journal* for Jan., 1910, he writes—

" At this time, and for nearly a century after, it was not unusual to find surgeons holding double commissions. The surgeon purchased a commission as an ensign, and drew, in addition to an ensign's pay, $2^s\ 6^d$ a day for hospital duty. On promotion such officers usually gave up the surgical part of their duties."

Sir James McGrigor, Director-General of the A.M.D., in his *Autobiography*, p. 204, speaking of the staff of the Duke of Kent, at Winchester, in 1808, says—

" His Adjutant, Major, afterwards General, Foster, entered the army as a Medical Officer, and had attained the rank of apothecary to the forces when he entered the Military Service."

Inspector-General John Jackson, of the A.M.D., entered the 71st Foot as an Ensign in 1778, doing duty also as Hospital mate, after qualifying at Edinburgh. He retained his Ensign's Commission in the 71st for fifteen years, up to 1793, when he was placed on half pay, as Surgeon to the Buffs.* In 1807 General Simcox was nominated as Commander-in-Chief in India, and appointed Dr. Jackson his Military Secretary; " a rare, if not a solitary instance, of the selection in the Royal Army of a Medical

* *A View of the Formation, Discipline, and Economy of Armies.* By the late Robert Jackson, M.D., Inspector-General of Army Hospitals. The third edition, revised, with a memoir of his life and services, drawn up from his own papers, and the communications of his survivors. London, Parker, Furnival, and Parker, Military Library, Whitehall, 1845 (The memoir was written by Ranald Martin and John Grant, of the Bengal Medical Service), p. xlii.

officer for such a situation." * Jackson accepted the appointment, but General Simcox died before joining. So it fell through.

But it is in the United States, as perhaps might be expected, that such cases have been most frequent. General Leonard Wood, the present (1913) Chief of the Staff of the U.S. Army, *i.e.* practically the Commander-in-Chief, entered the Medical Department in 1884, after taking the M.D. degree at Harvard. In the war against Spain he commanded a regiment of roughriders, and in 1908 was promoted to Major-General, after filling the posts of Governor-General of Cuba and of the Philippine Islands successively. The second in command of the U.S. Army, Major-General F. C. Ainsworth, also served originally in the Medical Department, which he entered in 1874, after taking the M.D. of New York University. In 1892 he became Chief of the Record and Pension Department of the War Office. In 1899 he became Brigadier-General, and in 1904 Major-General and Military Secretary of the Army. In this connection may also be mentioned Dr. James McHenry, an Irishman, born in Antrim in 1753, who emigrated to America in 1771. He studied medicine at Philadelphia, and became Surgeon to the Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion on 10th Aug., 1776. During the War of Independence he was taken prisoner at the surrender of Fort Washington on 16th Nov., 1776, liberated on parole soon after, and exchanged on 17th May, 1778, when he was appointed Senior Surgeon of the Flying Hospital. Soon after he was appointed Secretary to General Washington. In 1780 he was appointed on the staff of General Lafayette, nominally as A.D.C., really as adviser. In 1781 he was promoted to Major. From 1783 to 1786 he was a member of Congress. In Jan., 1791, he was appointed by Washington Secretary for War, and held that post till 13th May, 1800. He died at Baltimore on 3rd May, 1816. Fort McHenry is named after him.†

* *Idem.* p. lxxvii.

† *B.M.J.*, 1st July, 1905, and 4th June, 1910.

CHAPTER XVI

MILITARY AND CIVIL

" Peace hath her victories, no less renowned than war."
MILTON, *To the Lord General Cromwell.*

UP to the middle of the eighteenth century, the Company employed no regular forces, except the small garrisons of their chief factories. Their medical officers, therefore, were civilians, occasionally employed in the desultory fighting which took place from time to time, but for the most part engaged in purely civil duties. The wars in the Karnatik, with the French and with various native powers, from 1745 onwards, necessitated the formation and use of regular bodies of troops, and, as a consequence, the employment of military Surgeons. A similar cause brought about a similar effect in Bengal, where the need for regular troops may be said to have begun with the capture of Calcutta by the Nawab of Bengal in 1756.

A General Letter from Court, dated 22nd Feb., 1764, orders in para. 64 (abstract)—

" Surgeons and Assistants who attend our Troops are equally upon the Establishm[t] with others & to succeed the Head Surgeons at the Pres[cy], if capable."

The *Fort William Cons.* of 26th Nov., 1764, contain a representation about their rank and duties from Thomas Anderson, and Robert Hunter, Surgeons to the Army, on which the following orders were passed :—

" It is agreed in Consequence to establish the following Regulation with respect to the Surgeons attending the Army.

" The first Surgeon of the Army shall have the Care of the Grand Hospital wherever it may be established. The next Senior Surgeon shall have the Care of a second Hospital, if it shall be necessary, and so on according to the Dates of their Warrants. Of course the Surgeons who are to attend the Army without any particular Charge must be the Juniors.

" Agreed further that the Commander in Chief of the Army be wrote to desiring that the same may be punctually observed in future."

In 1766, little more than two years after its first formal constitution, the Medical Service was divided into two branches, Military and Civil.

The question whether the Medical Service is primarily military or civil is one which has repeatedly been brought forward during the century and a half of its existence. On two occasions in the eighteenth century, in 1766 and again in 1796, it was divided into two separate services, military and civil. On both occasions the separation was found impracticable, and the two services were speedily again united. With these two exceptions, the question has always been decided in one way, and has been finally so settled. This decision is, that officers of the I.M.S. are all primarily military officers, that those in civil employ are only temporarily lent for civil duty, in which they form a reserve for the Army, and that they are all liable to recall to military duty at any time.

The *Fort William Cons.* of 5th May, 1766, contain the following order :—*

" There being two Vacancies for Surgeons at the Factories of Patna and Chittagong by the departure of Mr Fullarton for Europe and the removal of Mr Davidson to the Presidency. The President informs the Board that the Chiefs of these Factories Have applied for Mr Hunter and Mr Baggot whereupon Mr Marriott refers to the Minutes of Consultation of the [*blank*] whereby the Surgeons in the Service are appointed to succeed according to the Seniority in which case the Vacancies in the present instance would fall to M^r^ [*blank*].

" The President then informed the Board that at the recommendation of Lord Clive and General Carnac the Select Committee had come to a Resolution of proposing that the Surgeons should be formed into two separate Corps, One for the Civil, the other for the Military Establishment, and by way of encouragement for Surgeons who can be depended on to remain with the Army that the two Head Surgeons at the Camp should have the same Indulgence in a Share of the Salt Trade and privilege of the Dustick † as the four Head Surgeons at this Settlement.

" Which being entirely approved of by the Board Ordered that Mr Carnegie be appointed the Surgeon at Patna Factory and Mr Bagnol at Chittagong. Those Gentlemen being the next in Rotation on the Civil List formed in Consequence of the above Resolution of the Committee."

The Military and Civil branches of the Medical Service were again united in 1773, less than seven years later. This change

* The middle paragraph is quoted in Long's *Selections*, No. 851, pp. 439, 440.

† *Dustick, dastak*, literally hand-clapping; secondarily, passport; hence, privilege of trade free of duty.

was reported to the Court in para. 53 of a Fort William General Letter, dated 1st March, 1773.

" Senior Surgeon Mr Daniel Campbell succeeded on Mr Ellis's resignation ; have found it necessary to unite the two Departments of Civil and Military Surgeons, which will put them on a more equitable footing and prevent jealousies."

The *Fort William Cons.* of 22nd Dec., 1783, contain the following extracts from the *Proceedings* of 2nd Dec., 1771, and 17th Feb., and 1st March, 1773.

On 2nd Dec., 1771, was read a letter from Brigadier-General Sir Robert Barker,* dated 27th Oct., 1771, transmitting a memorial from Surgeon-General Thomas Anderson, chiefly about allowances and rank in the Military Medical Department.

The *Proceedings* of 17th Feb., 1773, run as follows :—

" The Board having duly considered the above representations,† and being sensible that the unequal distribution of the advantages ‡ would attend the profession of Surgeon in the different Departments of the service is a great discouragement to Such as are fixed in the Military Line, since being once appointed there the greatest application to the duties of their charge and the practice of their profession will not entitle them to be moved into the Civil Line to which the chief emoluments are annexed, and considering further that the license from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors does not fix them to any particular line of service, which seems to imply that they mean no distinction to be made in it.

" Agreed that the Civil and Military Surgeons of this settlement be incorporated into one establishment to take rank according to the following scheme, and rise from this time in regular promotion to the different employments specified, but as this rule, however salutary, in future, might prove a real hardship to some individuals in the Civil List who might thus find themselves thrown back to an inferior rank, it is agreed that the claims of individuals shall be considered in settling the particular list.

" One Surgeon-General.
One Surgeon of the Presidency.
Three Surgeons of the Presidency.
Surgeon-Majors.
Surgeons at Subordinates.§
Surgeons to the Army.
Assistants of the Presidency.
Assistants in the Army."

* Sir Robert Barker became Colonel on 3rd May, 1765, served as Commander-in-Chief from 24th March, 1770, to 22nd Dec., 1773, and resigned in 1775.

† The above representations, *i.e.* Surgeon-General Anderson's memorial and Sir Robert Barker's forwarding letter.

‡ The word *which* appears to have been missed out in copying.

§ At subordinate Factories. The word *of* is used thrice in this list, where one would now think *at* more suitable.

The *Calcutta Public Cons.* of 1st March, 1773, contain a memorial, claiming to retain their appointments in civil employ, dated 15th Feb., 1773, signed by John Armstrong, Surgeon, and by Assistant Surgeons Thomas Hamilton, William Walker, William Burnet, John Stormonth, Robert Bruce, Clement Francis, and James Hunter.

In 1783 Brigadier-General Stibbert, the then Commander-in-Chief, again raised the question, and recommended that the military medical service should be again completely separated from the civil, in the following letter :—

" *Meeting of Council held on 18th Dec.*, 1783.

" Read letter from Colonel Giles Stibbert, Commander-in-Chief.*

" Hon'ble Sir and Gentlemen.

" In your minutes of the 20th October, I observe you have been pleased to admit into the service three more Assistant Surgeons. I must beg leave to point out to you that we have now a greater number of Assistant Surgeons than are required for this establishment. For your information I enclose a list of the Surgeons and Assistants ; those employed in the Army are marked with red ink.†

" As many inconveniences and much confusion arise from having all the Surgeons in the Company's employ classed as they are at present together, I beg leave to submit to you the propriety of separating the Civil from the Military Department, and confining the Surgeons and Assistants to the lines in which they now are serving, and of specially appointing such as may hereafter be admitted into the service, either to the Civil or Military Department, in which they should rise independent of each other.

" Such a regulation is also necessary to remove a hardship under which the Military Surgeons now labour, by the permission which is given to gentlemen who have risen to the Head of the list of Surgeons, while fixed at subordinate factories without once being employed with the troops, to enter into a military office when it suits their convenience or advantage. As an instance of this I shall beg leave to mention *Mr Hunter*, who till appointed Surgeon-Major to a Brigade was constantly employed as a Civil Surgeon at the Factory of Burdwan ; and if no alteration is made, *Mr Gardiner*, who is the Senior Surgeon on the list, but who has never served in the Military, will avail himself of his rank, and claim the next vacant Surgeon-Majorship to the prejudice of other Gentlemen, who, since their first admission into the service, have been employed in military capacities, and some of them in very arduous situations.

* Giles Stibbert became Lieut. in 1758, Captain on 1st May, 1759, Major on 22nd May, 1764. He served as Provincial Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Army from 16th Oct., 1777 to 25th March, 1779, and from 27th April, 1783 to 21st July, 1785. He retired on 15th Jan., 1786. During the years 1779–83, Sir Eyre Coote was Commander-in-Chief, but had been absent in the Madras Presidency, Stibbert acting for him, for two years previous to his death in April, 1783.

† This list is still in existence, in the Calcutta Record Office. It contains 140 names, of which about one-half had been appointed in the previous two years, 1782–83. The list shows one Surgeon-General and six Surgeons-Major (so spelt), all military ; 55 Surgeons, of whom 28 were in military employ ; and 78 Asst. Surgeons, of whom all but six were doing military duty. Four men are shown as serving on board ship, and one as on an embassy.

"I have another argument to offer in support of the change, which is, that whilst the whole of the Surgeons are comprised in one class, it is not possible to distinguish between such as are entitled to the benefit of the pension, and such as are not, a circumstance which the Honourable the Court of Directors in one of their General Letters directed might be particularly attended to.

"Before I conclude this letter, I think it necessary to remind the Board, that the two departments were formerly distinct, but joined together some years ago, at the recommendation of Sir Robert Barker, for what reason I know not, but it is evident that the change has been productive of much confusion in the service and an injury to individuals.

"I have the honour to be, &c., G. Stibbert.

"Fort William, the 12th November, 1783."

The order passed on General Stibbert's letter runs as follows :—

"Resolved that no more Assistant Surgeons be appointed. Ordered that the Secretary do refer to the orders of the Court of Directors respecting the Civil and Military Departments of Surgeon being joined, with all the arrangements on this subject."

In accordance with this resolution the order of 17th Feb., 1773, quoted above, was produced, and laid before the Council, on 22nd Dec., 1783, when the following resolution on the subject was passed :—

"Agreed that General Stibbert be informed that the Board cannot assent to any alteration in the establishment of Surgeons for the reasons contained in the foregoing extracts."

In 1775 the Board of Trade, lately established in Bengal, tried to organise a separate Medical Service, the members of which should serve in the Commercial Factories and Residencies only, and not be eligible for or liable to either military or other civil duty. The Bengal Government refused to sanction this innovation, but the Surgeons serving in these factories seem to have had difficulty in getting their pay, while disputes went on between their superiors. The *Abstracts of Letters received from Bengal* (Vol. III, 1774–83), contain three references to the subject, in Fort William General Letters of 1775 and 1777, which are given below. The reply of the Board of Trade, to which special reference is made, is not quoted in the *Abstracts*.

"*24th Feb.*, 1775, *para.* 20. Surgeons, the Board of Trade applied to have the liberty of appointing those for their Department, but as we deemed a division of the Service would be prejudicial, we declined complying with their Request."

"*20th Nov.*, 1775, *para.* 33. Surgeons stationed at the Commercial Factories, Petition for payment of their Salaries, which had been held since

the establishment of the Board of Trade, we referred to that Board to discharge, which they would not consent to do unless the Surgeons chose to give up the General line to be solely under their Department. If the Surgeons accept these terms we can have no objection, otherwise must withdraw them from the Factories."

"21*st Nov.*, 1777, *para.* 13, 14. Surgeons Messrs Bruce and Craigie under the Department of the Board of Trade are allowed to serve without prejudice to their rank in the general line of the Service. The reply of the Board of Trade on receiving information of this is worthy notice."

The dispute was referred home for the orders of Court, which were given in a General Letter dated 24th Dec., 1776, para. 59 (*Abstracts*), as follows :—

"Surgeons at the Commercial Factories to be under the Board of Trade but may be removed by the Governor Genl & Council."

In another General Letter of 23rd Dec., 1778, orders were given, in para. 143 (*Abstracts*).

"Surgeons, employed under the Revenue or Commercial Departments, or Attached to the Brigades, not to be prejudiced in their ranks."

Another General Letter from Court, dated 31st July, 1787, deals with medical subjects, chiefly with the recently established Medical Board, in paras. 69–78. Para. 74 (*Abstracts*) runs as follows :—

"Surgeons not in the Military line, don't object to Your continuing a Separate Establishment for them, but they are not to succeed to stations among the Military Surgeons."

In 1788 the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, drew up a long minute on the Medical Service, which was formally accepted at a meeting of Council held on 24th Oct., 1788, when a series of rules and regulations for the Medical Service were also passed. Among other changes then introduced, it may be noted that, by these orders, the Medical Officers of the Company became for the first time commissioned officers, and were granted commissions. Formerly they had been warrant officers only, serving on warrants. Both minute and rules were published as a G.O., dated 11th Nov., 1788. They are given in full below.

LORD CORNWALLIS' MINUTE OF 1788 ON I.M.S.

"*Fort William, 24th October*, 1788.

"Secret & Sept. Dept. Friday } At a Council Present Lord Cornwallis, K.G., Govr Genl, President. and John Shore, Esq. The Honble Chas Stuart indisposed.

"Read and approved the proceedings of 9 instant.

" The Governor General delivers in the following minute.

Enter Nos. 1 and 2.

" Agreed to the Regulations proposed by the Governor General for the Medical Department of the Service, and ordered that copies of them be transmitted to the Hospital Board and published in General Orders with the following Resolutions.

" That the several warrants now in the possession of the Gentlemen in the Medical List be transmitted to the Secretary on or before the 1st of January that Military Commissions may be issued in exchange for them.

" That the Governor General be requested to station the Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons according to the principle of the new Regulations and the arrangement prescribed in them, excepting from it the present Surgeon for the Garrison of Fort William, who is only an Assistant in the Medical List, but will be entitled from his standing, to promotion among the first of those advanced to the rank of Surgeon and the most favourable testimony has been received of his abilities and conduct.

" That, in consideration of the encouragement given to Mr John Gilchrist, Assistant Surgeon, to engage in his present undertaking, and the public use as well as merit of it, his present leave of absence be continued until the work has been completed.

" *Rules and Regulations for the Medical Department of the Service.*

" *Article 1st.* Resolved and Ordered that all Medical Gentlemen Employed in the Company's service under this Presidency be continued in one General List,—that they have Commissions granted to them, agreeable to their proper Ranks as Army Surgeons,—and that, whenever employed in the Civil Line, they be considered for the Time as lent only to that Department of the Service, and liable always to be recalled to their duty as Military Surgeons, under the Restrictions and Obligations of Service which are annexed to their Military Commissions.

" *2nd.* Resolved that the number of full Surgeons for this establishment be fixed ; that it be limited to 28 ; and that no Promotions be made in that Line but to fill up actual vacancies.

" *3rd.* That this number be considered as providing Full Surgeons for the following Situations and Services ; viz.—

	2 as Stationary Members of the Hospital Board.
	6 to provide for General Hospitals.
	3 for the Corps of Artillery.
	6 for the Corps of European Infantry.
	1 for the Garrison of Fort William.
Civil Stations :	5 for the Presidency.
	1 for Lucknow.
	1 for Beneras.*
	1 for Patna.
	1 for Moorshedabad and Cossimbazar.
	1 for Dacca.
	28

* Spelt thus, Beneras, in original.

" *4th.* Resolved that the Hospital Board be composed, as at present, of three Members, but that the Title of Physician General, annexed to the Senior Member of that Board, be abolished, that, in lieu thereof, the person appointed to that Situation be denominated President of the Hospital Board, and that the other two members consist of the Chief Surgeon, and of the Head Surgeon, for the time being, of the General Hospital at the Presidency Station.

" *5th.* That the senior member of the Hospital Board do receive as such the salary assigned to the Situation of the Physician General, and that all the members of the Hospital Board be considered as Surgeons to the Presidency, and entitled to the allowances annexed to that Station.

" *6th.* Resolved that the Salary of a Head Surgeon be always confined to those Gentlemen, who are appointed to the Charge of a General Hospital, and that, whenever the Distribution of European troops shall occasion a Reduction in the number of General Hospitals, they do fall into the Receipt of the Allowances of Full Surgeons.

" *7th.* Resolved in Consideration of the Importance of a proper Discharge of the Duties annexed to the Station of a Member of the Hospital Board, and of the experience requisite to the charge of a General Hospital, that these situations be always filled up by Selection from the most capable Practitioners, without any other Regard to Seniority or the List of Full Surgeons than may be derived from equal skill and abilities in their Profession; and, further, that no person be eligible thereto, who has not served two compleat years immediately preceding the Time at which they may be Candidates for such Appointments, either as a Presidency Surgeon, a Surgeon to an European Battalion, or to the Garrison of Fort William. But as an immediate adoption of the last part of this Regulation might operate to the Exclusion of some senior Surgeons, now holding Civil appointments, who in the early part of their Service have performed their full Share of Military Duties, it is agreed to relax, in a reasonable Degree, for a Time, from the Restriction it imposes, if vacancies should occur before those, who are otherwise well qualified for the Charge, have had an opportunity of serving the prescribed Period as Military Surgeons or as Surgeons at the Presidency.

" *8th.* Resolved that, if Circumstances should hereafter occasion a Reduction or an Increase in the Numbers of European Battalions, on this Establishment, the Proportion of Full Surgeons which these Regulations provide for be increased or diminished accordingly.

" Assistant Surgeons.

" It being neither practicable from the Situation of the Service, or requisite for the purpose of determining with Precision the Rule for Promotion in this Rank of the Service, to limit the number of Assistant Surgeons, it only becomes necessary, in the first instance, to provide for the Duties of the Military Department by declaring the number it may require, and, secondly, to lay down the Rules and Regulations to which those employed in the Civil Department are to conform.

" *9th.* Resolved and Ordered that Provision be first made for the Military Department as follows :—

For six General Hospitals, reckoning 6 for the Presidency Station, and 4 for each of the others	26
3 Battalions of Artillery	3
6 Battalions of European Infantry	6
2 Regiments of Native Cavalry	2
36 Battalions of Sepoys	36
Chunar and the European Invalids	1
Buxar	1
Monghyr	1
Budge Budge	1
The Insane Hospital	1
Prince of Wales Island	2
	80

"10*th*. Resolved and ordered that, this establishment being provided for, the Surgeons as well as Assistant Surgeons who may be in excess thereto, shall be employed, at the Pleasure of the Board, either with the Collectors of Revenue, Commercial Agents, with Embassies, or in such other Duties as the Exigencies of the Service may require, but subject to the following rules and regulations.

"11*th*. That every full Surgeon, now on the Establishment, (not filling the Station at one of the five principal Cities before mentioned), who shall prefer remaining at any of the Subordinate Civil Stations to which they are attached, or who shall decline (if called upon) to join an European Battalion, shall be considered as forfeiting every claim to a Succession to the Hospital Board or the charge of a General Hospital.

"12*th*. That all Assistant Surgeons employed at the Subordinate Civil Stations, upon being entitled to Promotion to the Rank of Full Surgeon, shall either give up their Claim to future Preferment, or quit such station and assume the Duties of the Rank to which they are promoted, and of the station to which they may be appointed, either in the Civil or Military Line, in order that there may, hereafter, be no excess in the Rank of Full Surgeons, after the number has once been reduced to the Establishment fixed by the General Regulations.

"13*th*. Resolved also that all future appointments to those stations be, for the same reason, made only from among the Assistant Surgeons.

"14*th*. Agreed that each Collector of Revenue, whenever the number of Assistant Surgeons on the Establishment will admit of it, be allowed an Assistant Surgeon if he shall apply for one; but the Governor-General in Council will reserve to himself the Option of complying with the Requisitions of the Commercial Agents, as the necessity of such distinct appointments will greatly depend on the distance at which they may be placed from Medical Aid and Assistance, and the probable Frequency of such Advice being called for; and where such separate appointments are not allowed, it will be the duty of the Surgeon or Assistant Surgeon of the nearest station to give his attendance, with the permission of the Commanding Officer, should his services at any time be called for.

"15*th*. The Governor General in Council, deeming the practice and regular Attendance upon General Hospitals to be the best Schools for initiating and instructing the Junior Medical Servants, is pleased to direct, with a view of qualifying them for the performance of their Duty in every Rank and Station to which they may afterwards succeed in the Medical Line.

" 1*stly*. That every Assistant Surgeon, upon his first admission into the Service, shall be appointed to a General Hospital, where he shall be obliged to bestow all his Time and Attention to the Practice of the Hospital, for at least three months, merely as a Pupil under the immediate Eye and Direction of the Head Surgeon.

" 2*ndly*. That any pupil who has recommended himself properly to the Head Surgeon by his Attention to the Hospital Practice for three months, shall be considered as sufficiently qualified for the Duty of an Hospital Mate.

" 3*rdly*. That every Hospital Mate, who shall have discharged his Duty in that capacity for 18 months, shall be considered as eligible to proceed to any other medical charge his rank may entitle him to hold, but that the Order of his future Progression shall be from the Duty of an Hospital Mate to that of a Regimental Assistant, and from the duty of a Regimental Assistant to that of a Sepoy Battalion, or Civil Station, and that no Assistant Surgeon shall be competent to an appointment to a Subordinate Civil Station who has not served the Period prescribed in a General Hospital, and become thereby entitled to proceed to a Situation which is generally considered of more ease and emolument than the Duties of the Military Department.

" *Note appended by the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, on the Medical Department.*

" The Board having now compleated a Revision and arrangement of the several distinct branches of the Service, there remains nothing to delay bringing these proceedings to a close, but the consideration of the Medical Department, which from its connection with all the others, has been necessarily deferred to this period. It is indeed this circumstance alone that has induced me to postpone it for so long, for I have been very sensible to the claim it possesses to the attention of Government, as well for the purpose of fixing the Establishment of Full Surgeons, and thereby prescribing the rule for promotion, as on account of the importance of a well regulated System, both for the Advantage of the Public Service, and the convenience and benefit of the Community in General.

" I have had frequent occasion to Remark the preference given by the Medical Gentlemen to Situations in the Civil Line, and at the Subordinate Factories, because they are in general stations of more Ease and of greater Emolument. I am far from thinking that such a Service should be deprived of a due proportion of Stations of this description, but it should, at the same time, be our care to confer them with discretion, and to make them the rewards of those who have submitted to the more laborious duties of their Profession. If, instead of benefiting by the improvement in Practice, which an attendance on Hospitals and Corps is best calculated to afford, a first introduction into the Service is accompanied with the attainment of one of those preferable Stations, we shall look in vain, I apprehend, for the future fruits of experience and knowledge, which the disorders of this climate require, and if, on the other hand, these situations are allowed to be retained, for a long Series of Years, until a Progressive Rise in the Service encourages the Gentlemen holding them to look up to the more important and beneficial stations of the profession, there can be but little probability of seeing them creditably filled. It is chiefly with a view to obviate these inconveniences, to dispense more equally and impartially

the advantages of the Service, and to hold up encouragement to Professional Merit and Practical Experience, that the Rules and Regulations which I now lay before the Board have been framed. I shall point out how they severally apply to these and to other objects I have had in view, and shall be happy if their future operation tends to produce the many good effects which I am anxious should result from them.

" The first article, which continues all Medical Gentlemen under this Presidency on one General List, is conformable to the Established practice of the Service, and becomes necessary, in order to render them eligible to succeed to the Station of Head Surgeons of General Hospitals. Hitherto their appointments have been by Warrant only, but as they should be liable at all times to be employed as Army Surgeons, I have proposed giving them Commissions, as in His Majesty's Service, which by attaching them specially to the Military Department of the Service, renders it proper that they should be considered as lent only to the Civil Branch of it while employed therein, and imposes those obligations of service on them, which every person accepting a Military Commission is necessarily liable to.

" The second and third articles are calculated to fix a limited establishment of Full Surgeons for the whole Service, a Regulation much wanted, for the purpose of ascertaining the Rule for Promotion. Nothing of this kind existed before, for allthough the Medical Regulations which were laid down by the Court of Directors in their General Letter by the ' Talbot ' reached in some measure to this point in respect to the Military ; yet as no notice was taken of the Civil Surgeons, the Rise on a General List has been left wholly unlimited—to this circumstance it is owing that the number of Full Surgeons has been allowed to increase unnecessarily, for whenever a Promotion has become requisite to provide for the prescribed Establishment allotted to the Military Service, it has likewise included all the seniors attached to Civil Stations, in order to secure them from the Hardship of Supersession, and by this means we have upwards of forty Full Surgeons, now on the List, altho' there has been no promotion in that line of the Service since the latter end of November, 1783.—but the remedy of this inconvenience is now provided for, in the 12th article of these Regulations, which will have the further good effect likewise of bringing the Senior Assistants back into a more general Line of Practice, and keeping them qualified for those important stations to which they should be taught to look up.

" I have proposed a Full Surgeon for the Garrison of Fort William, as a part of the future Establishment, but without intending it should affect the Situation of the present Possessor, of whose abilities I have had the most favourable Testimony, his standing in the Service must entitle him soon to promotion, and his continuance therefore till that time will not derange the Principle on which these Regulations are founded.

" In prescribing the number of Full Surgeons who should be employed in the Civil Line, I have been guided either by the number of European Residents, or by the Populousness and Extent of the Places where it is proposed to station them.

" In the Constitution of the Hospital Board I have wished to drop the Title and Denomination of Physician General, because it implied a distinction of Rank in the Medical Line which may afford a plea of succession to it by Seniority, a principle very detrimental to the encouragement of professional abilities, and which might hereafter become embarrassing to

Government and prejudicial to the Public Service. As President of the Hospital Board, the situation will be left more open to be filled by selection, conformable to the practice of constituting the Boards of Revenue and Trade, from among the Senior Civil Servants, and I have thought proper in the 5th article, to appoint the Members of the Hospital Board Surgeons at the Presidency, annexing the salary of that Station to their other appointments, because when chosen by selection from men of the greatest professional merit, the Settlement will most naturally have recourse to them for advice and assistance, and as they will thereby be exposed to much expense and attendance, their situations should be made very eligible, and I see no other mode of doing it so consistently, as by granting the salary of a Presidency Surgeon, to those who will, in reality, have the greatest Share of the Duties of that Station to perform.

" The 7th article is calculated to secure the future succession to the most beneficial and Important Stations, to those Gentlemen who either have, or are willing to put themselves in the way of improving their Experience, and of taking their Share of the more active duties of their Profession. It has been a well-founded cause of complaint, when a Surgeon, who has performed little or no Military Duty, has obtained upon the mere plea of Seniority the most desirable stations in that Line of the Service, and therefore against such a claim, unsupported by better pretensions, I wish to oppose an unqualified Resolution of Government, both by the 7th and 11th articles of these Regulations. I am aware that by a strict application of the latter part of the first mentioned Regulation, some of the senior Surgeons would be precluded from an immediate succession to the charge of the General Hospitals, and that if there should be found among them men who in the early part of their service, have performed their full share of Military Duties, the rule which requires a further Qualification from them, would operate with some appearance of severity, to obviate which I shall be inclined for a time to relax in a reasonable degree from the Restriction it imposes, if vacancies should occur before they have had an opportunity of compleatly establishing their pretensions, provided they are otherwise well qualified, and have shown a ready disposition to avail themselves of the first occasion of returning to their duty, either as Military Surgeons, or as Surgeons at the Presidency, but those among them who prefer a continuance at their present Stations will have the option of doing so, and may be considered as supernumerary to the effective Establishment without being subjected thereby to any diminution of their allowances.

" It is neither necessary nor practicable to limit exactly the number of Assistant Surgeons, but after making a provision for the Military Department, which I have done in the 9th article, the excess are left to be stationed at the Pleasure of the Board, as the Exigencies of the Service may appear to require them. The number now on the Establishment will not admit of appointing one to each collectorship as proposed, nor will it, after providing for the Military Establishment, leave one for each of those stations where the assistance of a Medical Gentleman is liable to be much called for. It may be proper, therefore, to apprize the Court of Directors of the necessity of appointing some Assistant Surgeons for this Presidency, and in the meantime, if I find it indispensably necessary, I shall take upon me to accept the proferred Service of some young men who are represented to me as well qualified, until the pleasure of the Court of Directors shall be known.

" Tho' I should wish to confine the Pursuits of the Gentlemen of this Line to their own Profession, at least so far as not to let any other object interfere with the discharge of the duties of it, there is a necessity, I believe, for continuing the leave of absence and indulgence granted to Mr Gilchrist, both on account of the encouragement he received from Government to engage in his present undertaking, and the Public Use as well as merit of the work on which he is employed. It may be necessary, however, in notifying this Resolution to him, to require a specification of the time when his work is likely to be compleated, and to limit the indulgence to that Period.*

" I have provided, in the 12th and 13th articles, against any future increase of Full Surgeons above the Establishment, and, in the 15th, I have endeavoured to lay down the most beneficial Regulations, for securing to the Service a future succession of capable Practitioners, as far as affording to them the means of Practice and experience can contribute to effect it. In these points I have taken the opinions and advice of the Gentlemen of the Profession, who are all agreed, that long Experience in this Climate must have suggested to the Head Surgeons many improvements in Practice, not known even to the most Skilful Practitioners in Europe; that altho' every medical man, before he is admitted into the Service, is supposed to be sufficiently well grounded in the Principles of his Art, it is, nevertheless, of the utmost importance, that he should be further instructed in the most improved and successful methods of treating the Disorders of this Country, and that this Experience can nowhere be acquired so advantageously, as by doing the duties of a General Hospital. It is on a strict Adherence therefore to this article of the Regulations that most will depend, and when the younger part of the Service find the prospects of it opening to them, in proportion to the Degree of Diligence and Assiduity which they discover in their profession, when they see, likewise, that they shall have no other chance of obtaining appointments to Civil Stations, or of arriving at Situations of Distinction and Emolument in the Service, I shall confidently hope it will operate, powerfully, to excite their Emulation, and while the System tends to encourage individual merit, that it will contribute, in no small Degree, to the General Benefit and Advantage of the Service."

The *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board, of 15th June, 1789, give a list of medical officers, five in number, who applied to resign all claims to promotion, and to retain their civil stations under this order. They were—

John Reid, Lukhipore (Lakhipur, a Commercial Residency and factory near Dakka).
James Steel, Tirhut.
Archibald Murray, Shawbad (Arrah, Shahabad).
James Macfie, Commercolly (Kumarkhali, a Commercial Residency and factory in the north of the Nadiya district).
Robert Collins, Rungpore.

* The work on which Asst.-Surgeon J. Gilchrist was then employed, on special duty, was the compilation of his *Hindustani Dictionary*, published in two parts, 4to, Calcutta, 1787–90.

A sixth officer, Robert Wilson, of Chittagong, applied to resign his civil appointment at that station, and to do any military duty to which he might be posted. The answer of the Adjutant-General to Wilson's application is given below, near the end of this chapter.

The name of John Reid occurs again in the list, submitted by the Medical Board on 21st Aug., 1796, of officers who wish to resign promotion, and retain their civil appointments. Before that date Steel and Macfie had died, Collins and Murray had quitted the service.

A Mily. Letter from Court to Bengal, dated 19th May, 1790, in para. 30, gives the following order.

"We have no objection to your Classing the Surgeons in three different Ranks, and granting them Warrants to ascertain their respective Standing with each other on that list, but we do not approve of their having any Commissions that will give them Military Rank or titles."

The Court of Directors, in a letter dated 8th Jan., 1796, again ordered the separation of the Medical Service into two branches, military and civil. This letter is embodied in *Minutes of Council, Mily. Dept.*, of 29th April, 1796, giving rules for the administration of the Military Establishment. The same *Minutes*, of 24th June, 1796, call upon all medical officers to make their choice, of military or civil employ. This order was unpopular with the Service. Out of forty-five officers in civil employ, fifteen, ten Surgeons and five Assistant Surgeons, elected to return to the Army; and just double that number, thirty, four Surgeons and twenty-six Assistant Surgeons, preferred to give up all claims to promotion in order to retain their civil appointments.

The Medical Board submitted a strong protest against this order of separation, which is embodied in their *Proceedings* of 21st Aug., 1796. Their chief argument is that the men in civil employ form a reserve for the army, in time of war. At the end of their Minute are given the names of those medical officers who wish to return to military duty, and of those who prefer to retain their civil appointments, respectively. This protest appears to have been the work of John Fleming, second member of the Board, alone. The Board had at this time only two members, and the senior member, John Laird, was absent on inspection duty up-country.

These *Minutes of Council*, and the protest of the Medical Board, are given below.

"*Minutes of Council in the Military Department, the 29th April, 1796.**

"The Governor General in Council having received from the Honourable Court of Directors, an official Copy of the Regulations and Arrangements for the future constitution of the Bengal Army; Resolved, that they be published for the information of the Army.

* * * * *

"Extract from a letter from the Honourable Court of Directors, dated the 8th January, 1796.

"We have taken into our most serious consideration the state of the Company's Military Establishments at our several Settlements, together with the memorials which have been addressed to us from the respective corps of Officers, and having maturely considered the same, we have resolved, that the Establishments of the Company's troops for each of the Presidencies in India shall be as follows:—†

"European Artillery, each battalion of five Companies, each with one Surgeon and one Mate.

"European Infantry, Battalions to be formed into Regiments of ten Companies each, each having one Surgeon and two Mates.

"Native Cavalry, each Regiment of six Troops, has one Surgeon's Mate,

"Native Infantry, to be formed into Regiments of two Battalions each, with ten Companies in each Battalion, one Surgeon and two Mates to each Regiment.‡

"Peace Establishment, Bengal Presidency.

European Artillery, three Battalions.
European Infantry, three Regiments.
Native Cavalry, four Regiments.
Native Infantry, twelve Regiments.

"PAY.§

	In Garrison or Cantonment.							In the Field.						
	Pay.	Gratuity.	Additional pay.	Tent Allowance.	Horse Allowance.	Half Batta.	Total.	Pay.	Gratuity.	Additional pay.	Tent Allowance.	Horse Allowance.	Full Batta.	Total.
European Infantry														
Capt. and Surg.	120	36	—	—	—	90	246	120	36	—	—	—	180	336
Lieut. and A. Surg.	60	24	30	—	—	60	174	60	24	30	—		120	234
European Artillery														
Surgeon . .		As in Infantry.												
Asst. Surgeon .		ditto.												
Native Cavalry.														
Asst. Surgeon .	60	24	30	50	60	60	284	60	24	30	50	60	120	344
Native Infantry														
Capt. and Surg.	120	36	—	75	—	90	321	120	36	—	75	—	180	411
Lieut. and A. Surg.	60	24	30	50	—	60	224	60	24	30	50	—	120	484

* *Calcutta Gazette*, 30th April, 1796.
† Only medical officers' number and pay quoted here.
‡ *Per* Regiment, not *per* Battalion.
§ The figures given are rupees *per* month.

" Medical Department.

" That a Medical Board consisting of two Members under the denomination of *first* and *second* Member * be appointed to superintend under the Commander-in-Chief, or Officer Commanding the Troops at each Presidency, the management of the Medical Department, and the conduct of all Persons employed in it.

" That the same number of Surgeons that are at present employed in the charge of General Hospitals or at Military Stations at the different Presidencies be continued.

" That the Medical Gentlemen at the different Presidencies be called upon to declare whether they choose to remain in the situation of Surgeons of the Company's *Civil* Department, or to attach themselves to the Military line of the Service, under a notification, that vacancies in the General Hospitals will in future be filled by Medical Gentlemen of the Military line only.

" That the Medical Gentlemen attached to the Company's Troops have the same rank with respect to the Army which they at present possess."

" Furlough.

" That the following proportion of the Company's officers at each Presidency be allowed to be absent, viz. one-third of the Lieutenant Colonels and Majors, one-fourth of the Captains and Surgeons to the Troops, and one-sixth of the Subalterns and Assistant Surgeons to the Army.

* * * * *

" That Subalterns be ten years in India before they can be entitled (except in case of certified sickness) to their rotation to be absent on Furlough, and the same rule to be applicable to Assistant Military Surgeons, the Furlough to be granted by the Commander-in-Chief at each Presidency, with the approbation of the respective Governments." †

* * * * *

" Retiring from the Service.

* * * * *

" That a Member of a Medical Board who shall have been in that station not less than five years, and not less than twenty years in India, including three years for one Furlough, be permitted to retire from the service, and allowed five hundred pounds per annum. That a Surgeon of a General Hospital, who shall have been in that station not less than five years, and whose period of service shall not have been less than twenty years, including three years for one Furlough, as above, be permitted to retire from the service, and allowed three hundred pounds per annum for life.

" That all other Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons attached to the Military be permitted to retire from the Service on the pay of their rank after having served in India not less than twenty years, including three years for one furlough."

" *Minutes of Council in the Military Department, June* 24, 1796. ‡

1. " The Medical Board, conformably to the orders of the Court of Directors, to consist of two Members, under the denomination of first and

* Italics here, and elsewhere, as in original.

† No other furlough regulations applicable specially to Medical Officers.

‡ *Calcutta Gazette*, 30th June, 1796.

second Member, who are to superintend under the Commander-in-Chief or Officer commanding the Troops, the management of the Medical Department, in the Military line.

2. " The Head Surgeon of the Hospital at the Presidency, no longer to have a seat at the Board.

3. " The Medical Gentlemen attached to the Company's troops to have the same rank with respect to the army that they now hold.

4. " The following are the number of Surgeons required for the different corps of the army, and for the General Hospital and Military Stations.

Full Surgeons.		*Assistant Surgeons.*	
Hospital Board	2	Hospital Mates	22
General Hospitals	5	Fort William	1
Fort William	1	Fort Marlbrough	2
Futtyghur	1	Prince of Wales' Island	1
Fort Marlborough	1	Buxar	1
Prince of Wales' Island	1	Monghyr	1
Dispensary	1	Dispensary	1
Artillery	3	Cavalry	2
European Regiments	3	Artillery	3
Native Regiments	12	European Infantry	6
		Native Infantry	24
		Marine Battalion	1
		Military Orphan Society	1
Total	30	Total	66

5. " The following are the number of Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons, attached to the Civil Department.

Full Surgeons.		*Assistant Surgeons.*	
Presidency	5	Lucknow	1
Lucknow	1	Benares	1
Benares	1	Patna	1
Patna	1	Dacca	1
Moorshedabad	1	Zillahs and Factories	29
Dacca	1	Resident with Scindia	1
		,, at Hydrabad	1
		,, at Rangoon	1
Total	10	Total	36

6. " There being 131 Surgeons on the list,* exclusive of two not joined, two insane, one invalid, and one absent with leave, and 142 being required on the Establishment, there are eleven Surgeons wanting to complete.

7. " A promotion of nine full Surgeons to be made to complete the number required with the native Regiments.

8. " The Directors having given an option to the Surgeons in the Company's Civil Department, ' To remain in their present situation or to attach themselves to the Military line of the service under a notification

* The word *Surgeons* is here used evidently as equivalent to medical officers, and does not refer to officers holding the rank of Surgeon only.

that vacancies in the General Hospitals will in future be filled by Gentlemen in the Military line only.' Previous to any promotion taking place, every Surgeon to be called upon to make his option under the conditions above stated, and under a notification that there will be no alteration made in the Civil line of the service in respect to pay or rank.

9. " Should so great a number of the Surgeons at present attached to Civil Stations, be desirous of going over to the army, as would leave the former line of the service without its due proportion of Medical Assistance, the requisite number to be ordered to duty in the Civil Service until their places are supplied from Europe, when they will join the army with their rank.

10. " The Medical Board are also to superintend under the Governor General in Council the Medical Department of the Civil Service, and to draw the pay of Surgeons at the Presidency, as they do at present.

11. " All applications and recommendations for promotion in the Medical Department in the Civil line, to go through the Medical Board to the Governor General in Council.

12. " Applications from Medical Gentlemen in the Military line, to be transmitted to the Medical Board with the previous concurrence and consent of Commanding Officers of Stations. The Medical Board to forward them to the Commander-in-Chief with their remarks, by whom, if necessary, they will be laid before the Governor General in Council.

13. " All recommendations for vacancies and promotion in the Military line to originate with the Medical Board, and to be laid before the Governor General in Council by the Commander-in-Chief, should he see no objections to the recommendations."

" *Fort William, the 21st August*, 1796.

" At a meeting of the Medical Board.

" Present: Mr. Fleming.

Mr. Laird absent on duty.

* * * * *

" Agreed that the following letter be sent to the Governor General in Council with an Enclosure.

" ' To the Honble Sir John Shore, Bart Governor General in Council.

" ' Sir, Having received the answers of the Surgeons of the Civil Department who were called upon to make their option between the two lines of the Service as directed by the Minutes of Council dated the 24th of June last, we have now the honour to lay before you two lists made out conformably to these answers.

" ' The List marked No 1 contains the names of those Gentlemen who wish to be transferred to the Army. No 2 gives the names of those who prefer remaining in their present situation of Surgeons in the Company's Civil Department.

" ' Of the first Class there are six who hold the rank and Stations of Full Surgeons, viz.—

John Williams . . .	Surgeon of	Benares.
Staunton Penny . .	,,	Patna.
John Gray Henderson . .	,,	Dacca.
Robert Wilson . . .	,,	Presidency.
Stephen Matthews . . .		
William Dick . . .		

" ' These posts will of course become vacant, and in the regular mode of filling up vacancies the six Senior Surgeons on the Civil List would succeed to them, viz.—

John Reid	Surgeon of	Gazipore.
John Glass	,,	Boglepore.
Creighton Fraser . . .	,,	Tirhoot.
Robert Anderson . . .	,,	Jessore.
William Hunter . . .	,,	to the Resident with Scindia.
John Macra	,,	Chittagong.

" ' We think it very probable however, that some of these Gentlemen would, if it were left to their choice, rather remain in their present situations than be promoted to any of the vacant posts, and we are convinced that unless some alteration be made in the existing state of the Civil Service this must often happen, for the difference between the Pay of an Assistant Surgeon and that of a full Surgeon being only one hundred Rupees per mensem, the former will seldom consider that as a sufficient consideration to Compensate for the trouble and expence of Changing his station, particularly if he should have entered into any mercantile concerns or engaged in any manufactory in consequence of which his sudden removal might be attended with detriment to his private affairs. Should it be alleged that a Surgeon ought not to involve himself in any business that might prevent him from being ready at all times to change his Station on the shortest notice, he might plead the scantiness of his pay as a sufficient excuse, and he might add that the many useful manufactures which have been introduced by the Civil Surgeons into various Districts of the Company's provinces prove that the liberty of trading in which Government has always indulged them has been attended with great advantage to the Publick.

" ' We therefore beg leave to state the following question as a point which requires to be settled, whether, when it comes to the turn of an Assistant Surgeon of a Subordinate Civil Station to be promoted and removed to a higher, he shall have the Option of being allowed to remain in his present situation, under a notification that he must relinquish his claim to promotion, and to being appointed to any of the Superior Stations of his Line in future.

" ' Should Government deem it unnecessary to reduce these Gentlemen to so hard a dilemma as that of either being removed from their Stations or giving up their Claim to future promotion they may be relieved from it by a resolution of Council " That the Ten Senior Surgeons on the Civil List shall hold the rank and draw the pay of full Surgeons, that the rank and pay shall not be annexed to any particular Station, and that any post in the Civil department may be held either by an Assistant Surgeon or a full Surgeon, as Government may direct." The difference between the duties of one Civil Station and another is not so great as that any considerable inconvenience could follow from such a regulation.

" ' When the Thirty Surgeons who have made their option for the Civil Department shall have been all posted, there will still remain fourteen Stations unsupplied with Surgeons. Some of these Stations may perhaps without much inconvenience be kept vacant until a supply of medical Gentlemen arrive from Europe, but for those whose Situation is such as to render the presence of a Surgeon indispensable, it will be necessary to have recourse to the Army for a Temporary Assistance, as has been already declared by Government in the Minute of Council above quoted.

" ' In consequence of the change which is about to be introduced into the Medical Department it will be necessary in future when Surgeons are sent out from Europe that each person's warrant should specify for which of the two Lines he is appointed, or else that none should be permitted to come out but on the express Condition of their being attached to either the Civil or Military Service as might be judged most expedient at the time of their arrival in the Country. The last mode is the most eligible as it would enable Government to adjust the supply for each line as nearly as possible to the Demand.

" ' We do not at present recollect any other point that requires to be considered previously to carrying into execution the regulation for separating the two Lines of Civil and Military Surgeons, but having been desired by the Governor General to give our Opinion respecting the utility and expediency of the intended separation, we shall now with diffidence and submission offer our Sentiments on the subject. From the nature of the Military Service, it must ever be the case that a much greater number of Surgeons will be required for the Army during war than there is any occasion for in time of peace. We have constantly seen that in the breaking out of war in Europe, no exertion of Government was sufficient to procure the Complement of Surgeons which the exigencies of the Service required. The pressure of this evil has been felt very particularly in the course of the present War,* and the failure of more than one expedition has been in a great measure ascribed to it. On the other hand, at the conclusion of a peace these useful men must either be turned adrift to shift for themselves, or if allowed to retire on half-pay during their lives, they must become a burthen to the Publick.

" ' Of this distress to which Government at home is unavoidably liable, the East India Company in their wars in this country have fortunately had little experience, for as every Civil Surgeon on this Establishment holds a Military Commission, he is liable on any emergency to be ordered to join the Army at a moment's warning, nor has he the slightest pretence for considering this as a hardship, such being the terms of his admission into the Service.

" ' Government have therefore at all times a competent number of Medical Men entirely at their disposal, and ready to be sent on whatever service they may think fit, be the occasion ever so sudden and unexpected.

" ' It is true that the Civil Servants may occasionally be reduced to some hardships for want of Medical Assistance, in consequence of this system, but that inconvenience, being only temporary, has always been chearfully submitted to and cannot be compared with the serious evil of an Army being obliged to take the field unprovided with its due Complement of Surgeons.

" ' When the War is at an end, the Civil Surgeons return to their Stations, and no additional expence is incurred by the Public for their future maintenance.

" ' Another great convenience which arises from the Medical Servants being removed occasionally from one Line of the Service to the other is, that a Surgeon whose constitution has suffered so much from the fatigues incident to a Military life as to render him unfit for the duties of a Camp Hospital, but whose circumstances will not admit of his retiring from the Service, may be appointed to a Civil Station, for the duty of which, as it is

* War with France

much easier, he may be fully adequate. To this we may add the advantage which the Civil Service now possess of being supplied with men of Competent Experience and knowledge of the diseases incident to the Climate, since conformably to the existing Regulations no Surgeon can be appointed to this department who has not served for a certain time in the Army and done duty as a Mate in one of the General Hospitals.

" ' These essential benefits resulting from the present system will be entirely lost by the separation of the two Lines, for—

" ' 1st. The Surgeons attached to the Civil Line being cut off from all Military promotion, and from every advantage annexed to it, must be considered in every respect as Civilians, nor will Government have any stronger Claim to their Service in a Military Capacity than that of any other class of Citizens.

" ' 2nd. A Military Surgeon whose health and circumstances are such as are above supposed must be under the necessity of retiring from the Service and returning to Europe, tho' he may be fully able to do the duty of a Civil Surgeon, and from his experience and skill in his profession may be particularly well qualified for that Station, for unless he were to come in youngest on the List, his being appointed to the Civil Service would justly be considered by the Surgeons in that Line as an actual supercession.

" ' 3rd. The Civil Department, instead of enjoying the advantage which it has possessed hitherto, of being supplied with Military Surgeons who have had some practice in the diseases peculiar to the Country, must, if the proposed separation be compleatly carried into execution, fall into the hands of men who arriving from Europe without experience, and having no opportunity of improving themselves by attending Hospitals consulting with those from whom they might receive information, will after many years Residence in the Country know very little more of their profession than when they first set foot in it.

" ' That part of the new regulations which relates to the Medical Corps, and particularly the paragraph which directs the two Lines to be separated, appears to have been adopted implicitly from the plan proposed by Marquis Cornwallis for new modelling the Army in India.

" ' Had the whole of his Lordship's plans been received, this particular regulation would have been not only proper, but necessary, for it was an essential part of that plan that the Company's Army should be transferred to the Service of His Majesty, in which case the separation of the two Lines of Civil and Military Surgeons would have been unavoidable. But as it has been decided that [it should remain in] * the Service of the Company, there seems to be no reason why the Surgeons should not continue as heretofore to be employed in both Lines indiscriminately.

" ' The only conceivable objection to it, is the additional expense to which the Company would be liable from the whole Medical Corps being entitled to the benefits of Pension and furlough which advantages, were the separation to take place, would be restricted to the Military Surgeons.

" ' Supposing this objection were to remain in full force, it ought not to be put in the balance against the advantages that attend the present system. It may, however, be in a great measure obviated.

" ' 1. By not permitting any Surgeon to go home on furlough who shall

* The words in brackets are not in the original. Some such words must have been omitted in copying, and are required to make sense.

not have served in the Army at least two years immediately preceding the period of his giving in his claim.

"'2. By not allowing any Surgeon the benefit of the Pension unless he shall have done duty in the Army during at least eight years of the twenty which it is required he shall have served to be entitled to get it.

"'Upon the whole we are of opinion, after an attentive and deliberate consideration of the subject, that the separation of the two Lines of the Medical Department will not only be unproductive of any benefit to the Service, but that it will be attended with the loss of some considerable advantages which result from the present mode of allowing the Surgeons to serve in either line indiscriminately as circumstances require. We therefore humbly beg leave to suggest whether it may not be advisable for Government to suspend putting in force that article of the regulations which relates to it, and to refer the subject to the further consideration of the Honble Court of Directors. We have, &c.,

"'Fort William, Medical Board Office, the 21st August, 1796.'"

"A List of the Surgeons doing duty in the Civil Department who have made their Option for the Military Line.

"*Full Surgeons.**

Robert Wilson	Presidency.
John Williams	Benares.
John Gray Henderson	Dacca.
Robert Bruce	Unposted.
Stephen Matthews	Presidency.
Staunton Penny	Patna.
John Lamb	Midnapore.
Patrick Ivory	Sircar Sarun.
Chidley Coote	Presidency.
Walter Williams	Burdwan.

"*Assistant Surgeons.*

William Davidson	Sylhet.
Alexander Gibb	Juanpore.
James Ross	Dinagepore.
John Corse	Tipperah.
William Harper	Backergunge.

"A List of the Surgeons in the Civil Department who have made their Option for remaining in their present Situation.

"*Full Surgeons.*

John Reid	Gazipore.
James Laird	Luckipore.
James Wilson	Moorshedabad.
William Dick	Presidency.

* Neither the number nor the names correspond exactly with those given above, in the third paragraph of the protest of the Medical Board, as those of Surgeons desirous of returning to military duty. Only six names are given above, and one is that of William Dick, who is here shown in the second list, among those preferring to remain in civil employ; while five more names are here given of Surgeons desiring to revert to the army.

"*Assistant Surgeons.*

John Glass	Boglepore.
Creighton Fraser	Tirhoot.
Robert Anderson	Jessore.
William Hunter	Resident with Scindia.
John Macra	Chittagong.
John Henderson	Lucknow.
George Davidson	Dacca
Alexander Russell	24 Pergunnahs.
James Smith	Kanty and Tumlook.*
Charles Todd	Rungpore.
Nicholas Fontana	Barripore.†
Charles Kegan	Beerbhoom.
Charles Desborough	Momensing.
Andrew Stephens	Keerpoy.‡
James Fletcher	Nuddea.
James Macnabb	Patna.
Roger Keys	Gya.
Graeme Mercer.	Benares.
Thomas Morgan	Rajeshahy.
Daniel Johnson	Ramghur.§
Henry Barnet	Bauleah.
Adam Mitchell	Houghly.
David Turnbull	Mirzapore.
George Ure	Hydrabad.
William Oneal	Shawbad.
Francis Buchanan	Luckipore."

On receipt of this memorial from the Medical Board, the Government agreed to refer the question home again. *Minutes of Council, Mily. Dept.*, of 9th Sept., 1796, published in the *C.G.* of 15th Sept., 1796, contain the following resolution :—

" Agreed, that the separation of the Civil and Military lines of the Medical Service, which was authorized by the General Letter of the 8th of January last, be suspended until the pleasure of the Court of Directors shall be known, and that the Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons of the Bengal Establishment do continue to rise in one general list, and to be employed either in the Civil or Military branches of the Service, subject to all the Rules and Regulations now existing.

" Agreed that, as by the foregoing Resolution all Medical Practitioners employed in the Civil line, will remain liable to be recalled to their duty as Military Surgeons under the restrictions and obligations of service which are annexed to their Military Commissions, they be considered as equally

* *Kanty and Tumlook*, Kanthi (Contai) and Tamluk, now two subdivisions in the south of Midnapore district.

† *Barripore*, Baruipur, salt agency in the 24 Parganas, about sixteen miles south of Calcutta.

‡ *Keerpoy*, Khirpai, a commercial residency and factory in the north of Midnapur district.

§ *Ramghur*, Hazaribagh.

entitled to the same benefits of furlough, and retiring from the Service, which were intended for the Military Surgeons under the orders of the Court of Directors of the 8th of January last, excepting only those Gentlemen who, under the option left with them by the Minutes of Council of 24th October, 1788, have previously resigned all claim to future promotion in the Service."

The Court of Directors, in their letter of 6th June, 1798, embodied in the *Minutes of Council* of 26th Nov., 1798, and published in the *C.G.* of 6th Dec., 1798, confirmed the above orders of the Governor-General, and thus the question was finally settled.

" *Letter from Court, 6th June, 1798, para.* 79. And having taken into consideration the 11th, 12th, and 15th paragraphs of your Military letter of the 8th December, 1796, we hereby confirm your resolutions forwarded on the recommendation of the Hospital Board, that the whole Medical Corps shall continue to rise in one general list, subject as heretofore to all Civil and Military duties, under the existing regulations, and that the Surgeons attached to Civil Stations shall be considered as equally liable with those serving in the Army to be recalled on Military Service; also that they shall on this footing be admitted to the indulgence of furlough and retiring.

" *Para.* 80. The exclusion, however, from these indulgences of those who under the option of the regulation of the 24th October, 1788, had previously resigned all claim to future promotion, is strictly proper."

In Madras and Bombay the same objections were made to the separation of the Service into two independent branches, and the result was the same. The Bombay Council, however, appear to have experienced an additional difficulty, which was not felt in the other two Presidencies, in that they were unable to induce any of their medical officers to accept service in the Civil Line.

A Madras Mily. Letter, dated Fort St. George, 16th Aug., 1796, reports, in paras. 52–54—

" Suspension of the Orders in regard to the Division of the Establishment into Civil and Military Surgeons."

A Mily. Letter from Bombay, dated 18th Dec., 1796, states, in para. 62—

" Allowances to Civil Surgeons. Salaries fixed for this Department in Bengal, being too small to induce any of the Medical Gentlemen in this Presidency to embrace the Civil, in preference to the Military Line of the Service, have postponed fixing their allowances, 'till we receive the opinion of the Supreme Government on the subject."

Both the Cornwallis Minute of 1788 (para. 11), and the rules of 24th June, 1796 (para. 8), appear to contemplate that medical officers in civil employ should rise to the rank of Surgeon, the promotion which they declined being not that to full Surgeon, but to Surgeon of a General Hospital, a much higher semi-administrative appointment. But from the latter date onwards the rule seems to have been enforced that a medical officer who wished to remain permanently in civil employ must do so in the rank of Assistant Surgeon, resigning all claims to promotion to Surgeon, as well as to furlough and pension. Though there were always five or six appointments in civil employ which might be held by officers of the rank of Surgeon, these were filled by Surgeons from the army, not from among the Assistant Surgeons who had given up promotion, who remained permanently at the stations which they held while still in their original rank.

Besides the names given above, as an appendix to the Medical Board's memorial, of officers who gave up promotion in order to remain permanently in civil employ, many other names appear from time to time in the *Proceedings* of that Board, and in the *C.G.*, of officers declining promotion, and remaining permanently in the rank of Assistant Surgeon, in order to retain their civil stations. Indeed, one or two went so far as to accept promotion, and subsequently revert to the rank of Assistant-Surgeon in order to rejoin the stations they had recently left. These entries are of some interest, as showing which stations used to be considered worth retaining, either as being specially lucrative, or for other reasons. Lucknow, Patna, Benares, Dakka, Murshidabad, Muzafarpur, Bhagalpur, and Saran are still favourite stations. The Assistant Surgeons at Patna, Lucknow, Dakka, and Benares, who reverted to military duty, were not the holders of the Civil or Residency Surgeoncies, but assistants to the senior officers who actually held these lucrative appointments. On the other hand, such places as Rangpur and Jessore are now most unpopular stations, "penal settlements," which seldom see a commissioned medical officer, a member of the I.M.S., as Civil Surgeon, at the present day. The commercial factories, Kumarkhali, Lakhipur, Khirpai, were sold off or abandoned when the E.I.Co. ceased to trade in 1814. The salt agencies, Contai and Baruipur, gradually diminished in importance during the early years of the nineteenth century, and civil medical officers were no longer posted to them.

But in all cases, except perhaps a few, such as Lucknow, Benares, Patna, Dakka, the monetary value of a medical officer's civil appointment depended upon what he could make, not by the practice of his profession, but by contracts, *zamindari*, trade, indigo planting, etc.*

Three Assistant Surgeons in Bengal remained in the service, with that rank, long after all the others, who had given up promotion, had disappeared; John Lamb, F. P. Strong, and G. N. Cheek. John Lamb entered the service on 26th July, 1809, gave up promotion to retain the Civil Surgeoncy of Malda, now an unpopular station of very little importance, but one in which he had extensive *zamindari* and trading interests, and there remained until he retired on 15th Feb., 1856. Francis Pemble Strong entered on 23rd Sept., 1815. In 1822 he was appointed to succeed Henry Young, who had also in his time given up promotion, as Civil Assistant Surgeon of the twenty-four Parganas, or Calcutta *sadr*, as the appointment was then called, and resigned promotion to retain that then lucrative post, which also included an allowance for the medical charge of the Royal family of Maisur Princes. He held the appointment for thirty-five years, 1822 to April, 1857, without taking furlough, to which indeed he was not entitled, having given up promotion; surely a record! Going home in April, 1857, he died in London a year later, on 10th May, 1858.† George Nicholas Cheek entered the service on 30th Sept., 1816, after serving in the A.M.D. in the Peninsula and at Waterloo. He was for some time Civil Assistant Surgeon of Bardwan, an appointment which he exchanged for that of West Bardwan, or the Jungle *Mahàls*, now the Bankura district. There he went in extensively for indigo planting and *zamindari*, and there he remained, without returning to Europe, till his death, which occurred while on leave at the Nilgiri hills on 26th June, 1859. Ten years before that time, the officer next below him on the list had reached the rank of Superintending Surgeon, a rank which was attained by his own son five years after his death.

The system of giving up promotion to Surgeon to retain

* See also Chap. XVII, *Rank*.

† A portrait of Dr. Strong is contained in Coleworthy Grant's *Lithographic Sketches of the Public Characters of Calcutta*, 1838–5–. He is shown wearing a frock coat, and bending over a table covered with test tubes and chemical apparatus. This work also contains portraits of Dr. E. W. W. Raleigh, Surgeon, Calcutta General Hospital and Eye Infirmary; Sir James Burnes of Bombay; Frederick Corbyn, Superintending Surgeon; and C. B. Chalmers.

special Civil Assistant Surgeoncies does not seem to have been permitted in Madras and Bombay. All the medical officers noted as having done so, in gazettes and army lists, were Bengal men.

For nearly the first century of the existence of the Indian Medical Service, civil employment was almost confined to Assistant Surgeons, including those who had given up promotion.

A letter from the Secretary to the Governor-General in Council, dated 30th June, 1786, contained in the *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board of 5th July, 1786, confirms the Board's nominations of Surgeons to the charge of five General Hospitals, of which three were then in existence in Bengal, outside Calcutta, while the establishment of the two last was ordered.

Andrew Hunter	Berhampore.
John Stormont	Dinapore.
John Laird	Cawnpore.
Francis Balfour	Chunar.
Thomas Hamilton	Futtyghur.

The same letter goes on to state that six Surgeons will be allowed to serve in civil appointments, to be stationed at Patna, Dacca, Moorshedabad, and Chittagong, and with the Residents at Lucknow and Benares. When the Surgeons in these six posts became entitled by senority to succeed as regimental Surgeons, they were to have the option of doing so, or of remaining where they were. If they chose to remain in their civil appointments, they were not to have the option in future of rejoining the army, unless they gave six months' notice of their intention to do so, on the occurrence of the next vacancy.

The Cornwallis Minute of 1788 allows five full Surgeons for civil employ, for the same stations as those allowed in 1786, with the omission of Chittagong.

The Presidency Surgeons, as well as the Surgeon of the Calcutta General Hospital, were regarded as being in military employment. The fact that to this day the Surgeon Superintendent of the Presidency European General Hospital in Calcutta is appointed by the Government of India, not by that of Bengal, may perhaps be a relic of this view.

The number of medical officers holding the rank of Surgeon, allowed for Civil Surgeoncies, seems always to have been limited to five or six, in the Bengal Presidency, though the stations to which they were allotted varied from time to time. Bengal G.O.

of 13th Sept., 1833, allows only five, but this was exclusive of the Residency Surgeoncies, some of which were held by full Surgeons.

"*Fort William, Sept.* 13, 1833. In consequence of the abolition of the courts of appeal, one medical officer only will hereafter be allotted, in the civil department, to each of the stations of Bareilly, Benares, Patna, Moorshedabad, and Dacca.

"This arrangement being entirely prospective, will not affect the present incumbents.

"No medical officer under the rank of Surgeon will be allotted to any of the above stations, but the Assistant Surgeons at present attached to them may be continued in that rank, in event of a vacancy occurring during their incumbency, by the promotion or removal from any other cause of the present Surgeons.

"Should it be found necessary to relieve the single medical officer at any of these stations from some of the minor details of duty, a properly qualified additional native doctor will be allowed as an assistant."

The *Bengal Medical Regulations* of 1851 (rule 17, p. 48), give the following six civil stations, three in the Lower and three in the Upper Provinces, to be held by full Surgeons: Dacca, Moorshedabad, Patna, Benares, Agra, and Delhi.

Bombay G.O. of 31st May, 1830, on medical arrangements, states—

"*Para.* 7. The Governor in Council is further pleased to resolve that to the Civil Stations of Sholapoor, Poona, Ahmednugger, and Ahmedabad, either Surgeons or Assistant Surgeons shall in future be eligible at the pleasure of Government, but to the other Civil Stations Assistant Surgeons only will be appointed, as at present."

The Madras Medical Board was instituted in April, 1786, a month earlier than that of Calcutta. Its *Proceedings* for some time are embodied in the Madras *Mily. Cons.* for that and subsequent years, and their recommendations for the organization of the Madras Medical Service may be found in these *Cons.* for 25th April, 9th May, 26th May, and 13th June, 1786, with the orders thereon of the Madras Council. The Medical Board recommended that three General Hospitals should be established, at Masulipatam, at Vellore, and at Trichinopoly or Tanjore; and that Surgeons Arthur Sinclair, Robert Turing, and James White should be appointed Head Surgeons of these hospitals. The Council selected Tanjore on 25th April, but on 30th May changed their minds, and chose Trichinopoly instead. They also rejected Sinclair, on account of ill-health; William Duffin was appointed

in his place, and Duffin and Turing were permitted to exchange posts.

The Medical Board also recommended that a senior officer should be appointed to each General Hospital, with the title of First Surgeon, to take the place of the Head Surgeon when necessary. They also pointed out that provision must be made for certain civil appointments, and recommended that medical officers of the rank of full Surgeon should be allowed for the three "Chiefships," Vizagapatam, Ganjam, and Kadalur, Assistant Surgeons to the other Commercial Residencies and Factories. In military employment officers of the rank of Surgeon were allotted, one to each of three garrisons, Palamcotta, Madura, and Chingleput; one to each of the four European regiments; and one to each of the two battalions of Artillery. Assistant Surgeons were posted as follows: three to Madras General Hospital, two to each of the other three General Hospitals, one to each European regiment and battalion of Artillery, one to the Native Cavalry, one each to Vizagapatam and Ganjam; and one each to certain other stations, apparently regarded as civil appointments; Tanjore, Negapatam, Nagore, Ingeram, Aska, Wallajahbad, and Ongole, with one allotted for service with the Committee of Circuit.

On 26th May the various grades in the Service are shown as follows: (1) Hospital Board; (2) Head Surgeons; (3) First Surgeons; (4) Full Surgeons for Regiments, Garrisons, and Chiefships; (5) Surgeons' Assistants and Hospital Mates for Regiments, Factories, and Residencies. On 13th June, a nominal list of appointments is given, with the names of the men holding them. Curiously, this list shows no medical officers for duty with native regiments, except one Assistant Surgeon with the Cavalry. The sick of the N.I. regiments apparently were treated in the General Hospitals. It was soon found necessary to appoint a medical officer to each N.I. regiment.

The three senior officers in the Service, next to the Medical Board, were all passed over for promotion to Head Surgeoncies. Arthur Sinclair, as stated above, was rejected by the Council on account of ill-health; he died in June, 1786. William Raine held a special appointment, the medical charge of sick officers visiting the Presidency, and was allowed, at his own request, to retain it, instead of taking a Head Surgeoncy. His name is not included in the list of the Service on 13th June. The Medical

Board recommended, and the Council approved, that any officer now declining the post should have no claim to a Head Surgeoncy in future. When Thomas Davies, Head Surgeon of Madras General Hospital, and third member of the Medical Board, died, on 23rd April, 1788, the Madras Government appointed William Duffin to succeed him, Turing and White having retired in Feb., 1788, and again passed over Raine. The Court of Directors, however, insisted on Raine's appointment, on account of the good service he had done in the second Maisur war. William Gordon, who stood next to Raine, was judged unequal to the charge of a General Hospital. The Medical Board recommended a special allowance to him of one hundred pagodas a month as compensation. On this the Council remarked, on 13th June—

"If a Surgn is not qualified to discharge the duties of Hospital Surgeon when it may be his turn to succeed to that Station, it is not just that he should be appointed in his turn, nor reasonable that he should be considered entitled to Additional Pay as a Surgeon on Account of his being found not fit to fill a Superior Station."

Gordon was promoted to Head Surgeon, after all, seven years later, on 4th June, 1793, just three months before his death. A Mily. Letter from Court, dated 12th Decr. 1792, states in para. 5, that Surgeon Gordon, having passed at Surgeons' Hall, and got a diploma, is permitted to return to India without prejudice to his *original* rank.

Another Surgeon, William Roxburgh, was recommended for appointment by seniority to the third European regiment, but the Government could not spare his services, and continued to employ him at Samulcotta, as superintendent of the pepper plantations there. Indeed, Roxburgh was never employed in the regular line after his first few years of service.

In Bombay, apparently only two civil appointments were at this time reserved for officers of the rank of full Surgeon. A letter dated 1st Sept., 1787, from the Bombay Council to the newly established Hospital Board, quoted in full below in Chap. XXIII, *Administration, The Medical Boards*, grants salaries of £600 to the Surgeons of the hospitals at Surat, Tannah, and Tellicherri, and puts the Surgeons of Residencies on the footing of Regimental Surgeons. These three hospitals were General Hospitals, and their medical charge a military appointment. A Public Letter

from Court to Bombay, dated 8th April, 1789, in paras. 23 to 28, approves of the arrangements made for the Medical Department in that Presidency by the Bombay Council and Hospital Board, para. 28 sanctioning the posting of full Surgeons to the Residencies at Anjengo and Basra.

It was not until after the Mutiny that orders were passed, allowing officers of the rank of Surgeon to hold medical charge of civil stations, and of irregular corps of the army, equally with Assistant Surgeons. These orders were at first only temporary, but gradually became permanent.

"*No.* 375. *Mily. Dept.* To the Adjutant General of the Army.

"Sir. I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that the Honourable the President in Council, having had under consideration the circumstances of many full Surgeons on the Bengal Establishment, who having been deprived of the medical charge of regiments of the line by the Mutiny of the Native Army are considered ineligible for other medical charges, which under the ordinary rules can be held by Assistant Surgeons only, is pleased to resolve that those full Surgeons for whom there may be no employment in charges usually allotted to that grade, will temporarily be considered available for the medical charge of Local and Irregular Corps and of Civil Stations.

"Council Chamber, Fort William, 10th April, 1858. (Sd.) T. D. Atkinson, Major. Offg. Secy to the Govt of India in the Mily Dept."

In Wilson's *History of the Madras Army* (Vol. III, p. 350), it is stated that, in 1810, out of sixty full Surgeons on the (Madras) establishment, only nine were doing regimental duty. Even allowing for the Medical Board, Superintending Surgeons, Presidency Surgeons, and the Madras General Hospital, a good many full Surgeons must have been employed in civil stations. It was then determined to post more of the junior officers to *zilla* surgeoncies, and to employ thirty-five full Surgeons with regiments.

The *Bengal Medical Regulations* of 1851 (Chap. V, p. 44), assert emphatically that medical officers in civil employ are only lent by the army to the Civil Government, and are at all times liable to recall to military duty.

"Medical officers, when employed in the civil line, shall be considered only lent for a time to that Department of the Service, and liable always to be recalled to their duty as Military Surgeons, under the restrictions and obligations of service which are annexed to their Military Commissions,

excepting only those gentlemen who, under the option given them, have previously resigned all claims to future promotion in the Service. The rank of medical officers employed as above will continue to increase, and they are equally to be considered entitled to the beneft of furlough and retirement from the Service, in the same manner as Military Surgeons.

" All Assistant Surgeons employed in Subordinate Civil Stations upon being entitled to promotion to the rank of full Surgeon, shall either give up their claims to future promotion, or quit such station, and assume the [illegible]f the rank to which they are promoted and of the Station to which [illegible]ay be appointed, either in the Civil or Military Line.

[illegible] Assistant Surgeon resigning promotion, also forfeits all claim to [illegible], even of Assistant Surgeon, or to allowances, even of Assistant [illegible], when on furlough."

[illegible]e permission of the military authorities has, of course, [illegible]s been necessary before an officer can be transferred to [illegible]rom military employ. A case in point, showing the strict-[illegible]with which this rule was enforced, is recorded in the Bengal *[illegible]utes of Council* for 1778. These *Minutes* order, on 2nd Sept., [illegible]8, the appointment of Assistant Surgeon Thomas Chalcraft to the Commercial Factory at Patna. On 21st Sept. it is noted that Chalcraft, having applied for appointment to Patna without the knowledge of the Commander-in-Chief, is remanded to his former post in the Army. Having rejoined the Army, and having got permission to apply for Civil employ, he was reappointed to Patna on 19th Dec.

In 1881 Surgeon-Generals Sir Thomas Crawford, afterwards Director-General, of the A.M.D., and J. M. Cuningham of the I.M.S., were directed to draw up a scheme for the amalgamation of the two medical services. They submitted their scheme on 12th August, 1881.* It provided for the union of the A.M.D. and I.M.S. into one service, divided into two branches, Royal and Indian, the latter recruited by volunteers from the former. Their suggestions on the subject of civil employ in India may be summarised as follows. The first two years to be spent in strictly military duty; after two years' service officers who had passed a language test to be eligible for civil employ, but always liable to recall to military duty; officers who had spent ten years continuously in civil employ, if they did not then return to military employ, to be eligible for civil administrative promotion only. This scheme, however, also contemplated a large extension of

* The *Lancet* of 7th March, 1885, pp. 444, 445, publishes a long leading article, summarising the Crawford-Cuningham scheme. This leader is given in full below, in Chap. XXXVIII., 1865–96.

the Uncovenanted Medical Service, who were to be recruited exclusively in India, forming a Civil Medical Service, which would fill a large number of the appointments then and still held by members of the I.M.S. in civil employ.

Eligibility for Civil Employment.—Ever since 1788 a certain period of military duty has always in name, and almost always in fact, been required of medical officers before they considered eligible for civil employment.

The Cornwallis rules of 1788 ordered that the newly medical officer must spend three months in a general hospi a pupil, and then eighteen months as a hospital mate, bef was eligible for any other duty. From hospital mate he proceed to regimental assistant, and from that post to the c of a sepoy battalion or civil station. The tour of duty as mental assistant might in some cases be omitted before obta civil employ, but the prescribed period of service as hosp mate was indispensable, before he could hope for any other e ployment.

The *Mily. Minutes of Council*, dated 3rd Dec., 1790, quoted in *Proceedings*, Calcutta Medical Board, of 31st Dec., 1790, definitely strike out the tour of duty as regimental assistant as a necessary qualification for civil employ, but insist on the period of eighteen months' service as hospital mate.

"Every Hospital Mate, who shall have discharged his duty in that capacity for eighteen months, shall be considered as eligible to proceed to any other Medical Charge his Rank may entitle him to hold, without making it necessary that his future progression from the duty of an Hospital shall be to that of a Regimental Assistant, so that an Hospital Mate, who shall have discharged his duty as such for the period above mentioned, shall be eligible at once to be appointed to a Sepoy Battalion or Civil Station."

In Madras, a tour of three years' military duty was required before civil employ, by G.O. of 9th Oct., 1810. This period was reduced to two years by Fort St. George G.O. of 29th April, 1842.

Bengal G.O. of 17th Sept., 1832, laid down two years as the period of military duty required before the newly joined medical officer was eligible for civil employ.

Fort William, Sept. 17, 1832. "The Hon. the Vice President in Council is pleased to establish as a general rule, that every Assistant Surgeon who

may hereafter come to India, shall be ineligible to be nominated to a civil station until he shall have served two years with a regiment."

This order is still in force, and this period of two years has ever since been recognised as the tour of military duty necessary before a medical officer is eligible for civil employ. The actual order of 1832 has long since been forgotten, but its substance has been repeatedly republished, from time to time. It is repeated in G.O. No. 364 of 29th Feb., 1856, and in Military Order No. 407 of 22nd Aug., 1866, from the Secretary to the Government of India in the Mily. Dept. (*I.M.D. Circs.*, No. 46 of 25th Aug., 1866).

In Government of India, Mily. Dept., No. 2106 S.C., dated 19th Oct., 1880,* the same order is repeated, in the last clause of paragraph 1, and in para. 2.

"The withdrawal of an officer for Civil employment will not be permitted until he has completed two years actual military duty, and then only provided his services can be spared. Should the interests of the public service, however, very urgently demand his withdrawal before the completion of his two years' course of military duty, an exception may, under the orders of the Governor General in Council, be made, as a very rare and special case, in the above general rule.

2. "All officers of the Indian Medical Service are, subject to the above restriction, eligible for civil duties, yet, however employed, they remain liable at any time to be recalled for military duty. Such recall can only be made by the Government of India in the Military Department. During the whole period of an officer's employment on any other than military duty under the Commander-in-Chief, and until he is formally placed at His Excellency's disposal, he will be under the authority of the Surgeon General with the Government of India or of the Local Government under which he may be serving."

All rules are broken from time to time, and this rule was considerably infringed between 1870 and 1880. At that time all the newly joined officers of the Bengal Medical Service were still posted, on first arrival in India, to the Presidency General Hospital, Calcutta, for instruction. The Bengal Government used sometimes to borrow the services of some of these newly joined officers, before they had done any regimental duty at all, for temporary acting civil appointments, in any sudden emergency, or when short of civil surgeons. Most of the men whose services were thus temporarily lent for civil employ returned to the hospital and went on to regimental duty. But in several instances men

* Published in full in Chap. XXXVIII., 1865–96.

whose services were borrowed in this way were not sent back to military duty, but remained for years, first acting as civil Surgeons, and then confirmed as such, without having done any regimental duty at all. When the Bengal Government was called upon, in 1885–86, at the time of the third Burmese war, to return a number of officers in civil employ for temporary military duty, these men who had not done any previous military duty were the first sent back to the army.

The officers of the I.M.S. in civil employ, being always liable to military duty, have always been considered eligible for military promotion. In General Stibbert's minute of 12th Nov., 1783, in which he recommends that the Service should again be divided into separate military and civil branches, he makes a point of the injustice done to the medical officers in military employment by the promotion to the higher posts therein of Surgeons who had spent the greater part, or even the whole, of their service in civil employment.

In the seventh rule of the Cornwallis minute of 1788 it is laid down that a medical officer, in order to be eligible for promotion to charge of a General Hospital, a post corresponding to that known in later days successively as Superintending Surgeon, D.I.G., D.S.G., and Colonel, must have spent the whole of the two years immediately preceding his promotion in military duty, under which head was included the office of Presidency Surgeon in Calcutta.

This rule was repeated in almost identical terms by Bengal G.O. of 22nd Oct., 1832.

"*Fort William, Oct.* 22, 1832. With reference to Govt. G.O. dated 24th Oct., 1788 (Henley's Code, p. 307), which are hereby cancelled, the Vice President in Council is pleased to declare, that no medical officer shall be considered eligible to fill the situation of Superintending Surgeon who has not served, for two complete years immediately previous to the occurrence of the vacancy in such grade, as a presidency Surgeon, or surgeon to the general hospital, or marine surgeon, or surgeon to the garrison of Fort William, Allahabad, or Agra, or Surgeon to a regiment of the line, or a battalion or brigade of artillery.

"Any Surgeon at present employed out of the military branch of the service, who may, upon the publication of this order, apply for permission to return to military duty, will not be considered as debarred by the regulation now enacted from succeeding to a vacancy in the grade of Superintending Surgeon, although he may not have served in either of the specified situations the prescribed period of two years immediately before the occurrence of the vacancy.

"A reservation is also made by the Government in favour of surgeons returning from furlough, who might otherwise be affected by this regulation, and who will not be considered as debarred from immediate eligibility to the grade of Superintending Surgeon, provided the whole or the greater portion of their professional duties in India, including those of the two years immediately previous to their proceeding on furlough, shall have been performed in the military branch of the service, and that such furlough shall not have exceeded three years."

Six months later, these rules were somewhat modified by Bengal G.O. of 19th March, 1833. This order substituted two years' military duty, after promotion to Surgeon, instead of the two years immediately preceding promotion, as necessary before promotion to S.S.

"*Fort William, 19th March*, 1833. Government General Orders, dated 22nd October, 1832, respecting the eligibility of Surgeons to fill the situation of Superintending Surgeon, are hereby cancelled, with the exception of that part which directs the cancelling of General Orders dated 24th October, 1788 (Henley's Code, page 307), and the following regulations on the same subject are enacted by the Governor General in Council.

"Every medical officer on his promotion to the rank of Surgeon shall be required to serve for two years as surgeon with a regiment of the line, or a battalion or brigade of artillery, before he can be eligible for any other situation in any department, civil or military; and after the performance of such service he shall be eligible, in due course, for the situation of Superintending Surgeon, whatever may have been the nature of his employment subsequent to the performance of such service.

"Medical officers who have already attained the rank of Surgeon will be deemed eligible for the situation of Superintending Surgeon, provided they shall have served, in their present grade, for two years as Surgeon of a regiment of the line, or of a battalion or brigade of artillery, or as Surgeon to the garrisons of Fort William, Chunar, Allahabad, or Agra, or as Marine Surgeon, or as Surgeon to the General Hospital, or as a Presidency Surgeon."

Two years afterwards, Bengal G.O. of 25th May, 1835, made some slight changes in the rule, the general effect remaining much the same.

"*Fort William, May 25th*, 1835. The following regulation, on the subject of the eligibility of Surgeons to the situation of Superintending Surgeon, is substituted for that published in G.O. of the 19th March, 1833, which is hereby rescinded:

2. "No medical officer is to be considered eligible to the situation of Superintending Surgeon, who shall not have served for two years, in the military branch of his profession, at some period subsequently to his promotion to the rank of Surgeon, unless he shall have held, for a similar period, the appointment of Marine or Presidency Surgeon, or Surgeon to the General Hospital in Bengal, or some corresponding situation at either of the other Presidencies.

3. "Surgeons in the Company's service, who have served in that rank for two years, with the troops commanded by British officers in the Nizam's army, or the army of any other native state, shall be considered eligible to the situation of Superintending Surgeon, in like manner as if they had served for the same period with a regiment of the line."

G.G.O., No. 575 of 9th Oct., 1880, ruled that six months' military duty should be required of medical officers in civil employ before they could be promoted to a military administrative appointment. G.G.O., No. 426 of 4th Aug., 1882, modified this rule in so far as to dispense with military duty before promotion to civil administrative appointments; but an officer so promoted is not eligible to hold a military administrative post. *I.A.C.* of 1884, clause 42, repeat the order of 1880, but reduce the period of military duty required before promotion from six to two months. These three rules are given below.

"*Regimental duty required from medical officers in civil employ before promotion to the administrative grade. G.G.O., No. 575, dated 9th Oct.,* 1880.*

"With a view to afford medical officers of the Indian service employed in civil duties the opportunity of acquiring the latest experience of military medical administration before their nomination for promotion to the administrative grade, which nominations will be made at a date to meet as nearly as possible foreseen vacancies, the Governor General in Council is pleased to notify that such officers, in the event of their not having performed military duty for six months within the three years immediately preceding the time of their probable promotion, shall, on nomination, be required to spend six months in medical charge of a native regiment at a station which is the headquarters of a Deputy Surgeon General, with whom they will be associated, in view to their acquiring a thorough acquaintance with the details of the office and the administrative system in force with British and native troops. An officer thus selected shall, when in charge of a native corps, relinquish the pay of his civil appointment, receiving in lieu that of an officer of his rank in medical charge of a regiment; but he will retain a lien on his civil appointment, to which he may, should he desire to do so, revert on the expiration of the six months, and await his turn for promotion. Officers, on proceeding to join regiments, and on reverting to civil duty, will be treated as officers on the military establishment, and travel under the warrants of their rank.

"*G.G.O., No. 426, dated 4th Aug.,* 1882.†

"The Governor General in Council is pleased to notify that the provisions of G.G.O., No. 575 of 1880 do not apply to officers of the Indian Medical Service, who may be selected for promotion to Deputy Surgeon General with a view to appointment to the administrative medical charge of a province.

* *I.M.D. Circs.*, 1880, pp. 48-49.

† *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 43.

" Officers who have not complied with the terms of the above G.G.O. will not, however, be eligible for appointment to the administrative grades of the Military Branch of the service."

I.A.C., April, 1884, *clause* 42.*

" With a view to afford medical officers of the Indian Service, the opportunity of acquiring some experience of military medical administration before their promotion to the administrative grade, the Governor General in Council is pleased to notify that Brigade Surgeons selected for such promotions, in the event of their not having performed at least six months military duty within the three years immediately preceding, shall be attached for two months to the office of a Deputy Surgeon General before they are promoted.

" Clause 145, *India Army Circulars*, 1880, is cancelled."

Indian Navy.—Service in the Indian Navy was always considered as military duty. This navy appears to have come gradually into existence early in the seventeenth century, and may be said to date its birth from 1612, when Captain Best defeated the Portuguese fleet in a naval battle off Surat. In 1613 a small local force of ships of war was established at Surat, for defence and naval warfare. When the seat of Government was finally transferred to Bombay in 1687, that city naturally became the headquarters of the fleet also, and it came to be known by the title of the Bombay Marine.

Among the Bombay *Muster Rolls* preserved in the Record Department of the India Office, are numerous lists of all the Europeans serving in the Bombay Navy, between 1740 and 1760, from Commanders down to ordinary seamen.†

The oldest of these lists is dated 19th Jan., 1739/40, near the end of the second volume, 1728–40. It shows eight vessels, of which four carried Surgeons.

Prince of Wales Galley . .	William Daws, Surgeon.
Rose Galley	William Hederwicke, Surgeon.
Neptune's Prize . . .	Robert Trotter, Surgeon.‡
Trial Sloop	William Scarfe, Surgeon.

Four other vessels of war, the *Princess Carolina* Galley, the *Salamander* Bomb Ketch,§ the *Defiance* Prahm,‖ and the *Triumph*

* *I.M.D. Circs.*, 1884, p. 29.

† *Bombay Muster Rolls*, Vols. II–V.

‡ In the list of 19th Jan., 1739/40, no Surgeon is shown in the complement of the *Neptune's Prize*. Robert Trotter's name appears in another list, later in the same year.

§ *Ketch*, a galliot-built vessel, with two masts, of 100–150 tons burthen.

‖ *Prahm* or *praam*, a kind of heavy lighter, for coast defence.

Prahm had no medical officers in their complement. Three boats and eleven *gallivats* * are also shown in the list, carrying crews of only a few men each.

In the following year, a list, in Vol. III of the *Rolls*, dated 25th Dec., 1741, shows—

Bombay, Grab † . . .	Thomas Barrowby, Surgeon.
Restoration, Grab . . .	Robert Trotter, Surgeon.
Rose, Galley	John Bluett, Surgeon.
Neptune's Prize . . .	Robert Wallis, Surgeon.

Only the larger ships carried medical officers. In a few cases a Surgeon's Mate as well as a Surgeon is shown. And one list in Volume IV, dated 20th Nov., 1752, shows the ship *Guardian* as carrying three, John Parker, Surgeon; Robert Huett, first Surgeon's Mate; and John Pritchard, second Surgeon's Mate.

A Despatch from Court to Bombay, dated 4th April, 1767, deals with the administration of the Marine in paras. 9 to 29. Para. 24 runs as follows :—

> " That the Surgeons have fifty Rupees per month and a Servant, and as a further encouragement that they be removed from the Marine to the Subordinate Factories according to their Seniority, and as vacancies happen, and from thence to the presidency."

Few medical officers seem to have served long in the Navy. Some died, some were transferred to the land service, others took their discharge after a few years' service. Of those whose names are mentioned above, Barrowby had previously served at Bombay and at Gombroon; Parker, after twelve years' service afloat, became Surgeon successively of Tellicherri, of Gombroon, and of Bombay, where he died. Trotter, who went to India as a private soldier, put in thirty years' service in the Medical Department. After seventeen years in the Navy, he is shown, in *Bombay Muster Rolls*, Vol. V, p. 343, as " discharged to Fort Victoria, 31st Aug., 1757." In 1759 he was transferred to Anjengo; in the following year he was passed over for the post of Surgeon at Bombay, and at Anjengo he spent twelve years. He was invalided from 23rd Jan., 1770, being the first medical officer to whom a pension was granted, and died at Anjengo on 4th Sept., 1771.

* *Gallivat*, a galley of small draught, or warboat, with one bank of oars.

† *Grab*, or *gharab*, Arab name for galley (*ghorab*, a raven). A square-rigged vessel with one or two masts, of 100–300 tons burthen. The *grab Bombay*, of 24 guns, was built in Bombay dockyard in 1739.

Service as a medical officer in the Navy was always unpopular. The pay was fair. A Bombay G.O. of 30th Nov., 1837, shows the pay of an Assistant Surgeon in medical charge of a cruiser as Rs.306 10. 0. per month. That is twenty rupees a month more than the "unemployed pay," Rs. 286. 10. 0., which so many Surgeons in Bengal were drawing in 1882–83, nearly half a century later. When the Indian Navy was abolished, the pay of an Assistant Surgeon afloat was Rs.318. 10. 0., about as much as he would have drawn ashore. No medical officers of higher rank than Assistant Surgeon served in the Navy. But the cramped, close quarters, the rigid discipline, and the monotonous life, made service at sea inferior from most points of view, to service on any military duty on land. Instances may be found, but they are few, in which an Assistant Surgeon deliberately chose to continue his service afloat after the time when he could claim relief had arrived.

In the eighteenth century some of the junior officers of the Bengal Service were sometimes employed afloat, but from about 1800 on the medical officers of the Indian Navy were supplied entirely from the Bombay Service. A Bombay G.O. of 13th May, 1836, lays down rules for the supply of medical officers for duty on board ship.

"*Bombay Castle, May* 13, 1836. The Right Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to establish the following regulations for the appointment of medical officers to the Indian Navy branch of the service.

"1st. Assistant Surgeons shall perform three years duty on shore previous to being nominated to the Indian Navy.

"2nd. The junior, after three years service, shall be ordered to the Presidency, 'in waiting' as next for duty, the next in succession taking his place at Bombay as soon as he is embarked.

"3rd. Each Assistant Surgeon shall perform two years duty afloat; if, during that period, he is relieved, owing to ill health, he shall bring up the period of absence, and be the first for duty after his recovery.

"4th. It will be the duty of the Medical Board to recommend arrangements to Government to obviate any delay in the reliefs.

"5th. An Assistant Surgeon, desirous of extending his naval service beyond the period specified, will be allowed to do so.

"6th. The Right Hon. the Governor in Council is also pleased to resolve, that simultaneously with the introduction of the foregoing rules, a consolidated medical allowance of Rs.100 per mensem for each ship shall be granted in lieu of the sums at present drawn as head-money and allowance for petty stores by Assistant Surgeons in the Indian Navy."

The rules for employment for Assistant Surgeons in the Indian Navy were somewhat modified in the following year, by Bombay

G.O. of 7th March, 1837. The chief changes made by this order were as follows. That all Assistant Surgeons between one and four years' service should be liable to serve in the Navy, the junior officers of that standing being called on first. That no medical officer should be called on to serve more than two years in the Navy, or to serve in it after completing four years' total service, except by his own desire. If the supply of Assistant Surgeons, liable for service afloat under the above restrictions, was not equal to the demand, the deficiency was to be made up; (*a*) by keeping men afloat after completion of four years' total service, till they had completed two years' sea service; (*b*) by employing Assistant Surgeons with between six and twelve months' total service; (*c*) by calling out Assistant Surgeons with over four years' total service, beginning with the most junior.

Gradually the posts of medical officer on board the smaller ships came to be filled by members of the subordinate medical service. When the Indian Navy was abolished, on 30th April, 1863, after the transfer of the Government of India from the E.I. Co. to the Crown, its place was taken by the Bombay and Bengal Marine Services, which were afterwards united to form the Royal Indian Marine. As the I.M.S. steadily diminished in numbers during the five years 1860–65, when no new appointments to the service were made, medical officers could no longer be spared for service afloat. Some of the appointments on board ship were held for some time by members of the Uncovenanted Medical Service, but gradually all the medical appointments afloat, with one single exception, came to be filled by members of the sub-medical service, who carried out the duties as well, or nearly as well, on much lower rates of pay. And for over thirty years past the only medical appointment afloat which has been filled by a commissioned medical officer is that of Surgeon and Naturalist on the R.I.M. S.S. *Investigator*, the survey ship of the Royal Indian Marine.

Languages.—Some slight acquaintance with the vernacular languages has always been expected from medical officers. A Bombay G.O. of 7th Nov., 1835, orders that no medical officer shall in future be confirmed in any appointment until after passing a colloquial examination in either Hindustani, Marathi, or Gujarathi. In Bengal, G.O.C.C. of 20th April, 1844, contains rules for language examinations, and states that orders passed

on 1st March require all Assistant Surgeons of the Indian Army to attain a colloquial knowledge of Hindustani before receiving the staff allowances for medical charge of native troops. Since 1881 it has been necessary for a medical officer to pass the Lower Standard in Hindustani, an examination a good deal stiffer now than it was thirty years ago, before drawing staff pay for any appointment, or any pay higher than grade pay, or, as it used to be called, unemployed pay.

Collateral Charges.—Rules regarding medical officers in military employ holding collateral civil charges, and, *vice versâ*, civil officers holding collateral military charges, were laid down in Bengal G.O. of 12th March, 1836. Practically the same rules are still in force. No officer, civil or military, is at liberty to decline such collateral charges.

"*Headquarters, Calcutta, March 12th*, 1836. With reference to the rules laid down in a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India in the military department, under date the 7th instant, it is made known to the medical officers of the army, for their future guidance, that when a medical officer is appointed by the Commander in Chief to a charge combining both military and civil duties, the former ought to be considered the primary office, entitling him to his military pay and allowances, whilst the latter is only a collateral charge, for which the regulations authorize an established allowance; but when a medical officer is nominated by Government to officiate at a civil station, that becomes his substantive appointment, entitling him to civil allowances, and for any military charge incidental thereto he will receive the regulated head-money, or other allowance, recognized by the regulations of the service."

Govt. of India, Home Dept., No. 14/569–75 Medl. of 15th Nov., 1880 (*I.M.D. Circs.*, 1880, p. 64), directs that the control of officers of the I.M.S. serving under Local Governments rests with those Governments, and that applications from Local Governments for the services of medical officers for civil employ must be made to the Government of India. Rules for applications from medical officers from civil employment are given in Circ., No. 39 of 15th Nov., 1880, from the Surgeon-General, Her Majesty's Forces. (*I.M.D. Circs.* for 1880, p. 65.)

"*Control of officers of the Indian Medical Service serving under Local Governments.**

"Govt. of India Home Dept. No. $\frac{14}{569\text{-}75}$ Medical of 15 Nov., 1880. *Para.* 2. . . . All applications for the services of medical officers required by Local Governments should be addressed to the Government of India

* *I.M.D. Circs.*, 1880, p. 64.

in this (Home) Department. It is to be understood that medical officers so employed are only lent to the Local Government at whose disposal they have for the time been placed, and that they cannot be transferred, either permanently or temporarily, from one Local Government to another. Such transfer can be made only by the Government of India in this Department.

"*Para.* 3. Nor can officers attached to Local Governments be returned to military duty without the previous sanction of the Government of India in the Military Department. All applications for such return should be addressed to the Home Department."

Para. 3. (States that Medical Depots are directly under the Surg[illegible] General with the Government of India.)

"*Applications for Civil Medical Appointments to be registered in the Office of the Surgeon General with the Govt. of India.**

"Circular No. 39 of 15th Nov., 1880, from Surg. Genl., H.M.'s Forces.

"At the request of the Surgeon General with the Government of India medical officers who may wish for civil or other appointments, not under this office, as shewn in the list appended to Government of India Resolution, No. 2106 S.C., dated the 19th October, 1880, are informed that they should send their names through the usual channel, to be registered in the Office of the Surgeon General with the Government of India—stating at the same time their claims, the nature of the appointment they desire, and the part of India in which they are anxious to serve.

"Any change in their wishes on these points should also be communicated without delay.

"This registration will not interfere with the present arrangements, under which medical officers may apply direct for appointments to Local Governments; but unless their names are registered in the office of the Surgeon General with the Government of India, there will be delay in the transfer."

Practically the same circular is issued as Circ., No. 6[illegible] of 14th Feb., 1881, by the Surg.-Genl. with the Govt. of India. (*I.M.D. Circs.*, 1881, p. 10.)

Prior to 1884 the selection of medical officers rested practically in the hands of the various Local Govts., which applied for and obtained the services of individual officers by name. Govt. of India, Home Dept., No. 10/243–53 of 9th June, 1884 (*I.M.D. Circs.*, 1884, p. 33), orders that, in future, the selection of individual officers will be made by the Govt. of India, Local Governments applying only for the services of one or more officers.

Medical Officers for Civil employment to be selected by the Government of India.

"Govt. of India, Home Dept. (Medical), No. $\frac{10}{243-253}$ of 9th June, 1884.

"*Resolution.* The present practice under which Local Governments and Administrations, when requiring medical officers for civil employ, apply for the services of particular officers, materially interferes with the

* *I.M.D. Circs.*, 1880, p. 65.

discipline and general administration of the Indian Medical Department. The Governor General in Council is, therefore, pleased to decide that in future when the services of a medical officer are required either permanently or temporarily for civil employ, it will be sufficient for the Local Government or Administration concerned to report the fact, leaving to the Government of India the selection of a suitable officer to fill the vacancy in the provincial list.

" 2. The decision now conveyed does not contemplate any change in the power of Local Governments or Administrations to regulate the posting of medical officers to particular appointments in the different provinces. When once a medical officer has been placed at its disposal, the Local Government or Administration will continue, as at present, to utilize his services as it may think best."

Govt. of India, Home Dept., Medical, Order No. 13/372–81, of 30th Aug., 1884 (*I.M.D. Circs.*, 1884, p. 61), directs that the sanction of the Government of India must be obtained before a medical officer in civil employ is permanently confirmed.

The relative amount of professional work in military and in civil employment respectively has varied greatly from time to time. For three-quarters of a century after the formation of the I.M.S., military duty necessitated much, civil employ little professional work. An officer who had spent much time in civil employ was supposed, it is to be presumed with truth, to have become slack and out of touch with his profession, from want of practice. So early as 1762 we find the Bengal Government recommending their Surgeons in military employ for promotion to the posts of most importance, as having more professional experience. A Letter from Fort William, dated 8th April, 1762, states, in para. 38—

" Surgeons & Assist^ts in the C^o Service on this Establishm^t. List of them now sent, those marked as Camp Surgeons having more Experience in the nature of Disorders in this Country than any new men, are recom^ded to succeed."

In 1789 this view is very plainly set forth in a letter contained in the *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board of 9th July, 1789, from the Adjutant-General to Surgeon Robert Wilson, who had applied to return to military duty with a view to promotion.*

" To James Ellis, Esq. President Hospital Board.

" Sir. The Commander-in-Chief has directed me to transmit the enclosed letter to Mr Robert Wilson, through your Board.

" (Signed) Peter Murray, Adjutant General, 8 July, 1789."

* For Murray see Chap. XV, *The Double Commissions*, and for Wilson see Chap. XVII, *Rank*.

"To Mr Robert Wilson, Surgeon.

"Sir. In consequence of your having intimated that you were ready to quit your Civil Situation and do duty with the Army, the Commander-in-Chief has directed me to acquaint you that he will appoint you to one of the European Battalions when a vacancy happens, but that, as from your long residence at Chittagong your medical experience must necessarily have been much circumscribed, he cannot encourage you to expect to be appointed for a considerable time to the charge of a General Hospital."

"Adjutant General's Office, 25th June, 1789.

"(Signed) Peter Murray, Adjutant General."

Half a century later, the same opinion is given, in much more forcible language, by Surgeon, afterwards I.G. Sir Ranald Martin, one of the most distinguished officers who has ever served in the I.M.S., in a memo. on the conditions of the service, dated 8th June, 1838, submitted to the Government of Bengal.*

"*Para.* 9. I hold the civil appointment of Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons as now managed to be the greatest injury, both to the interests of the medical service and to those of the army.

"The Commercial habits acquired at a civil station, and too frequently the habits of professional idleness, induced by want of practice, all tend greatly to disqualify such as have passed any number of years in such places for a return to their proper duties with the army; indeed, many of them are so well aware of this as to quit the service sooner than place themselves in so irksome a situation as that of a military surgeon. In idleness a medical officer loses confidence and consequence in his own eye, and his respect very soon vanishes with the public.

"*Para.* 10. I hold that no Surgeon or Assistant Surgeon should be allowed to remain longer than three years at a civil station, and that for every three years so misspent, he should serve five years with the army. The attempt to qualify for the important duty of Superintending Surgeon by making a man who had been from 15 to 25 years at a civil station serve two years in a military capacity seems, to say the least, but illconsidered.

"*Para.* 11. The granting of extra professional offices to the Surgeons and Assistants of civil stations, such as *sudder ameeenships* and post-masterships, tends to divert them from their proper duties, and thus disqualify them for a return to the army. These services are dearly purchased which tend to render a man a worse surgeon and physician."

To us at the present day it seems strange to hear it said that medical officers in civil employ get slack and out of touch with professional work from absolute want of practice therein. For the past half-century the tendency has been entirely in the opposite direction. The Military Surgeon, except in times of war and epidemic, has had comparatively little to do. The Civil Surgeon has had most ample opportunity of professional

* Fayrer's *Life of Sir Ranald Martin*, pp. 86, 87.

work, both medical and surgical, in the headquarters hospital of his district, not to mention his police and jail hospitals, his outlying dispensaries, his official patients, and possibly a large private practice. Between 1870 and 1880 a great extension of surgical work in civil hospitals took place, first in the N.-W. P. and Oudh, followed rapidly by other provinces, and a continuous increase has gone on to the present day. Some officers, Freyer, Keegan, and H. Smith, to mention only a few, have attained a world-wide reputation as surgeons, and have been second to none in their respective specialities; while every Civil Surgeon has been expected to be able to carry out, with the means at his disposal, almost all major surgical operations, and, with few exceptions, has been equal to the demand upon his professional capacity. But a century ago the case was very different. The Civil Surgeon's professional work then consisted in attendance on a few Government servants, and in that alone. Private practice was non-existent, except in a few specially favoured posts, such as the Presidency cities, half a dozen large *mofussil* towns, and the chief Residency surgeoncies. The only hospitals in the *mofussil* were military hospitals, for troops and followers, under military surgeons. Hospitals or dispensaries for the general population there were none. It was not, in most cases, until the thirties of the nineteenth century that such hospitals were first started at the headquarters of districts, chiefly by the energy of individual Civil Surgeons. Even so late as the second half of the last century, the *Bengal Medical Regulations* of 1851 direct that the number of in-patients in civil dispensaries in the *mofussil* must be limited to eight, chiefly surgical cases.* The Civil Surgeon, with hardly any professional work, naturally got slack and out of practice. He frequently filled various non-professional posts, with extra work and extra pay; often he was postmaster of his station, not uncommonly registrar of deeds, sometimes *sadr amin*, or subordinate judge. If his time and energies were not thus occupied by Government, they were probably devoted to *zamindari*, planting, or trading. He was hardly a medical officer at all, rather a Government official with some medical knowledge and duties.

Now the pendulum seems to be swinging again in the other direction. The Civil Surgeon, with his multifarious duties, his

* Page 240, rule 31.

hospitals, his medico-legal work, his semi-professional duties as superintendent of the jail, and of vaccination, and as health officer, his administrative work in his office, sometimes a large and heavy office, his non-professional work as member of the District Board and of the municipality, is worked up to his fullest capacity. His hospital work as a rule ensures his being a good surgeon and a fair physician. But for bacteriological and scientific work, which are becoming yearly more important, especially in the tropics, he has not the necessary leisure. It is only the specialist who can afford the time necessary for such work. The military medical officer, on the other hand, except at times of special stress, has usually more leisure, part of which he may devote to scientific work. Many do so, with little recognition. But it was in the comparative leisure of a military medical charge that the most distinguished member of the service in our day, Major Sir Ronald Ross, found time to begin the researches which were later crowned with such ample success.

Station Hospitals.—The Station Hospital system for British troops in India was introduced in 1881, by *I.A.C.* of July, 1881, clause 147 (*I.M.D. Circs.*, 1881, p. 41). It appears probable that in the near future a similar system will be introduced for native troops, and regimental hospitals either abolished or greatly diminished in importance. The present system of regimental hospitals, while it is popular with the troops themselves, this indeed being the reason it has endured so long, and with the junior regimental medical officers, is not popular with the seniors and has the grave defect that a senior Lieut.-Colonel is doing exactly the same work, with the same responsibilities, as he did as a Lieutenant, soon after he first entered the service.

The station hospital system for native troops was in force in the eighteenth century. The *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board of 14th June, 1797, contain a memorial from ten Surgeons of native regiments, asking that regimental hospitals may be established, their request being supported by the opinions of commanding officers. From this memorial it appears that all cases of sickness in native regiments, at headquarter stations, were sent straight to the general hospital of the station, no treatment being given regimentally. The Head Surgeon of the General Hospital drew all allowances for medicines, diets, *dulis*, etc.; the regimental Surgeon drew no allowances and kept up

no medicines. From this it appears that the Head Surgeon was still an executive even more than an administrative officer.

The Medical Board forwarded this memorial to the Commander-in-Chief, giving their opinion against it. They considered that medical allowances should be drawn and medicines provided by the Head Surgeon only. They state that as there are three medical officers attached to each regiment, one at least of them should visit the general hospital daily, and treat the sick of his own regiment, under the orders of the Head Surgeon; the complaint of want of professional work is therefore unfounded.

No action appears to have been taken on this memorial. It is possible that a desire to draw, and to make a profit off, the hospital allowances, had as much to do with it, as any desire for increased professional experience.

CHAPTER XVII

RANK

" The rank is but the guinea's stamp."
BURNS, *Honest Poverty.*

IN the early settlements of the Company in India the question of rank seems to have been of little importance. The President or Agent of course stood first; the other officers were under his orders. Next to the President came the members of his Council. Wilson, in his *Early Annals*, Vol. I, p. 62, gives the order of rank at the Hugli factory, then the Company's headquarters in Bengal, towards the end of the seventeenth century, as follows: The governing body consisted of four members: (1) the Agent, who was chief of all the Factories in the Bay; (2) the Accountant; (3) the Storekeeper; (4) the Purser Marine. Fifth in rank was the Secretary. The Chaplain, when there was one, ranked third, next after the Accountant; the Surgeon sixth, after the secretary. Then came the Steward, and after him the general body of merchants, factors, writers, and apprentices. The writers were then, as the name implies, only clerks; the merchants and factors little more. But from this small body of commercial servants has developed the finest governing body in the world, the Indian Civil Service.

In Oct., 1678, Streynsham Master, then Agent at Fort St George, passed the following orders regarding the relative rank of military and civil officers :— *

" Upon the Petition of the Officers of the Garrison, their places of Precedency were ranked with the Marchants and Factors as followeth; Captain in the Degree of Senior Marchant, Lieutenant in the Degree of Marchant; Ensigne in the Degree of Factor; Serjeant in the Degree

* *Indian Records Series, The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, 1675–80, edited by Sir R. C. Temple, two vols., 1911. The passage quoted is from Vol. I, *Introduction*, p. 73.

of Writer, and Commissions given them to bear them out in their Commands."

In the *Bombay Cons.* of 6th Jan., 1704/05, is noted the appointment of Robert Bartlett as Chief Surgeon, "to take place next the youngest Lievt." The civil servants ranked above the military, the latter in turn above the medical officers. The three statements quoted above show three very different ideas as to relative rank.*

Until the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, conferred commissions upon them in 1788, medical officers serving with the troops were hardly considered officers at all. Mention is occasionally made of the grant of a commission to a Surgeon, *e.g.* the *Surat Diaries* of 16th Oct., 1677, note that the death of the President, Gerald Aungier, has invalidated all commissions; new commissions are therefore issued to all officers, including Doctor Thomas Wilson, Phisitian General, and Mr. John Bird, Chyrurgion Generall. The Court of Directors, however, disapproved of the grant of this commission to Wilson, and ordered its revocation, as related in Chap. VI above.

The *Minutes* of the Bengal Council of 27th Jan., 1785, quoted n the *C.G.* of 17th Feb., 1785, give the strength of the Bengal Army, and include as *warrant* officers the whole *personnel* of the Medical Department, with the possible exception of the Surgeon-General, viz. four Surgeon-Majors, fifty-two Surgeons, and ninety-three Assistant Surgeons. This strength, with the same wording, is reported in a Bengal Letter to Court dated 23rd March, 1785. Possibly the Surgeon-General may be included as one of the four Surgeon-Majors, but probably not, as by this time there were four brigades in the Bengal Army.

In several cases, moreover, in which Assistant Surgeons were given commissions as Ensigns, it is stated that they were appointed to be officers, showing that an Assistant Surgeon was not then considered an officer.

In 1772 the Madras Council called upon all their medical officers to execute covenants. Two of the senior officers, Surgeons C. L. Lucas and T. H. Davies, raised objections. Davies addressed to Mr. Davidson, Paymaster at Trichinopoly, the letter given below, in which he states that he objects to execute a covenant,

* The passage is quoted at length, above, in Chap. VI, *Early History; Surat, Persia, Bombay, and the West.*

because, having no commission, he is liable to be flogged at the discretion of a commanding officer.

"To Alex^{r} Davidson, Esqr.—Sir. On perusing a Covenant which was this morning presented to me, in order to be executed, and knowing that I hold my Employ as Surgeon, without any Commission from the Honble Company consequently subject to be brought to the Halberts, or suffer Corporal Punishment, at the Pleasure of a Commanding Officer. I am earnestly to request the favour of your Interceding with the Governor & Council, for leave to address them on so Interesting a Subject before I sign the Indenture, which leaves Me, no redress for any Hardships, I may suffer, in the service of the Honble Company. Your compliance with this my Desire will oblige very much. Sir, Your very obedient Servant, Thos Davis. Trich^{y}, 6th, Sept. 1772."

Lucas and Davies were informed that, if they did not execute their covenants, they would be dismissed. They then did so. None of the other medical officers in the Madras Service seem to have raised any objection. Probably Davies was correct in stating that, serving without any commission, he was technically liable to be flogged at the discretion of his commanding officer. But no case seems to be recorded in which corporal punishment was inflicted on a medical officer, or even in which its infliction was threatened.

The order of 20th Oct., 1763, which constituted the Bengal Medical Service, instituted three ranks, Head Surgeons, Surgeons and Surgeons' Mates; the latter again divided into two grades, Hospital Mates and Regimental Mates. The distinction between Hospital and Regimental Mates was abolished by a Bengal G.O. of 23rd July, 1787, quoted in the *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board of 13th Aug., 1787. The same orders were passed for Bombay in a Public Letter from Court, dated 8th April, 1789, para. 33.

A distinction seems to have been recognised, however, especially in Madras, between two classes of Assistant Surgeons or Hospital Mates; members of the first class eligible for promotion and for succession in turn to the higher posts in the Service, members of the second class debarred from rising higher than the grade of Assistant Surgeon. Foreigners were, usually but not invariably, kept in the second class. The Madras *Mily. Cons.* of 8th April, 1771, give a list of the Medical Service, which includes twenty-eight names, viz. eighteen Surgeons, four Mates, and six "Assistants, not to rise." Among these six who were debarred

from promotion, is included Terence Gahagan, who in his turn became President of the Medical Board. His career therein is related in Chap. XXIII, *Administration; The Medical Boards*. Similarly, in Bombay, three Assistant Surgeons, C. M. Kehn (or Kiln), Gabriel Alvares, and W. Schott, all foreign names, were marked as unranked Assistant Surgeons, not to rise. In Bengal a similar class does not seem to have existed. Orders were occasionally passed that a particular man was not to be promoted; but such orders, as in Gahagan's case, usually became a dead letter. The case of the Bengal Assistant Surgeons, who voluntarily and deliberately gave up promotion, is, of course, different.

The term Hospital Mate is usually used as synonymous with Assistant Surgeon. But in the Bombay *Cons.* of 10th Dec., 1741, it is used for a native dresser or "black doctor."

The Bengal *Minutes of Council* of 14th Jan., 1783, direct that Assistant Surgeons appointed by the Court in England rank senior to those locally appointed during the same year in India.

"Resolved that henceforward the same Rule respecting the Rank of Assistant Surgeons be observed which has been Established for the rank of Cadets appointed in Europe and in India, that is to say, that the Assistant Surgeons appointed by the Honble Court of Directors, shall take precedence of those app^{d} in the Country, in the same year, by the Board."

From the earliest times, however, a distinction had been made between the posts of Surgeon and of Surgeon's Mate, and before 1764 it had been recognised that some senior rank was necessary, that some of the Surgeons must serve under the orders of others. The first Head Surgeons mentioned, however, were only the two senior Surgeons in the province, holding the two most important posts, those of Surgeon in Calcutta. They were consulted by the Council on professional subjects, but their administrative powers were very vague.

A letter from Fort William, dated 8th April, 1762, reports, in para. 24— *

"Surgeon Mr Plenderleath was unfortunately drowned, Mr Clement Croke succeeds him as one of the Head Surgeons of the Presidency, and Mr John Davidson, who has been a long time in the Army, succeeds Mr Crooke at Chittagong."

* *Abstracts, Letters from Bengal*, Vol I, 1760–70, p. 63. Crooke's name is differently spelt on the two occasions on which it is given.

On Crooke's death in the Patna Massacre in Oct., 1763, three of the senior Surgeons declined the reversion of his post, preferring to remain at their *mofussil* stations. The *Bengal Cons.* of 9th Nov., 1763, note that, owing to the death of Mr. Crooke, Head Surgeon—

" who was amongst the gentlemen at Patna," Mr Russell, the Surgeon at Dakka, is, according to the late establishment, the next in succession. " But as he, as well as Mr Fullarton at Patna, and Mr Davidson at Chittagong, have been long servants to the Company, it is agreed to reserve them the liberty of choosing whether they will return to Calcutta, or remain at the Subordinates, and to prevent any Detention in filling up the vacancies which may occur," they are to be written to and warned, " if they should now decline to return to Calcutta in their rotation, they must relinquish all future pretensions to the appointment of one of the Head Surgeons."

The same *Cons.* on 25th Nov., 1763, record that Messrs. Russell, Fullarton, and Davidson having chosen to remain at their stations, Mr. Ellis is appointed one of the Head Surgeons at Calcutta in the place of Mr. Crooke, and Mr. Campbell, Surgeon of Kasimbazar, in place of Mr. Ham; also Messrs. Thomas Anderson, Robert Hunter, Andrew Williams, and William Macdonald, appointed Surgeons to the Army.

In spite of the above warning, Davidson was appointed Head Surgeon at the Presidency somewhat later, in May, 1766.*

The *Madras Mily. Cons.* of 1st Dec., 1760, contain regulations for military hospitals, and a note to the effect that Surgeon Stephen Briggs is to draw an allowance of ten shillings a day since his appointment to be Surgeon-General in Dec., 175[illegible]. This post only lasted some three years. The same *Cons.* of 15th Feb., 1763, note that there is no further necessity for a Surgeon-General, the troops having returned to cantonments. On 9th Jan., 1764, they note that Colley Lucas, Surgeon of the 96th Foot which was going home, offered to enter the service of the Company, and asked for the post of Surgeon-General vacated by Briggs. Lucas was informed that the post of Surgeon-General had been abolished, and that he could not be allowed to supersede any of the Company's Surgeons; but might enter their service as full Surgeon, next below Mr. Gray. This offer Lucas accepted. In the same *Cons.* of 1st Feb., 1764, he is addressed as Senior

* For Ham and Davidson, as well as for Fullerton, see Chap. XII, *William Fullerton and the Patna Massacre.*

Surgeon at camp, superintending the medical arrangements of the whole army and of the general hospital.

Briggs, on the abolition of his post as Surgeon-General of the Army, was appointed First Surgeon at Fort St. George. He and Gilbert Pasley, the Second Surgeon, seem to have acted as an informal Medical Board, giving their opinions to Government on all kinds of professional matters which were referred to them, and issuing orders to the Medical Department. In July, 1767, Briggs was directed to inspect and report on the Vellore Hospital, concerning the management of which complaints had been made. The *Mily. Cons.* of 24th Aug., 1767, contain Briggs' report, on which Government passed orders that the Surgeons at Vellore were not to blame.

Stephen Briggs came out to India in the King's service. The *Fort St. George Public Cons.* of 16th Jan., 1756, note the grant of sick leave to Francis William Massey, Surgeon's Mate at Fort St. David, and the appointment in his place of Stephen Briggs, Assistant in the King's Hospital. He became full Surgeon on 3rd July, 1759, and in Dec., 1759, as stated above, was given the title of Surgeon-General, as P.M.O. of the Army. On 30th Jan., 1764, he was appointed First Surgeon at Fort St. George, *vice* James Wilson, senior, gone home. He retired in Feb., 1771, sailing in the *Vansittart;* and in the following year, 1772, married Gilbert Pasley's niece, Magdalene Pasley.

Gilbert Pasley was the fourth son of James Pasley, of Craig, near Langholm, in Dumfriesshire. The *Madras Mily. Cons.* of 16th Feb., 1761, record his appointment.

"Mr Gilbert Pasley now at Pondichery who came to India as Surgeons Assistant with Colonel Adlercron's Regiment being esteemed well qualified in his profession and desirous of entering into the Company's Service, It is agreed, that he be admitted as a Surgeon upon their Establishment, and that Mr Dupré be desired to signify the same to him."

As Pasley came out with Adlercron's regiment, the first British regiment to serve in India,—*primus in Indis*,—he and his brother medical officers in that regiment were the first officers of the A.M.D. to serve in India.

Within a year of his entering the service, Pasley was appointed to officiate as Surgeon of Fort St. George, and as Boswell, for whom he was acting, never took up the appointment, Pasley

retained it for the rest of his life. *Madras Public Cons.* of 10th Dec., 1761, note—

"Mr James Wilson Junr one of the Surgeons of this Settlement being deceased, Mr Alexander Boswall who is the next in turn is appointed to succeed him, but as he is at present with the Nabob who may be desirous of his continuing with him, Agreed that Mr Gilbert Peisley who is now with the Army be ordered to Madras to officiate in the room of Mr Boswall."

When Briggs retired, Pasley became Senior Surgeon. On 25th March, 1780, he was given the title of Surgeon-General, with a salary, apparently in addition to his previous pay, of 180 pagodas a month. He was buried at Madras on 23rd Sept., 1781. During the greater part of his service he appears to have acted as Agent for military clothing, in addition to his medical duties. He is mentioned as holding that office in the *Madras Mily. Cons.* of 17th Sept., 1763, and of 4th Nov., 1774.

When Briggs went home, and Pasley succeeded him as First Surgeon, Samuel Scott was appointed Second Surgeon at Madras. The *Mily. Cons.* of 18th Nov., 1771, contain a letter from Surgeon James Anderson, dated Vellum (a suburb of Tanjore, not to be confused with Vellore), 11th Nov., 1771, complaining of his supersession by Scott. Anderson states that Joseph Hinchley, who had long been the senior Surgeon in the Service (he was appointed in 1748), did not want to come to Madras, and that, excluding Hinchley, he, Anderson, was the next in seniority after Briggs and Pasley. The Madras Government declined to reconsider their order. Scott died a year later; he was buried at Madras on 21st April, 1772. Anderson was then appointed to succeed him. On Pasley's death Anderson became senior and Lucas junior Surgeon of Fort St. George.

The *Madras Mily. Cons.* of 14th Jan., 1779, record the appointment, on Pasley's recommendation, of C. L. Lucas as Surgeon-Major of the troops employed in the expedition to Mahé, to audit all field charges in the Medical Department. The same *Cons.* of 27th Nov., 1780, note that, on Pasley's recommendation, James Anderson was appointed Surgeon-Major, with a salary of 100 pagodas a month, presumably in addition to his pay and allowances as Surgeon. The same *Cons.*, on 16th Oct., 1781, report Anderson's appointment as Surgeon-General, *vice* Pasley, deceased, and, as recommended by Anderson, the appointment

of Lucas as Surgeon-Major at Madras, T. H. Davies being appointed Surgeon-Major in the field, in place of Lucas. In 1783 the titles of Brigade Surgeon and Superintending Surgeon are employed; the former in a letter from Surgeon Thomas Weston, on 12th Feb., requesting to be appointed a Surgeon equal in rank to Brigade Surgeon to the army under Colonel Jones; this request was refused, Surgeon George Anderson having been appointed to the post; the latter in the *Cons.* of 20th June, 1783, where regulations were passed, to be observed by the Superintending Surgeon. This officer, however, Job Bulman, was only the Surgeon superintending medical stores, or medical storekeeper.

In Wilson's *History of the Madras Army* (Vol. II, p. 185) is quoted a Madras G.O. of 4th Oct., 1784, which gives the strength of the Medical Department of that Presidency as one Surgeon-General, two Surgeon-Majors, twenty-seven other Surgeons, and twenty Assistant Surgeons. A Letter from Court to Madras, dated 16th Feb., 1787, ordered the abolition of the ranks and titles of Surgeon-General and Surgeon-Major, after the establishment of the Medical Board. In 1790, however, the Medical Board were directed to arrange for the medical staff of the army in the field, for the third Maisur war, and to recommend a competent person for Surgeon-Major. Lucas, who had been second member of the Medical Board since its formation, was also given the title of Surgeon-General to the Army. Dirom's *Narrative of the Campaign in India* gives three Surgeon-Generals' names as serving with the army: John Laird, Bengal; C. L. Lucas, Madras; and A. G. Clugstone, Bombay, each with the troops of his own Presidency, during the third Maisur War.

The Madras *Mily. Cons.* of 26th May, 1786, contain the *Proceedings* of the newly-established Hospital Board for 10th, 12th, and 15th May, which were duly passed and approved by the Council. The Board recommend, among other things, the appointment of a senior officer in each general hospital, under the title of First Surgeon, to understudy and to take the place of the Head Surgeon, when required. They grade the Medical Service in five ranks, Medical Board, Head Surgeons, First Surgeons, Surgeons, and Hospital Mates or Assistant Surgeons. The First Surgeon, however, held an appointment rather than a definite rank, and the title was not long in use. The abolition

of both rank and title are ordered in the *Mily. Cons.* of 1st May, 1787, the four holders of these posts, in the four General Hospitals, being transferred to other appointments. In the same *Cons.* of 1st May, 1787, orders were passed that commissions are to be given to medical officers, as in His Majesty's Service.

The first use of the title Surgeon-General in Bengal appears on 8th Nov., 1769, when Brigadier-General Richard Smith recommended to Government the appointment of a Surgeon-General for the Military Hospitals, as recorded in the Fort William *Cons.*

A General Letter from Fort William, dated 25th Jan., 1770, reports in para. 57 (*Abstracts, Letters from Bengal,* Vol. I., 1760–1770, p. 403)—

"Surgeon-General to the Army appointed at the recommendation of General Smith, 8th November. Mr James Anderson appointed at ten shillings a day."

The name James is a clerical error, Anderson's Christian name was Thomas. The salary was probably a staff allowance of ten shillings a day, in addition to the pay and allowances of Surgeon.

Anderson appears either to have resigned the appointment or else to have been superseded by Daniel Campbell, about Sept., 1775. In that month Campbell signs a certificate as Surgeon-General. On 30th Oct., 1776, he recommended Thomas Anderson, his predecessor, for leave to make a voyage to the Malabar Coast, for his health. Anderson died at Bombay in March, 1777.

On 31st July, 1783, Surgeon-General Daniel Campbell wrote to Brigadier-General Giles Stibbert, the Provincial Commander-in-Chief, suggesting that, on account of the great increase of the work of his office, a second Surgeon-General should be appointed for the Army, leaving the civil administrative work in his own hands. Campbell, of course, was not an administrative medical officer only; he was also Surgeon to the Presidency, and as such had a very large amount of professional work, in attendance on the Company's servants, civil and military. Stibbert agreed, and recommended to Government the appointment of Surgeon-Major Andrew Williams as Military Surgeon-General. The Bengal Government, however, did not agree, and the appointment was not made.

Campbell's and Stibbert's letters are given below. They are entered in the Calcutta *Cons.* of 18th Dec., 1783. Stibbert's letter is written by a clerk, but bears his signature in his own hand. In it the word *separating* is misspelt *seperating*. Both contents and signature of Campbell's letter are in his own hand.

" To the Honble Warren Hastings, Esqr, Governor General, & Members of the Supreme Council.

" Gentlemen. I do myself the honour of laying before you a Letter addressed to me by Mr Campbell, Surgeon General, wherein he states that the Business of the two Departments of Civil and Military Surgeon General, is become too extensive for him to perform with Ease to himself, and requests to be relieved of part of the Duty by seperating the Office of Surgeon General to the Army, from his Civil Appointment.

" In consequence hereof I beg leave to recommend, that Mr Williams, the Senior Surgeon Major, and who has served the Company more than 23 years, 19 of which as Surgeon Major, may be appointed to the distinct office of Surgeon General to the Army. The Compensation which Mr Williams requests for this new Appointment, is such an Addition to his Rank and Pay, as will put him upon the Footing of a Lieutenant Colonel instead of Major, with permission to retain the Charge of a Brigade Hospital. I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, Your most obedient humble servant, G. Stibbert. Fort William, 14th August, 1783."

" To Major General Stibbert, Commander-in-Chief.

" Sir. The very great increase of this town, both in the number of the inhabitants, and the distances of their habitations, together with the increased number of officers, and Civil Servants, who come here sick from all parts of the country, to most of whom I am called, has of late become a business of very great fatigue, besides taking up the whole of my time, in so much that it is impossible for me to attend to any other duty.

" I therefore take the liberty of addressing you, to request you will be pleased, to endeavour to get me eased of the duty of Surgeon General to the Army, the detail of which, could be better attended to by the Senior Surgeon Major, who has had so very long a service in that branch of employment. I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most obedient and humble Servt, Danl Campbell, Surg^{n} Genl. Calcutta, 31st July, 1783."

On 29th Nov., 1783, Campbell requested to be allowed to resign, with permission to resume his rank and station on return from Europe. He left India towards the end of the year, and was succeeded by James Ellis, who returned from England, after nine years' absence, to take up the post. Campbell was granted permission to return in a Despatch from Court, dated 27th Jan., 1785, and sailed for India, but died on his way out in Aug., 1785, at Johanna, one of the Comoro islands, between the northern end of Madagascar and the mainland of Africa. He seems never to have done any military duty except as

Surgeon-General. Ellis had previously been head of the civil branch of the Service for three years, till he went home in 1774. A Fort William General Letter, dated 12th Feb., 1771, reports in para. 88 (*Abstracts, Letters from Bengal,* Vol. II, 1770–74, p. 70)—

"First Surgeon Mr John Taylor has resigned, and proceeds to Europe on the Worcester, and is succeeded by Mr James Ellis."

Campbell's appointment to succeed Ellis as First Surgeon is reported in a General Letter from Fort William, dated 1st March, 1773, para. 53. But Ellis did not actually leave India for another year. Another General Letter from Bengal, dated 15th March, 1774, states in para. 108 that Ellis is leaving in the *Resolution,* the ship in which the letter was sent.

The *Bengal Minutes of Council* of 27th Jan., 1784, order that all applications from medical officers about rank are to be sent through the Surgeon-General.

In 1765 the Bengal Army was reorganised by Clive in three brigades, each composed of one battalion of European Infantry, one company of Artillery, one *risala* of Native Cavalry, and seven battalions of *sipahis.** The title of Surgeon-Major, with the allowances of a Major, was granted to the senior medical officer of each brigade. The *Minutes of Council* of 4th May, 1779 record—

"Resolved that the Surgeons on this Establishment do succeed to Brigades according to Seniority."

Reference to the original papers shows that Sir Eyre Coote, the Commander-in-Chief, agreed with Surgeon-General Campbell's opinion that these appointments should be made by seniority Francis and Wheler agreed. Hastings and Barwell also agreed but with the stipulation "not with retrospective effect." Four years later, in 1783, when Stibbert was Commander-in-Chief, he complained in strong terms of the system of promotion by seniority, as related in the preceding chapter.

Bengal Minutes of Council, of 5th Aug., 1781, note—

"The Board have thought proper to Grant to the Station of a Surgeon Major the Rank of a Major, and the Pay & Batta of Majors of Infantry, serving in the European Regiments in the Army from the 1st of January, 1781."

* *Services of the Bengal Native Army,* by F. G. Cardew, pp. 30–32.

Naturally, a considerable number of officers held the title and the rank, or rather post, for it hardly seems to have been considered a definite grade or rank, of Surgeon-Major, from time to time, one in succession to another. The titles of Surgeon-General and Surgeon-Major were abolished on the institution of the Medical Board, in 1786. The first member of the Medical Board was then given the title of Physician General, the second that of Chief Surgeon. These two titles were abolished by the fourth clause of Lord Cornwallis' Regulations of 1788. In 1786, the *Minutes of Council* of 30th June, notify the appointment as Head Surgeons of the three officers who up to that date held the posts of Surgeon-Major, Andrew Hunter, John Stormonth, and John Laird.

The title of Surgeon-Major was occasionally loosely used, as applied to the first or senior Surgeon in a station. The *Fort St. David Cons.* of 4th Dec., 1711, refer to the Surgeon there, Francis Jolly, as Chirurgeon Major.

The *Proceedings of the Calcutta Medical Board* of 13th April, 1796, contain a memorial from Surgeons Burt and Collie, complaining that the ranks of Surgeon-General and Surgeon-Major were abolished by Lord Cornwallis in Bengal only, while in Madras the rank of Surgeon-General was still retained, and Head Surgeons got the pay, quarters, and prize money of Majors. We have seen, however, that in Madras also these ranks were abolished on the institution of the Medical Board, and were only temporarily revived, in 1790, for the duration of the third Maisur War.

The *Bombay Cons.* of 30th July, 1769, direct the appointment of a Surgeon-Major to the garrison, and nominate Samuel Richardson to the post. The title of Surgeon-General does not seem to have been used in Bombay, and that of Surgeon-Major was abolished, as in Bengal and Madras, on the appointment of the Medical Board.

" As many irregularities and neglects of the sick in their quarters have been found to arise from the Surgeons of the several battalions acting in their practice independent of any one of their profession. It is therefore agreed to appoint a Surgeon-major to the garrison, to whom the Surgeons must be accountable for their proceedings, and who must also have inspection of the Sepoy hospital when finished. The Surgeon major will receive the ten shillings a day as allowed at the other Presidencies, and permission to supply the Sepoy hospital with country medicines. Mr Samuel Richardson being esteemed a proper person for the office is accordingly appointed."

Samuel Richardson, the first Administrative Medical Officer in Bombay, was appointed on 5th April, 1765. His name appears in the *Muster Rolls* of the First Bombay Battalion from 1769 to 1779. He went home on furlough in 1783, and did not return to India.

Lord Cornwallis' *Minute* and *Regulations* of 24th Oct., 1788, first gave to the Company's medical officers in Bengal commissions, and the rank of commissioned officers. Previous to that date they had been warrant officers, serving on warrants only. Somewhat earlier, on 1st May, 1787, a resolution to grant commissions to Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons was passed in Madras, as mentioned above.

It may be mentioned that Assistant Surgeons, or at least some of them, were called Hospital Mates, and were considered warrant officers only, in the British Army, up to a much later date than in the Indian Army. In the life of the famous Army Surgeon Robert Jackson, written by Sir Ranald Martin and Surgeon John Grant, both of the Bengal Service, occur the following passages * :

"At this period, and for long afterwards, there was a grade in the Army Medical Department, now happily abolished, called Surgeon's Mate, who though really performing the duties of an Assistant Surgeon, was in fact only a warrant officer, being appointed by the Colonel on the recommendation of the Surgeon General. Consequently he held no commission and was not entitled to half pay." †

Jackson himself held this warrant rank, as a medical officer for some fifteen years, along with a combatant commission, as Ensign in the 71st Foot.

"As a hospital mate, he was entitled to no half pay; but he had been for years an Ensign in the 71st regiment, which he continued to be, till brought on half pay, as Surgeon to the Buffs, in 1793." ‡

The rank and designation of Hospital Assistant in the British Army was abolished by the A.M.D. Royal Warrant of 29th July, 1830, republished in the *C.G.* of 24th March, 1831.

A table of fees payable for commissions is given in the *Bengal Minutes of Council* of 22nd Sept., 1785. This table is also

* *A View of the Formation, Discipline, and Economy of Armies.* By Robert Jackson, London, 1845.

† *Ibid.*, p. xxx. "This period" was 1778.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. xlii. The period referred to in this extract is 1783. Jackson's commission as Ensign dated from 1778.

published in the *C.G.* of 16th Nov., 1787, and in the appendix to the *Code of Military Regulations* by Captain Henry Grace, 1791.

	Rs:
Colonel	300
Lt.-Colonel	200
Major and Surgeon-Major	100
Captain and Surgeon	70
Captain-Lieutenant	60
Lieutenant and Assistant Surgeon	30
Lt.-Fireworker and Ensign	20

For the first century of its existence, the establishment of Surgeons in the I.M.S. was a fixed number, increased from time to time; and promotion from Assistant Surgeon to Surgeon went as vacancies occurred, not by length of service. A few fortunate individuals, of whom Fleming was one, got this step with less than four years' service; a few took nearly twenty years; the general average was from twelve to fifteen years. The first instance of a large number of Assistant Surgeons being promoted on the same day was in 1826, when the number of Surgeons in Bengal was increased from eighty to one hundred, and twenty Assistant Surgeons were promoted on 5th May, 1826.

On several occasions men appointed from England claimed to join as full Surgeons, but such claims do not seem ever to have been allowed in Bengal, except in the case of men joining the service of the Company from King's regiments. John Laird, who joined the Bengal Service on 23rd Feb., 1771, was granted the rank of Surgeon on first joining, by orders from home, but this was because he had previously served for six years as Assistant Surgeon at Canton.

In Madras, on the other hand, besides the cases of men joining from King's regiments, who were with justice allowed to enter the Company's service with the rank of Surgeon, several men were sent out from home as Surgeons, and joined in that rank direct. The *Madras Mily. Cons.* of 29th May, 1769, contain a complaint to this effect.

" Letter from David Saunders, Surgeon's Mate, complaining of having been superseded by Messrs Beckett and Peters, sent out as Surgeons from England. Resolved that the complaint is reasonable. Surgeons Mates White, Barry, Turing, and Duffin have also been superseded in the same way by Beckett and Peters. Will ask Court in future to send out Surgeons Mates only, not any full Surgeons " (*Abstract*).

A G.O.G.G. of 19th June, 1800, quoted in the *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board of 30th June, directs that Assistant Surgeons are not to be promoted to the rank of full Surgeon in place of Surgeons absent on furlough, as had previously been the custom. This order was an obvious result of the grant of furlough rules in 1796. Previous to that year all officers going home had resigned their appointments, and in consequence promotions had been made to the places and ranks they vacated.

"There being several full Surgeons belonging to this Presidency absent on furlough, who must be considered, conformably to the Regulations, a part of the Establishment of full Surgeons, allowed for Corps, Garrisons, and Civil Stations, during the period of their absence on Furlough, no promotion of Assistant Surgeons to the Rank of full Surgeons can take place, consistent with the Regulations, whilst there are full Surgeons on the Establishment, including those on Furlough, sufficient for the number of Corps, Garrisons, and Stations to which full Surgeons are allowed. . . Assistant Surgeons posted to medical charge of Regiments, in place of those on Furlough, to be allowed full batta of Surgeon."

Assistant Surgeons in civil employ had to revert to military duty on promotion to Surgeon, and as the number of full Surgeons allowed for civil stations was very small, usually only about six for all Bengal, had little chance of getting civil employment again. The pressure of this rule was somewhat mitigated by the fact that the appointments of Presidency Surgeon, and other posts in Calcutta, were considered military appointments. Assistant Surgeons in *mofussil* civil stations had, when their turn for promotion came, the option of giving up promotion and remaining at their stations, instead of taking promotion and reverting to military duty. This option is given in the twelfth clause of the Cornwallis regulations of 1788. They had to make their choice once for all, either to accept promotion or to decline it, and in giving up promotion they also gave up all claim to furlough for the future, or at least to pay when on furlough, and to pension, retaining only the bare pay of Assistant Surgeon. A good many Assistant Surgeons in Bengal, some twenty in all, gave up promotion to remain at the stations in which they had settled down, and in many cases had gone in extensively for trade, indigo planting or *zamindari*. In 1789 the Medical Board submitted a list of six Assistant Surgeons who preferred to retain their civil stations rather than accept promotion.*

* See Chap. XVI, *Military and Civil.*

In 1796, when the Court of Directors ordered the separation of the Medical Department into two separate and non-interchangeable Services, Military and Civil, the great majority of Assistant Surgeons, thirty out of forty-five, in civil employ, preferred to remain in the civil branch. But after this scheme had been dropped most of them took promotion in the usual way when their turn came. The names of the men who gave up promotion to Surgeon are given below, with those of the stations, to retain which they relinquished their future chances of advancement. It is of some interest to see what stations were then found to be worth such a sacrifice. Nowadays few men would wish to remain at Jessore, Nattore (now a subdivision of Rajshahai district), or Malda, a day longer than they could help.

Until after the Mutiny the medical charge of irregular corps was also tenable only by officers of the rank of Assistant Surgeon, a rule rarely broken. A Bengal Mily. Letter of 24th Dec., 1813, reports in paras. 81, 82, that Assistant Surgeon Breton has been allowed to retain charge of the Ramgarh Battalion after his promotion to Surgeon, in order to prosecute his researches on the bark of the pomegranate and other Ramgarh trees.

In a few cases Assistant Surgeons who had been promoted to Surgeons were allowed to revert to their former rank, refunding any increased pay and allowances which they had drawn as Surgeons. In such cases, they had probably never actually left their civil stations, but were only under orders to do so. As instances may be quoted a Bengal Mily. Letter, dated 29th Aug., 1799, which states in paras. 254–256 (*Abstracts, Letters from Bengal,* Vol. VI, 1795–1803, p. 240)—

"Surgeons Macleod, Davidson, and Todd, permitted to relinquish the Rank of full Surgeon and to remain at their present Civil Stations as Assistant Surgeons, on condition of their giving up all pretention to promotion and all Military Claims whatever."

A Calcutta Public Letter, dated 18th Jan., 1805, reports in paras. 321–324, that an application from Gilbert Macleod, Surgeon at Tippera, for furlough, or to retire on half pay, had been rejected, Mr. Macleod having relinquished promotion.

The *C.G.* of 19th Dec., 1805, contains the following order :—

"Resolved at the request of Mr Thomas Morgan, that he be permitted to relinquish the rank he attained by General Orders of the 16th May last, and to remain at Nattore, as an Assistant Surgeon, in the same

manner as if his promotion to the rank of Full Surgeon had not taken place; Mr Morgan is to have no pretensions in future to preferment, or military claims of any kind, and is to refund the differences between the pay and allowances as Full Surgeon, and those of an Assistant Surgeon, which he has drawn."

Assistant Surgeons Haig and Turnbull also accepted promotion to Surgeon, and subsequently asked and obtained permission to revert to the rank of Assistant Surgeon.

Apparently this system of declining promotion existed in Bengal only. Similar instances do not seem to have occurred in Madras. Only one can be quoted from Bombay, where by G.O. of 1st Feb., 1813, Assistant Surgeon John Gilder is permitted to give up promotion to Surgeon, and to remain at Kaira as Civil Assistant Surgeon.

The following is a list of Assistant Surgeons in Bengal who gave up promotion to Surgeon, with their stations :—

Date of First Commission.	Name.	Station.
17th March, 1779	J. L. Williams	Benares.
10th April, 1781	J. Glass	Bhagalpur.
17th April, 1781	C. Fraser	Tirhut.
2nd Jan., 1782	R. Anderson	Jessore.
24th March, 1783	G. Macleod	Tippera.
31st March, 1783	C. Todd	Rangpur.
13th April, 1783	J. Macrae	Barisal.
21st April, 1783	W. Davidson	Sylhet.
7th Jan., 1789	T. Yeld	Benares.
19th Jan., 1789	T. Morgan	Nattore.
27th Aug., 1791	A. Haig	Nadiya.
28th Aug., 1791	H. Barnett	Bauleah.
2nd Sept., 1791	D. Turnbull	Mirzapur.
26th June, 1797	H. Lauder	Chapra.
13th July, 1797	G. N. Wyatt	Sitapur.
3rd Aug., 1802	H. Young	24 Parganas.
19th May, 1803	G. Ballard	Bauleah.
23rd March, 1805	T. Rutherford	Moradabad.
26th July, 1809	J. Lamb	Malda.
23 Sept., 1815	F. P. Strong	24 Parganas.
30 Sept., 1816	G. N. Cheek	Bankura.

The last survivor of these officers was Cheek, who died on 26th June, 1859, on leave at the Nilgiri Hills.

Promotion to Surgeon was regulated by the occurrence of vacancies up to Nov., 1864. Clauses 22 and 23 of the Warrant of 7th Nov., 1864, fix twelve years' service as the period after which promotion to the rank of Surgeon shall be given. In the Royal Warrant of 10th May, 1873, which abolished the rank of

Assistant Surgeon, promotion from Surgeon to Surgeon-Major was granted, in clause 2, at twelve years' service. At that period the step from Captain to Major is still ordinarily given.

Mily. Dept. Notification No. 139 of 17th Feb., 1905, allows promotion to Major, accelerated by six months, to those who have taken higher degrees or gone through special courses of study. In 1911 this concession was extended, so as to allow an officer who had not had the opportunity of thus qualifying for accelerated promotion in his first twelve years of service, to do so at any period up to sixteen years, and so to gain the accelerated promotion with retrospective effect, but without claim to any arrears of pay for such promotion.

Since the foundation of the Service and, indeed, from an even earlier date, there has always been an administrative grade, with powers of control over the executive ranks. The title of this grade has varied from time to time—Head Surgeon, Superintending Surgeon, D.I.G., D.S.G., Surgeon-Colonel, Colonel.

Up to about the end of the eighteenth century, the Head Surgeons were the officers in charge of the large general hospitals for troops, and their administrative powers, outside their own hospitals, were somewhat vague. Of these hospitals there were then six in Bengal; Calcutta or Presidency, Barhampur, Dinapur, Chunar, Cawnpur, and Fatehgarh. In Madras there were general hospitals at the Presidency, Trichinopoly, Masulipatam, Vellore, and Ellore; towards the end of the century the two last were abolished and their places taken by Seringapatam and Bellary. In Bombay such hospitals existed at the Presidency, Surat, and Thana.

The *C.G.* of 22nd Aug., 1793, lays down a standing regulation that Head Surgeons are daily to examine the diaries kept by the medical officers serving under them.

"Resolved that it be made a standing Regulation that every Surgeon or Mate attending an Hospital, or having charge of any particular division or wards, shall keep a diary, expressing the names of the patients under his care, the nature of the disorders, when admitted, daily states of the patients, and copies of all the prescriptions, that this diary may be examined daily by the Head Surgeons, and that the dates of discharges or casualties, and every alteration of treatment ordered by the Head Surgeons be particularly noticed.

"Copies of these books signed by the respective Surgeons or Mates, and countersigned by the Head Surgeons, are to be sent quarterly to the Hospital Board, and the original books are to remain always in the Hospital."

The *C.G.* of 17th July, 1794, publishes an order that the senior member of the Medical Board, John Laird, is to inspect the up-country hospitals, and this was done, Laird being on tour on this duty for some months.

" Resolved that Mr John Laird, senior Member of the Hospital Board, be employed under the Inspection of the Commander-in-Chief to inspect the Hospitals, at the Upper Stations of the Army, during the present season, and that he be accordingly directed to attend to such instructions, as he may receive from the Commander-in-Chief."

A similar order was passed in Madras about the same time. On 19th March, 1794, the Medical Board were ordered personally to superintend hospitals on the coast.* They seem to have evaded the duty of personal inspection by passing it on to Head Surgeons. On 22nd April the Head Surgeons of Trichinopoly, Vellore, and Ellore reported that all the hospitals under them were in a satisfactory condition. William Raine, Head Surgeon of Madras General Hospital, and third member of the Medical Board, asked permission to postpone his inspections until the weather was milder.†

In both Madras and Bombay the Head Surgeons appear to have developed into regular administrative officers earlier than in Bengal. A Mily. Despatch to Madras, dated 26th Aug., 1801, in para. 121 directs that the designation Head Surgeon is to be changed to Superintending Surgeon, as at Bombay. From this we may gather that the new title was first used in the Bombay Presidency. The title of Superintending Surgeon is used in the Army Lists in the *East India Register*, in Madras and Bombay from 1803, in Bengal not till Aug., 1808. The first use of the term Superintending Surgeon for the administrative grade previously called Head Surgeon appears to be in the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1800, *Chronicle*, p. 96, which notes the promotion of Surgeon Macneelance of Bombay to be Superintending Surgeon from 11th Feb., 1799. A Madras Mily. Letter of 20th Oct., 1802, advises of certain appointments made, as " Superintending Surgeons of Divisions." These are :—

Mr. Richardson, Southern Division.
,, A. Anderson, Maisur.
,, H. Miller, Ceded Districts.
,, H. Harris, Northern Division.
Mr. A. Berry, Centre Division.
,, J. Price, Kanara.
,, J. Macneelance, Malabar.

* *M.P.L.*, No. 647 of 19th March, 1794; *Mily. G.O.*, Vol. X, p. 99. This order is quoted at length in Chap. XXIII, *Administration; the Medical Boards.*

† *M.P.L.*, No. 972 of 22nd April, 1794; *Mily. Cons.*, Vol. CLXXXIV, pp. 1515–66.

The last two were Bombay men. The posts are the same, under different names, as those given in the *Army List* of 1803.

The title Superintending Surgeon seems to be first used, in Bengal, in the *C.G.*, in the issue of 18th June, 1807, in a G.O. of 28th May, 1807, notifying the promotion of Thomas Bainbridge to be *Superintending Surgeon, vice* J. G. Henderson, *Head Surgeon*, appointed third member of the Medical Board. This use of both titles in the same order for the same appointment is decidedly curious.

It may be said that, from about the beginning of the nineteenth century, Superintending Surgeons, who were purely administrative officers, one to each division of the army, took the place of the Head Surgeons, who were the senior medical officers of the General Hospitals, one to each such hospital; and who had, in addition to their chief duties, which were professional, more or less vague administrative powers, which had for some time past gradually been increasing in extent and in responsibility.

Promotion to this administrative grade has usually been given by selection, for ability and merit. In the orders which established the Madras Medical Board * it is distinctly laid down that promotion to each grade is to be for merit, and by seniority in cases of equal merit only. The rule that promotion is to be for merit is also laid down in the seventh clause of Lord Cornwallis' regulations of 1788. In 1824, however, a letter from Court, dated 27th Oct., 1824, published in Bombay G.O. of 12th April, 1825, directs that promotion to S.S. should go by seniority, to the Medical Board by selection. Much the same principle is laid down in a Bengal G.O. of 6th April, 1835, which states that when a vacancy occurs as S.S. the senior Surgeon will be promoted to fill it, unless he is on leave in Europe. The same G.O. goes on to state that if the senior Surgeon is on leave at any place where he retains his claim to Indian allowance, he will succeed, but will not draw the higher rate of pay till he actually joins, the officer who acts pending his arrival drawing the full allowances.

A Military Letter from Court, published in Bengal G.O.,

* G.O. of 8th July, 1786, quoted in full in Chap. XXIII, *Administration; the Medical Boards.*

No. 169, of 1st July, 1842, lays down the principle of promotion to the rank of S.S. by selection :—

"*Fort William, 16th July*, 1842, *No.* 169. In obedience to the Orders of the Honourable the Court of Directors in their Military Letter to the Government of India, No. 6, under date the 4th May, 1842, the following Regulations are to have effect in the Medical Department of the three Presidencies, from the 16th instant.

"The situation of Superintending Surgeon to be considered a Staff Appointment, to which only those fitted for it by a zealous and able discharge of their professional Duties shall be deemed eligible, and the Appointment to future Vacancies will be made without reference to the order of succession, whenever it may be the opinion of Government, that such departure from Seniority is required for the maintenance of the Public Interests."

Finally, a Bengal G.O. of 5th July, 1848, publishing extracts from a Mily. Letter from Court, dated 7th March, 1848, directs fully and forcibly that promotion to the administrative ranks, both those of S.S. and member of the Medical Board, is to be made by selection for ability and merit, and not by seniority. This principle has remained in force ever since, and up to the present day.

"*Fort William, 5th July*, 1842. The following paras of a Military Letter, No. 6, from the Honourable the Court of Directors, to the Governor General of India in Council, dated 7th March, 1848, are published for general information.

"Review of the Medical Establishment of the Bengal Army.

"*Para.* 1. The several suggestions made in this despatch have engaged our particular attention.

"*Para.* 6. We must observe that, agreeably to the existing regulations, the situation of Superintending Surgeon is considered a staff appointment to which 'only those fitted for it by a zealous and able discharge of their professional duties' shall be deemed eligible, and that it is declared that appointments to vacancies 'will be made without reference to the order of succession' whenever it may be the opinion of the Government that such departure from seniority is required for the maintenance of the public interest.

"*Para.* 7. If this regulation be duly observed, no Surgeon should be appointed Superintending Surgeon who is disqualified by age, state of health, or the want of adequate professional talents, for the important duty of supervising the practice of the Medical Officers and the economy of the Hospitals in the Division to which he is attached.

"*Para.* 8. We would further observe that it is the duty of the Medical Board to watch with care the reports of the inspecting officers, and to bring to your notice any instances in which Superintending Surgeons may be found inadequate to the continued performance of their duties. In

any such case, it will be incumbent on you to place the Medical officer in some other and less responsible charge.*

"*Para.* 10. By the Regulations it is prescribed that vacancies in the Medical Board shall be filled by selection from the Superintending Surgeons of such as shall be most distinguished for professional science and the zealous discharge of their duties; due regard being had to seniority in the service, when the qualifications of the individuals appear to be adequate to the correct performance of the duties of the office.

"*Para.* 11. In calling your attention to the necessity for a due enforcement of this regulation, we will only add, that if, in your judgment it has become necessary to enlarge the sphere of selection so as, for instance, to permit of the appointment of a Surgeon of distinguished talents and acquirements in his profession, to be appointed, on a vacancy, third or Junior Member of the Board, we should have no hesitation in according our sanction to the measure. The appointment of such an officer in the vigour of his age, to be the third Member, would be calculated to impose new energy into the Board, and to render it more efficient for the performance of its various duties. In this case the First and Second Members might be selected, as at present, from the Superintending Surgeons only."

In a few cases officers were allowed to decline promotion to the rank of S.S., usually because they wished to retain appointments of special importance or emolument in Calcutta. We have already seen how, after the death of Clement Crooke in the Patna massacre, in Oct., 1763, the next three officers in seniority all preferred to retain their *mofussil* stations, rather than come to Calcutta in his place as Head Surgeon. During the next eighty years a few instances occurred of senior officers being permitted to decline promotion; Robert Wilson, William Russell, W. P. Muston, and Simon Nicolson, Presidency Surgeons in Calcutta; Peter Breton, Superintendent of the Native Medical Institution; Thomas Yeld, Civil Surgeon and Mint Master at Benares; and James Ranken, Postmaster-General of the N.W.P. All were holding appointments considered probably of at least equal importance to that of S.S. All were men of note in their day, and deserve a few lines of notice here.†

Robert Wilson entered the Service on 16th May, 1770, became Surgeon on 24th April, 1778, and died on 9th June, 1813, at Ghireti, near Serampur, where his tombstone may still be seen in a small graveyard on the west side of the Hugli, a little north

* Para. 9 is not quoted in the G.O.

† A Mily. Letter from Fort William, dated 4th Aug., 1809, reports in para. 2, "Dr. William Hunter's request to decline the appointment of Superintending Surgeon without prejudice to his claim to succeed to the Medical Board, complied with, for reasons stated." Hunter, however, was promoted to S.S. on 19th Jan., 1811, before rather than after his turn.

of the landing-stage of the ferry from Palta. Practically the whole of his service seems to have been spent in various Calcutta appointments, chiefly as Presidency Surgeon.

William Russell was born on 29th May, 1773, took the M.D. Edinburgh, in 1793, entered the Service as Assistant Surgeon on 25th June, 1797, became Surgeon on 21st July, 1808, and retired on 18th June, 1831. On 18th Feb., 1832, he was created a baronet for services in the London cholera epidemic of 1831–32, and on 5th April, 1832, was elected F.R.S. He died at Charlton Park, Gloucestershire, on 26th Sept., 1839.

William Pitts Muston was born at Blandford in Dorsetshire on 20th Feb., 1779, entered the Service as Assistant Surgeon on 25th Aug., 1801, became Surgeon on 12th Aug., 1813, and S.S. on 21st June, 1833. He was permitted to resign that rank, and to revert to his former appointments as Presidency Surgeon, and Apothecary to the Company, by Bengal G.O. of 23rd Oct., 1834. He died in Calcutta on 30th July, 1837. His tombstone may still be seen on the western side of the North Park Street Cemetery. He served in the second Maratha War of 1803–05, and in the Nipal War of 1815.

Peter Breton entered as Assistant Surgeon on 27th Aug., 1801, and became Surgeon on 22nd Aug., 1814. When the Native Medical Institution for educating native doctors in Calcutta was founded in 1822, Surgeon James Jameson was appointed Superintendent. He died on 20th Jan., 1823, and was succeeded by Breton, whose turn for promotion to S.S. came in 1826, but he was allowed to decline. He died in Calcutta on 18th Nov., 1830.

Simon Nicolson was the best-known medical man of his time in Calcutta, perhaps we might say of any time. A short account of his life and services is given in Chap. XXXV, *The First Half of the Nineteenth Century.*

Thomas Yeld was born in 1767, entered as Assistant Surgeon on 7th Jan., 1789, and became Surgeon on 30th Sept., 1803. For many years he was Civil Surgeon and Master of the Mint at Benares, where he lived in great style, keeping open house and entertaining lavishly. Extensive defalcations were discovered in the Mint under his charge, and he died by his own hand on 16th Sept., 1829.

James Ranken was born on 24th Aug., 1788, took the degree

of M.D. Edinburgh and the diploma of M.R.C.S. in 1808, and entered as Assistant Surgeon on 3rd Feb., 1809, becoming Surgeon on 11th July, 1823. For many years he was Superintendent of Post-offices in the North-West Provinces, and latterly Postmaster General, the same appointment under a more imposing name. He served in the Pindari, or third Maratha War, in 1817–18. Like Nicolson, he was one of the Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons originally appointed in 1844. He retired on 18th Sept., 1845, and died at After Lodge, Ayrshire, on 30th May, 1848.

In 1832, 1833, and 1835 rules were made regarding the amount of military duty required of a Surgeon before promotion to the administrative ranks. The latest rule on this subject, which is still in force, was passed in 1884.*

In 1801 the famous Army Surgeon, James McGrigor, was serving in India, and was sent as P.M.O. with Baird's expedition to Egypt. That there might be no doubt of his power to command the medical officers of the Indian Army, as well as those of the King's troops in the force, a temporary commission as Superintending Surgeon was given him by the Company.†

Sir James McGrigor was born at Cromdale, in Inverness, on 9th April, 1771, studied medicine at Aberdeen, where he became M.A. in 1788, and at Edinburgh, and was appointed Assistant Surgeon to De Burgh's regiment, afterwards the Connaught Rangers or 88th Foot, on 13th Sept., 1793, soon after it was raised. He served in Flanders in 1794–95, in the West Indies in 1795–96, and went with the 88th to Bombay and Ceylon in 1799. In 1801 he served as P.M.O. with Baird's expedition to Egypt. In 1802 he was transferred to the Royal Horse Guards. He became D.I.G. on 27th June, 1805, and I.G. on 25th Aug., 1809, with sixteen years' service. He served as Chief of the Medical Staff to Wellington in the Peninsula, reached Lisbon on 10th Jan., 1812, and was present at Ciudad Rodrigo, Burgos, Badajoz, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, and Toulouse. In 1814 he retired from the service, but was appointed Director-General of the A.M.D. on 13th June, 1815, and retained the post for thirty-six years, retiring in 1851. He died in London on 2nd April, 1858. He became M.D., Edinburgh, in 1804, LL.D on 1st Aug., 1826,

* These rules are given above in Chap. XVI, *Military and Civil.*

† *Autobiography of Sir James McGrigor*, London, 1861, p. 107.

and was F.R.C.P., London and Edinburgh ; was elected F.R.S. on 14th March, 1816 ; Lord Rector of Marischal College, Aberdeen, thrice, in 1826, 1827, and 1841 ; created a baronet in Sept., 1830 ; K.C.B. 17th Aug., 1850 ; he was also an Honorary Physician to the Queen, and had the Turkish Order of the Crescent, and the Tower and Sword of Portugal.

The names of the members of the Medical Board, and of the Superintending Surgeons, are shown in the Army Lists in the *East India Registers*, up to 1844, ranked in order of date of commission as Surgeon, not of appointment to the higher grades. From Jan., 1845, they are shown separately, at the head of the Service, but their names are given over again among the Surgeons. After the three members of the Medical Board comes the Secretary to the Board, a comparatively junior officer. The repetition of the names among the Surgeons, the inclusion of the Secretary with the members of the Board, as well as the fact that men were in a few cases permitted to resign appointments as S.S., and revert to Surgeon, all go to show that the administrative posts were considered rather as important staff appointments than as definite ranks. Their names are repeated among the Surgeons up to 1872 ; and it is not till Jan., 1873, that they appear as administrative officers only.

The number of Superintending Surgeons varied from time to time, gradually increasing, along with the increasing strength of the army. The numbers of these appointments, and their stations, can be traced in the successive volumes of the Army List. These lists, however, cannot be trusted as absolutely accurate.

These appointments may best be shown in a tabular form, giving the administrative appointments every fifth year. The administrative officers in Bengal are called Head Surgeons in 1803 and 1805 and up to 1808, afterwards S.S. ; in Madras Head Surgeons in January, 1803, S.S. in July, 1803, and afterwards ; in Bombay S.S. in January, 1803, and throughout. Some of the appointments shown, such as Narbada and Sagar Field Forces (Bengal, 1820), Duab Field Force (Madras, 1830) and Army of Indus (Bengal, 1840), are obviously temporary only, for war service.

1803.	1805.	1810.
Bengal (5). Hd. Surg. Presidency. „ Cawnpur. „ Barhampur. „ Dinapur. „ Chunar.	*Bengal* (5). Hd. Surg. Presidency. „ Cawnpur. „ Barhampur. „ Chunar. „ Fatehgarh.	*Bengal* (5). S.S. Dinapur. „ Barhampur. „ Meerut. „ Cawnpur. „ Chunar.
Madras (5). Hd. Surg. Madras. „ Trichinopoly. „ Seringapatam „ Masulipatam. „ Bellary.	*Madras* (4). S.S. N. Dn., Masulipatam. „ Centre Division. „ South Division. „ Ceded Districts.	*Madras* (6). S.S. Centre Dn., Wallajahbad. „ North Dn., Masulipatam. „ South Dn., Trichinopoly. „ Maisur Dn., Seringapatam. „ Haidarabad, Subsid. Force. „ Ceded Districts, Bellary.
Bombay (3). S.S. Kanara. „ N. Malabar. „ S. Malabar.	*Bombay* (3). S.S. Kanara. „ Malabar. „ Guzarat.	*Bombay* (2). S.S. Poona Subsid. Force. „ Guzarat.

1815.	1820.	1825.
Bengal (5). Dinapur. Meerut. Barhampur. Cawnpur. Chunar.	*Bengal* (8). Meerut. Cawnpur. Benares. Delhi. Rajputana. Narbada Field Force. Sagar Field Force. Barhampur.	*Bengal* (8). Meerut. Cawnpur. Dinapur. Barhampur. Sagar. Chunar. Malwa. Karnal.
Madras (6). Malabar and Kanara. Masulipatam. Trichinopoly. Seringapatam. Haidarabad Subsid. Force. Bellary.	*Madras* (8). Nizam's Subsid. Force. Nagpur Subsid. Force. Ceded Districts. Presidency Division. Centre Division. Southern Division. Northern Division. Maisur Division.	*Madras* (8). Same as 1820.
Bombay (2). Poona Subsid. Force. Guzarat.	*Bombay* (4). Poona. Guzarat. Khandesh. Gaikwar's Subsid. Force.	*Bombay* (4). Poona. Guzarat. Konkan. Surat.

1830.	1835.	1840.
Bengal (10). Meerut. Barhampur. Sagar. Karnal. Dinapur. Nimach. Benares. Agra. Allahabad. Barrackpur.	*Bengal* (12). Meerut. Barhampur. Sagar. Dinapur. Nimach. Benares. Agra. Allahabad. Barrackpur. Presidency. Sirhind. Cawnpur.	(*Bengal* 10). Meerut. Sagar. Dinapur. Nimach. Benares. Agra. Cawnpur. Barrackpur. Sirhind. Army of Indus.
Madras (10). Haidarabad Subsid. Force Nagpur Subsid. Force Ceded Districts. Presidency Division. Centre Division. Southern Division. Northern Division. Maisur Division. Malabar. Duab Field Force.	*Madras* (9). Same as 1830, omitting Duab Field Force.	*Madras* (9). Same as 1835.
Bombay (3). Poona. Malwa. Kach.	*Bombay* (3). Guzarat. North Dekkan. South Dekkan.	*Bombay* (4). Dekkan. Guzarat. Presidency. Upper Sind.

1845.	1850.	1855.
Bengal (10). Meerut. Sagar. Dinapur. Nimach. Benares. Agra. Barrackpur. Sirhind. Dakka. Cawnpur.	*Bengal* (11). Meerut. Sagar. Dinapur. Nimach. Benares. Agra. Barrackpur. Sirhind. Dakka. Cawnpur. Panjab.	*Bengal* (12). Meerut. Dakka. Dinapur. Benares. Barrackpur. Sirhind. Agra. Cawnpur. Lahore. Trans-Ravi. Peshawar. Pegu.
Madras (9). Haidarabad Subsid. Force. Nagpur Subsid. Force. Ceded Districts. Presidency. Centre Division. Southern Division. Northern Division. Maisur. Malabar and Kanara.	*Madras* (9). Same as 1845.	*Madras* (10). Haidarabad Subsid. Force. Nagpur Subsid. Force. Ceded Districts. Presidency. Centre Division. Southern Division. Northern Division. Maisur. Malabar and Kanara. Narbada and Sagar.

1845.	1850.	1855.
Bombay (5). North Dekkan. South Dekkan. Guzarat. Presidency. Sind.	*Bombay* (5). Same as 1845.	*Bombay* (5). North Dekkan. South Dekkan. Presidency. Poona. Sind.

1860.	1865.	1870.
Bengal (12). Meerut. Dinapur. Benares. Barrackpur. Sirhind. Sagar. Dakka. Lahore. Agra. Peshawar. Sialkot. Presidency.	*Bengal* (13). Meerut. Benares. Barrackpur. Sirhind. Sagar. Dakka. Agra. Lahore. Peshawar. Sialkot. Presidency. Lucknow. Cawnpur.	*Bengal* (10). Meerut. Dinapur. Agra. Sagar. Lahore. Presidency. Lucknow. Allahabad. Ambala. Rawal Pindi.
Madras (10). Haidarabad Subsid. Force. Nagpur. Ceded Districts. Presidency. Maisur. Centre Division. Southern Division. Northern Division Malabar and Kanara. Pegu.	*Madras* (8). Haidarabad Subsid. Force. Nagpur. Ceded Districts. Presidency. Maisur. Southern Division. Northern Division. Pegu.	*Madras* (6). Haidarabad Subsid. Force. Nagpur. Maisur and Ceded Districts. Southern Division. Northern Division. Pegu.
Bombay (5). Presidency. Poona. Northern Division. Southern Division. Sind.	*Bombay* (5). Poona. Northern Division. Southern Division. Mhow. Sind.	*Bombay* (4). Presidency. Poona. Northern Division. Sind.

1875.	1879.	1881.
Bengal (10). Meerut. Dinapur. Agra. Sagar. Lahore. Presidency. Lucknow. Allahabad. Ambala. Rawal Pindi.	*Bengal* (11). Meerut. Agra. Sagar. Lahore. Presidency. Lucknow. Allahabad. Ambala. Rawal Pindi. Dakka. Bengal (Civil).	*Bengal* (9). Presidency. Eastern Frontier (Assam). Gwalior and Sagar. Lahore. Panjab Frontier Force. Bengal (Civil). N.W.P. and Oudh (Civil). Panjab (Civil). C.P. (Civil).

1875.	1879.	1881.
Madras (6).	*Madras* (6).	*Madras* (4).
Haidarabad Subsid. Force.	Same as 1875.	Haidarabad Subsid. Force.
Nagpur.		Nagpur Force.
Maisur and Ceded Districts.		Southern Division.
Southern Division.		British Burma.
Northern and Presidency Division.		
British Burma.		
Bombay (4).	*Bombay* (4).	*Bombay* (2).
Presidency.	Same as 1875.	Presidency.
Poona.		Sind.
Northern Division.		
Sind.		

A good many of the changes shown in the above tables are mere changes of name, not of station, *e.g.* Ambala and Sirhind, Mhow and Northern Division (Bombay). The last two entries show the diminution in the number of administrative appointments carried out in 1880, to compensate for which Sanitary Commissioners were granted the rank of D.S.G. on completing twenty-six years' service.

Among the changes made from time to time may be mentioned the following. Bengal G.O. of 18th Nov., 1817, allows an extra S.S., from 1st June, 1817, for Karnal. A Bengal Mily. Letter of 21st July, 1818, in paras. 210 to 216, advises the appointment of a sixth S.S. to the Presidency. Bengal G.O., No. 156, of 14th July, 1826, increases the number by three, with effect from 1st Aug., 1826, for Allahabad, Agra, and Barrackpur. Bengal G.O. No. 3 of 7th Jan., 1835, abolishes the post of S.S. Allahabad, the duties being doubled up with Cawnpur. G.O. No. 238, of 4th Nov., 1840, again increases the staff in Bengal by one S.S. In Madras, the forces in Malabar and in Kanara were contributed and officered by Bombay, though serving under Fort St. George. A Madras Mily. Letter of 24th Dec., 1807, reports in para. 121 that the office of S.S. Malabar has been abolished, being combined with Kanara. Another Mily. Letter of 10th March, 1815, records, in paras. 321 to 323, further changes in medical administrative posts, Malabar and Kanara being combined with Maisur, and their late S.S. transferred to the Centre Division, while a new S.S. was sanctioned, for the Presidency Division. Madras G.O.

of 5th Oct., 1827, increases the number by two, one for Malabar, Kanara, and Travancore, the other for the Duab Field Force. Bombay G.O. of 18th Nov., 1820, reduces the number in that Presidency, from 30th Nov., from five to four, viz. Poona Division; Surat Division, including Khandesh; Baroda, including North Guzarat and Kach; and Konkan, including North and South Konkan. The fifth S.S. had had as his jurisdiction Khandesh, now doubled up with Surat. Before 1825 the number had been still further reduced to three. Bombay G.O. of 11th Jan., 1825, increases it again to four, allowing an S.S. for the Malwa Field Force, Mhow, and Asirgarh. Bombay G.O. of 23rd April, 1831, again increases the number to five; N.W. Guzarat, S.E. Guzarat, Presidency, North Dekkan, and South Dekkan. This increase was cancelled, by order of the Court of Directors, in Bombay G.O. of 28th Jan., 1833, when James Orton, the junior S.S., had to revert to the rank of Surgeon.

Brevet Surgeons.—Four officers of the Madras Service, Alex. Mein, Alex. Anderson, George Anderson, and George Ogilvie, who at the time were the four Senior Assistant Surgeons, all having between seven and eight years' service, were appointed Brevet Surgeons on 31st Aug., 1785. The reason why these brevets were given is not stated. Mein died of hydrophobia at Wallajahbad in Oct., 1787; the other three obtained the rank of full Surgeon in the ordinary course about the same time. No more promotions to brevet rank were made for the next seventy years, until five brevet surgeoncies were given for Mutiny services. After the lapse of another half-century some more brevet promotions were made, in 1911–13. These cases are all mentioned further on in this chapter.

Deputy Superintending Surgeons.—In Bengal a rank existed for a few years, under the above name, intermediate between S.S. and Surgeon; an anticipation, we might say, of the rank of Brigade Surgeon instituted in 1879. The latter, however, was merely a name; the Dy. S.S.s carried out, on lower pay, all the duties of S.S. This rank seems to have been instituted about 1820, and to have existed in Bengal only. It first appears in the *East India Register* of Jan., 1821. It was so far at least regarded as a separate rank that an Assistant Surgeon was promoted to Surgeon in place of each Surgeon appointed Deputy S.S. Bengal G.O. No. 13 of 5th Jan., 1824, published

in the *C.G.* of 12th Jan., 1824, promotes Assistant Surgeon Horace Hayman Wilson, the famous Sanskrit scholar, to be Surgeon, *vice* Johnstone, promoted Deputy S.S. This rank was abolished by Bengal G.O. No. 156 of 14th July, 1826, published in the *C.G.* of 24th July, 1826, and at the same time three additional Superintending Surgeons were sanctioned for the Bengal Army.

The A.M.D.—Administrative medical officers of the King's Service were first appointed to India in 1825.* A Mily. Letter from Court, dated 3rd Aug., 1825, and published in Bengal G.O. No. 350 of 16th Dec., 1825, and in the *C.G.* of 19th Dec., 1825, appoints an I.G. of Hospitals of the British Army to the staff of the Commander-in-Chief in India, to inspect and superintend the hospitals of the British regiments serving in Bengal, and a D.I.G. each to Madras and Bombay. The officers thus appointed were: Bengal, I.G. W. A. Burke; Madras, D.I.G. Ebenezer Brown; Bombay, D.I.G. James Strachan.

A Letter from Court, dated 13th May, 1829, para. 3, republished in Bombay G.O. of 23rd September, 1829, fixes the pay of D.I.G.s of His Majesty's forces at 1838 rupees a month, including all allowances, except the travelling *batta* of major when travelling on duty.

A Letter from Court of 18th July, 1827, published in a Bombay G.O. of 21st Dec., 1827, states that a Deputy Inspector of Hospitals of the King's troops is on the same footing in rank and pay as a Superintending Surgeon.

Friction appears to have arisen before long between the two Medical Services. A Bengal G.O. of 9th March, 1827, directs that officers officiating as S.S. are to exert no control over regimental Surgeons of H.M.'s Service, senior to themselves, who will for the time being correspond direct with the Medical Board. Orders to the same effect were published in a Madras G.O. of 8th March, 1839, twelve years later. A Madras G.O. of 10th March, 1829, lays down the respective duties of the two inspecting staffs as follows:

"*Fort St. George, March 10th*, 1829. Great inconvenience and collision having occurred between the duties of the Medical Board and those of His Majesty's Inspector of Hospitals, from the undefined state in which they have hitherto remained, the following rules for their future guidance, in

* The first three I.G.s all died in India; W. A. Burke at Calcutta on 22nd May, 1836, aged 68; his successor, Donald Macleod, at Calcutta on 12th Nov., 1840; and the third, J. Murray, at Karnal on 21st Oct., 1841. Ebenezer Brown also died at Madras on 2nd July, 1828.

conformity with the instructions received by His Majesty's Inspector, recommended by the Commander-in-Chief of the Presidency, and approved by the Commander-in-Chief of India, are in future to be strictly attended to. The superintendence of His Majesty's hospitals will rest solely with His Majesty's Inspector as to professional practice, leaving that however of economical concerns, where it has always been, with the Superintending Surgeons of the Company's service. But that such of these hospitals, which may be out of the reach of the visits of the former, may not be deprived of the advantage of personal inspection, in such case the professional, as well as economical points, will come under the examination of Superintending Surgeons of divisions, under such instructions as they may receive from His Majesty's Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals, and reporting solely through him on professional points, for the information of the Commander-in-Chief; thus adopting the principle long established for the military inspection of His Majesty's regiments, where officers commanding the divisions in which they are serving, though of the Company's service, report only on military points through the Deputy Adjutant General of His Majesty's Service.

"Medical officers in charge of His Majesty's regiments will consequently, in future, be only required to furnish the Medical Board of the Presidency with the monthly, quarterly, and half-yearly numerical returns of sick necessary to enable them to judge of the financial concerns of the hospital, and to furnish the usual returns to Government. For the returns required by His Majesty's instructions they will receive directions from the Deputy Inspector General."

Clause 58 of a Letter from Court, dated 27th Aug., 1828, published in Madras G.O. of 27th Jan., 1829, orders—

"We have also resolved that Superintending Surgeons who come to England on sick certificate shall resume that rank and station on return to duty."

The duties of Superintending Surgeons are laid down in the *Bengal Medical Regulations* of 1851 as follows, pretty much as in the Madras G.O. of 10th March, 1829, twenty years earlier. Rule 9 states that their duties consist chiefly in the frequent inspection of hospitals. Rule 10 directs that the inspection of hospitals of British regiments rests with the I.G. of the A.M.D. as regards professional practice, with the Company's S.S. as regards economical concerns; but that in the case of hospitals too remote to be inspected by the I.G., the S.S. will inspect professional matters also. Rule 14 gives the posts of S.S. in Bengal, eleven in number, the same as those shown in the list above for 1855, excepting Pegu, which had not yet been annexed; also Jalandhar or Cis-Ravi is given for the post shown as Lahore in 1855. Rule 15 orders that the duties of S.S. at the Presidency will be discharged by the third member of the Medical Board.

The title of S.S. was changed to D.I.G. by the first clause of the I.M.S. warrant of 1st Feb., 1859,* the seventh clause of which lays down that promotion from Surgeon to D.I.G. and from D.I.G. to I.G. " shall be given by selection for ability and merit." And in all subsequent changes of title promotion by selection has remained in force.

The first clause of the Royal Warrant of 10th May, 1873 † changes the titles of I.G. and D.I.G. to S.G. and D.S.G. These ranks and titles remained the same in the first clause of the Royal Warrant of 16th Nov., 1880. In that of 14th Dec., 1891, the " compound titles " were introduced, Surgeon-Major-General and Surgeon-Colonel; and in that of 26th Aug., 1898, they became Surgeon General and Colonel.

Under the provisions of clause 102, *I.A.C.*, May, 1881, the rank of D.S.G. was conferred on any officer of the I.M.S. of a lower rank, who might be appointed Honorary Physician or Surgeon to the Queen.

This order is again embodied in the eighth clause of the Royal Warrant of 30th April, 1887.

" 8. On appointment as Honorary Physician or Surgeon to Her Majesty under article 12, an Officer below the rank of Deputy Surgeon General shall be promoted to that rank, remaining supernumerary of his rank until he would have been promoted in ordinary course.

" 12. Six of the most meritorious Medical Officers of the Service shall be named our Honorary Physicians, and six our Honorary Surgeons.

" *Note.* Under instructions from the Secretary of State for India it is notified that an officer promoted to the rank of Deputy Surgeon General under Article 8 or Article 9 ‡ of the above Warrant, will not reckon his service in that rank as service for the additional pension of £250 per annum, until he has been absorbed into the establishment of the grade, except any period he may have officiated as an Administrative Officer."

The honorary designations of Q.H.S. and Q.H.P. had been first given under clause 15 of the warrant of 1st Feb., 1859, but without any increase of rank until 1881.

No officer of the I.M.S. on the active list has been promoted to Colonel under these orders, but cases have occurred of such promotion after retirement, *e.g.* Colonel D. D. Cunningham. Lt.-Colonel R. S. F. Henderson, of the R.A.M.C., was appointed

* For the warrant of 1859, see Chap. XXXVII, *The Crown Succeeds the Company.*

† For the warrants of 1873, 1880, and 1891, see Chap. XXXVIII, 1865–96.

‡ Promotion for distinguished service in the field.

Honorary Physician to the King from 22nd Nov., 1910, and promoted to Brevet Colonel, but was not given an administrative appointment on the strength of his promotion.

By a Royal Warrant, dated 15th Sept., 1906, the distinction of Honorary Physician and Surgeon to the King was limited, as far as the R.A.M.C. was concerned, to officers on the active list, and was made tenable only so long as they remained on the active list. The same change in the tenure of these distinctions was brought into force in the I.M.S. by the Royal Warrant of 8th Aug., 1911.*

Senior Surgeons.—The title of Senior Surgeon was conferred on all Surgeons of over thirty years' service by para. 8 of G.O. No. 169 of 1st July, 1842.

"All Surgeons of 30 years' Service, to be designated 'Senior Surgeons,' and their relative Rank with officers of the Army to be that of Major. This arrangement, like all others having reference only to the rank and designation of Medical Officers, confers no claim whatever to superior allowances, and will make no change whatever in the nature of their employment."

The *Army List* of 1843 shows eighteen men of over thirty years' service under this title, viz. three members of the Medical Board, thirteen S.S.s, and two very senior officers, S. Nicolson and J. Ranken, who had given up promotion. This title, for it can hardly be called a definite rank, was in force for seventeen years, and was abolished by the footnote to the first clause of the I.M.S. Warrant of 1st Feb., 1859, the rank of Surgeon-Major at twenty years' service being granted in its place.

A Bombay Mily. Letter, dated 2nd Aug., 1814, states in paras. 14 to 19 that the designation of Senior Surgeon has been introduced. Another Bombay Mily. Letter of 24th Feb., 1816, states in paras. 84 to 88 that the title is applied to the four Senior Surgeons next to the Medical Board.† These Senior Surgeons must have been for the most part the Superintending Surgeons.

The Court of Directors abolished this title, as soon as they heard it had been instituted. In para. 44 of a Mily. Despatch to Bombay, dated 3rd Sept., 1813, they wrote—

"In Bengal and Madras no such designation is known as that of Senior Surgeon, and we direct that it be discontinued at your Presidency."

* For this warrant of 8th Aug., 1911, see Chap. XXXIII, *Honours and Rewards.*

† *Abstracts, Letters from Bombay*, Vol. VII, 1807–16.

Surgeon-Major.—Apart from the small number of officers upon whom the title of Surgeon-Major was conferred in the eighteenth century, this title was first granted, in the first clause of the warrant of 1st Feb., 1859, to all Surgeons of over twenty years' service. By G.O.G.G. No. 507 of 20th June, 1864, publishing Mily. Despatch from Secretary of State, No. 152, of 16th May, 1864, the pay of Surgeon-Major was granted to these officers with effect from 1st Oct., 1858, the date of the A.M.D. Warrant. The rank is also recognised in clause 29 of the Warrant of 7th Nov., 1864. But, up to 1873, the designation of Surgeon-Major was simply a title conferred on senior medical officers, not a definite rank. It was not until 1873 that Surgeon-Major became a definite and separate rank. In the second clause of the Royal Warrant of 10th May, 1873, promotion from Surgeon to Surgeon-Major was granted at twelve years' service. The title remained unchanged, being the only one which was not altered, in 1891, and in 1898 was changed to Major.

Brigade Surgeon.—The rank of Brigade Surgeon was instituted from 27th Nov., 1879. It was first given to the A.M.D. on that date, subsequently extended to the I.M.S., with effect from the same date, 27th Nov., 1879, by the first clause of the Royal Warrant of 16th Nov., 1880. The Royal Warrant of 20th May, 1881, published as G.G.O. No. 375, of 8th July, 1881, lays down that Brigade Surgeons, who as such hold the relative rank of Lieut.-Colonel, take precedence of all Surgeon-Majors holding that rank. G.G.O. No. 376 of the same date, 8th July, 1881, directs that the above order applies only to the Medical Department, that precedence of Brigade Surgeons and combatant officers respectively is governed by the Royal Warrant of 16th Nov., 1880, *i.e.* by the date on which each attained the relative rank of Lieut.-Colonel. By the Royal Warrant of 12th December, 1891, the title of Brigade Surgeon was extended to Brigade-Surgeon-Lieut.-Colonel, and by that of 26th Aug., 1898, was abolished; its place being taken by Lieut.-Colonel on the selected list, *i.e.* specially selected for increased pay, also for subsequent promotion.

A Letter from the Mily. Dept. of the Govt. of India, No. 1976a, of 16th Sept., 1889, published in *I.M.D. Circs.* of 1889, page 33, lays down that an officer of the I.M.S., selected for promotion, cannot refuse to accept it.

"The question of permitting officers of the Indian Medical Service the option of refusing promotion to the Administrative grade having recently come under the notice of the Government of India, I am directed to point out that the position of Deputy Surgeon General is now that of an officer holding a distinct rank in the Army, and not merely a departmental grade. Officers are not permitted to decline promotion in the Army, and the Governor General in Council has decided that in future all Brigade Surgeons of the Indian Medical Service nominated for promotion shall be required to accept it."

Relative Rank.—From the foundation of the Service, in all probability, and certainly from Lord Cornwallis' reorganisation in 1788, Surgeons ranked with Captains, and Assistant Surgeons as Lieutenants. The question of rank, as such, does not seem to have attracted much attention in these early days, either in the Medical Service or in the rest of the Army. But rank carried with it various pecuniary allowances, and these, as is only natural, were considered of great importance. That Assistant Surgeons, or Hospital Mates, were ranked as Lieutenants prior to 1786 is shown by the following extract from a Secret Letter from Fort William, dated 11th Nov., 1786, which states in paras. 149 to 151— *

"Hospital Board have recommended that the Orders for reducing the Allowance of the Regimental Mates from Lieutenant's to Ensign's Pay, should not be enforced, but the Board do not deem themselves at liberty to yield to the request."

A Secret and Mily. Letter from Fort William, dated 16th Aug., 1787, reports in para. 105 that the order reducing the rank of Assistant Surgeons has been rescinded.†

"Distinction between Hospital and Regimental Mates abolished, the whole Corps of Assistant Surgeons are to be put upon the pay and batta of Lieutenants."

The rank of Captain for a Surgeon of twenty years' service or more seems, to our modern ideas, but a low relative rank. But it must be remembered that in those days the commander of a Sepoy battalion was only a Captain, and that an army in the field might be commanded by a Major.

Higher rank seems to have been granted to some of the senior medical officers irregularly, under no definite rules, except those

* *Abstracts, Letters from Bengal*, Vol. IV, 1783–89, p. 311.
† *Ibid.*, p. 360.

for promotion to Surgeon-Major. It can hardly be doubted that the officers, who as heads of the Service were given the titles of Surgeon-General, Physician-General, Senior Surgeon, Chief Surgeon, etc., were also granted a higher relative rank than that of Captain, though in most cases no definite evidence of this is forthcoming. But such higher rank must have been a necessity to enable them to command the other medical officers of long service.

Bengal Minutes of Council of 6th Jan., 1784, notify the grant of the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel to Surgeon-Major Andrew Williams.

"Agreed that the Rank, Pay, Batta, and Allowances of Lieutenant Colonel be granted to Mr Andrew Williams Surgeon Major of the First Brigade from this day, in consideration of his having served the Company faithfully as Surgeon Major for Twenty Years—at which time his well grounded hopes of succeeding to the office of Surgeon General are cutt off by the return of Mr Ellis to fill that Station and who may be again succeeded by Mr Campbell—and in Consequence of the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief and of the late Surgeon General."

Andrew Williams was appointed second member of the Medical Board in 1786. The *Proceedings* of that Board of 21st July, 1787, contain a memorial from him, in which he applies for three years' leave to Europe, and states that he was appointed in 1760, has been twenty-seven years in the country, and in 1783 stood second in the Service, next to Daniel Campbell, whom he with reason expected to succeed as Surgeon-General; but lost the post owing to the appointment by the Court of Directors of James Ellis, who had left India in 1774, nine years before. Williams resigned the Service on 15th Jan., 1788, going home on the *Thetis*, with leave to return, which, however, he never did. (*Abstracts, Letters from Bengal*, Vol. IV, 1783–89, p. 370.)

In Jan., 1787, relative rank was assigned to the Medical Service at Madras as follows— *

Physician-General (first member Medical Board) .	as Brigadier-General.
Chief Surgeon (second ,, ,,) .	as Colonel.
Head Surgeon of Hospital in a garrison of 8000 men	as Lieut.-Colonel.
Head Surgeon of other Hospitals . . .	as Major.
Surgeon to Regiment	as Captain.
Asst. Surgeon (Hospital Mate)	as Lieutenant.
,, (Regimental Mate) . . .	as Ensign.

* Wilson, *History of Madras Army*, Vol. II, pp. 185 *et seq.*; also Madras *Mily. Cons.* of 12th Sept., 1786.

Between 1796 and 1811 various instances are found in the Records, of rank assigned to senior medical officers, chiefly in connection with the grant of pensions from Lord Clive's fund to their widows.

In 1796 Head Surgeon Mair, of Bengal, is ranked only as a Captain for pension. Bengal Mily. Letter of 1st March, 1796, reports in para. 21— *

"Mr Mair, Head Surgeon, Having solicited that in the event of his declining to return to the Service, he might be recommended for such provision as may hereafter be made for Persons of his Station and length of Service, have determined that his Allowance is that of Captain."

This ruling appears to be based on a much earlier precedent. In the *Bengal Minutes of Council* of 10th Nov., 1783, the widow of Surgeon-Major Ford was granted pension as a Surgeon's widow only, though her husband, as Surgeon-Major of a Brigade, held the rank of Major.

"Ordered that the widow of Surgeon Major Ford, be allowed from the period of Mr Ford's death the Established pension to Surgeon's widows, but no more."

In 1797 the rank of C. L. Lucas, late first member of the Medical Board, who had died on 25th March, 1797, is stated to be that of Colonel. A Military Letter from Fort St. George, dated 17th Oct., 1797, states in para. 198— †

"Pension to Mrs Lucas paid at one fourth of the subsistence of a Colonel, this being the Rank her Husband held on the Military Establishment."

The *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board of 18th Jan., 1804, contain a memorial from John Briggs, of the Madras Service, who had served as Head Surgeon at the capture of Colombo in 1796, in which he appears to have established his right to draw the *batta* of a Lieut.-Colonel.

A Mily. Letter from Bombay dated 14th April, 1810, states in paras. 16, 17— ‡

"Mrs Sandwith's application for a Pension referred to the Court. Have allowed her in the meantime the pension granted the widows of Lieut[t] Colonels, the assumed rank of a Member of the Medical Board on furlough."

* *Abstracts, Letters from Bengal*, Vol. VI, 1795–1803, p. 61.
† *Abstracts, Letters from Madras*, Vol. IV, 1786–1797, p. 356.
‡ *Abstracts, Letters from Bombay*, Vol. VIII, 1807–16 (unpaged).

Another Bombay Mily. Letter of 29th Oct., 1811, states in para. 246— *

"Widow of late Dr Thorpe admitted to pension as Widow of Lt. Colonel."

William Sandwith and Jonathan Thorpe had successively served on the Bombay Medical Board. The former was locally appointed to the Service in Bombay on 25th Dec., 1783, was appointed to the Board on 28th April, 1806, and died on board the *Metcalfe*, on his way home, on 9th Aug., 1808. In a Bombay General Letter of 10th Feb., 1784, in which his appointment is announced, in paras. 165 to 171, his name is curiously misspelt as Jandisith.† Thorpe was nominated to the Service from Sept., 1788, reached the Board on 26th Feb., 1808, with less than twenty years' service, and died at Bombay on 5th Aug., 1811. Both were fortunate in promotion beyond the average.

As it happened, the Court of Directors disallowed both these pensions. In paras. 49 to 51 of a Mily. Despatch to Bombay, dated 3rd Sept., 1813, they state that the only pension to which Mrs. Sandwith could be entitled was a pension from Lord Clive's fund, and, as she was in no distress, she was not eligible for that. On account of her late husband's services, she was not required to refund the amount already drawn.

In paras. 140 to 144 of another Mily. Despatch to Bombay, dated 6th June, 1814, the Court disallowed the pension granted to Mrs. Thorpe, stating that if Dr. Thorpe died possessed of property worth £2000, his widow was entitled to no pension; if otherwise, she was entitled to a pension from Lord Clive's fund, but only to that of a Captain's, not of a Lt.-Colonel's widow.

A warrant of 31st May, 1814,‡ lays down a table of precedence for India, in which the Medical Board holds a much lower place than it did in Madras in 1787, nearly thirty years earlier, and the rank of Superintending Surgeon is not shown at all, separate from Surgeon.

"Junior Merchants, Majors, Members Medical Board.
Factors, Captains, Surgeons.
Writers, Lieutenants, Asst. Surgeons, Vety. Surgeons."

* *Abstracts, Letters from Bombay*, Vol. VIII, 1807–16 (unpaged).
† *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, 1782–89 (unpaged).
‡ Quoted in *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. X, July to Dec., 1820, p. 175.

Bengal G.O. No. 231*a* of 12th Aug., 1824, chiefly on the rank and pay of the Medical Board, lays down the following scale of relative rank for the Medical Department:—

"(5) The following Scale of Rank and Precedence is assigned to the Medical Officers.

The Members of the Medical Board as Lieutenant Colonels.
Superintending Surgeons as Majors.
Surgeons as Captains.
Assistant Surgeons as Lieutenants.

"(6) The Rank so granted is to be considered as purely official or by Courtsey, and is not to give any Claim either to Military Command or to Encreased Allowances of any kind, except in cases of distribution of Prize Money, in which the officers of the Medical Establishment will be allowed to share according to the scale of rank now established."

Mily. Letter from Court, No. 100, of 20th Dec., 1831, published in Bengal G.O. of 14th May, 1832, gives the rank of Colonel to the Medical Board, and Lieut.-Colonel to the Superintending Surgeons.

"*Fort William, 14th May*, 1832. The Hon. the Vice President in Council is pleased to direct that the following paragraphs (1 and 2) of a letter, No. 100, from the Hon. the Court of Directors, in the Military department, under date the 20th December 1831, received 9th May 1832, be published in general orders.

"'*Para.* 1. Having taken into our consideration the supersession of the junior members of our several Medical Boards and of Superintending Surgeons by the Inspectors and Deputy Inspectors of His Majesty's hospitals in India, as represented in the memorials received with your letter of the 15th January 1830, we have resolved that all the members of our several Medical Boards shall rank as Colonels, and all Superintending Surgeons as Lieutenant Colonels, in our army, from the date of your receipt of this despatch.

"'*Para.* 2. You will be pleased to communicate this resolution to the governments of Madras and Bombay.'"

Bengal G.O. No. 169 of 1st July, 1842, in its fifth clause, alters the title of the members of the Medical Board, who are stated to rank as Brigadier-General.

"The designation of 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Members of the Medical Board, is abolished, and the following titles are substituted:

Physician General	1st Member.
Surgeon General	2nd ,,
Inspector General of Hospitals . . .	3rd ,,

"The Members of the Board will accordingly be commissioned with these Titles when appointed to the respective positions above mentioned, and when retiring from the Service will be placed on the Retired List with the Title then held by them.

"The Regulation which fixes the rank of Brigadier General as the relative Army Rank of Members of the Medical Board, will equally apply to those Members under the new Titles now established."

The I.M.S. Warrant of 1st Feb., 1859, in clause nine, gives the following relative rank to the Medical Department:—

"I.G., after three years' service as such or with an Army in the Field	Major General.
I.G., under three years' service	Brig. General.
D.I.G., first class	Colonel.
D.I.G., second class	Lt. Colonel.
Surgeon Major	Lt. Col., junior of the rank.
Surgeon	Major.
Asst. Surgeon of six years' service	Captain.
Asst. Surgeon under six years' service	Lieutenant."

By clause 31 of the I.M.S. Warrant of 7th Nov., 1864, tenure of office as D.I.G. was restricted to five years, the term to which tenure of office as I.G. was already restricted, as that of members of the Medical Board had been. Clause 33 states that the ranks of I.G. and D.I.G. are substantive ranks. By Clause 44 Royal commissions, conferring rank in any part of the world, were granted, in place of commissions from the Company, which gave rank in India only.

The Royal Warrant of 10th May, 1873, abolished the rank of Assistant Surgeon, and in the sixth clause lays down relative rank as follows:—

"Surgeon General	as Brigadier General
D.S.G., after five years' service as such	,, Colonel.
D.S.G., under ,, ,,	,, Lt. Colonel.
Surgeon Major over 20 years' service	,, Lt. Colonel, junior of the rank.
Surgeon Major under 20 ,, ,,	,, Major.
Surgeon over six years' service	,, Captain.
Surgeon under ,, ,,	,, Lieutenant."

The Royal Warrant of 14th Sept., 1876, published as G.O.G.G. No. 1117 of 1st Nov., 1876, grants the rank of Major-General to Surgeon-Generals, and that of Colonel to D.S.G.s from date of commission as such.

The Royal Warrant of 16th Nov., 1880, published as G.G.O. No. 13 of 7th Jan., 1881, gave the rank of Captain to medical officers on first joining as Surgeon, in the second clause, which lays down the relative rank of the different grades of the Medical

Service. The only other changes are the mention of the new rank of Brigade Surgeon, introduced in 1879, and ranking as Lieut.-Colonel, and the grant of rank as Lieut.-Colonel to all Surgeon-Majors of twenty years' service, with the omission of the invidious distinction, "junior of the rank."

This warrant was most unpopular with the army as a whole, outside the Medical Services, and naturally so. It was generally and reasonably felt that the newly-joined medical officer was much over-ranked by the grant of the rank of Captain at once. It is true that medical officers enter the Army at an age considerably older than subalterns, but the difference was nothing like as much as twelve years, which was then the length of service required of the Staff Corps subaltern before promotion to Captain. It was also the case that the subaltern, who ranked junior to the newly-appointed medical officer, was fairly certain to catch him up and pass him before either rose to the rank of Colonel, if both lived and served so long. But few young men are likely to look so far ahead as that, or to consider how they may stand a quarter of a century later. It was both natural and justifiable that an order which gave the rank of Captain to Surgeons on first joining should be unpopular with the combatant ranks. Most of the Surgeons, entering as Captains, were about twenty-four or twenty-five years old, some as young as twenty-two, none older than twenty-eight; while subalterns were mostly from twenty to thirty years of age, a few even older, and many of them had seen a fair amount of active service. On the other hand, the medical officer might plead that it was hardly fair that he should enter at twenty-two to twenty-eight years of age, below the junior subalterns, about twenty years old, some even less; in some cases their own younger brothers. Had the warrant given the newly-joined Surgeon the rank of Lieutenant, with five or six years' seniority as such, it would have been fairer to both sides, and would have caused much less ill feeling.

Surgeon on Probation.—This grade, with relative rank of Lieutenant, was introduced from 6th July, 1881, by a Royal Warrant of that date, published in G.G.O. No. 459 of 19th Aug., 1881, and contained in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1881, page 44.

"Whereas we deem it expedient, with a view to the assimilation of the grades of Our Indian Medical Service to those of Our Army Medical

Department, to provide for the appointments to Our Indian Medical Service being in the first instance made on probation.

"Our Will and Pleasure is that from and after the date of this Our Warrant

"1. The grades of Medical Officer in Our Indian Military Forces shall be six in number, the undermentioned grade being added to those enumerated in Article one of Our Warrant of 16th November 1880, viz.

"6. Surgeon on Probation.

"2. A Surgeon on Probation shall have the relative rank of Lieutenant.

"(Given at Windsor, 6th July, 1881)."

The Surgeon's commission, ranking as Captain, was, however, still ante-dated to the beginning of his probationary course, when that course was completed.

The Royal Warrant of 14th Dec., 1891, conferred upon the Medical Services the compound titles. At the same time, under the first and third clauses, was introduced the new rank of Surgeon-Lieutenant. The officers of this rank were promoted to Surgeon-Captain on completion of three years' full-pay service.

Finally the Royal Warrant of 26th Aug., 1898, conferred upon the I.M.S. the combatant titles, which had been granted to officers of the Medical Staff, along with the designation of Royal Army Medical Corps, a few months before.* This warrant is given below in full.

Warrant of 10th and 26th Aug., 1898.

"India Office, 26th August, 1898.

"Victoria, R.I.

"Whereas we have deemed it expedient to alter the Ranks of the Officers of our Indian Medical Service:

"Our Will and Pleasure is that the following alterations shall be made.

Present Ranks.	New Ranks.
Surgeon-Colonel	Colonel.
Brigade Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel	Lieutenant-Colonel.
Surgeon-Major	Major.
Surgeon-Captain	Captain.
Surgeon-Lieutenant	Lieutenant.

"Officers above the rank of Surgeon-Colonel shall in future be styled Surgeon-Generals (ranking as Major-Generals), and the title of Surgeon-Major-Generals now serving shall be altered accordingly.

"It is further Our Will and Pleasure that the following alterations

* The Royal Warrant, granting combatant titles to the R.A.M.C., was published in the *London Gazette* of 19th July, 1898. That of the I.M.S. was published in the *London Gazette* of 26th Aug., 1898, and in the *Gazette of India* of 24th Sept., 1898. It was republished in *I.A.C.* of 1898, clause 185; and in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1898, p. 61.

shall be made in the honorary rank of the Senior Assistant Surgeons of the Subordinate Medical Department in India:

Present Honorary Ranks.	New Honorary Ranks.
Surgeon-Major	Major.
Surgeon-Captain	Captain.
Surgeon-Lieutenant	Lieutenant.

"Given at Our Court at Osborne, this Tenth day of August, One thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight, in the sixty-second year of Our reign.

"By Her Majesty's Command,—George Hamilton."

One more alteration of rank has since been made. By the first clause of the Royal Warrant of 28th June, 1905, published as Mily. Dept. Notification No. 694, of 11th Aug., 1905, the rank of Lieutenant-General *may* be conferred upon the Director-General of the I.M.S., who ordinarily ranks as a Major-General. This order was repeated in the first clause of the Royal Warrant of 13th March, 1908, published as Mily. Supply Dept. Notification No. 27 of 24th April, 1908, and also in the first clause of the Royal Warrant of 3rd June, 1913, published in the *London Gazette* of 3rd June, 1913, and in the *Gazette of India* of 28th June, 1913. So far, however, this clause has not been put in force.

Honorary Step on Retirement.—A step of honorary rank on retirement was first granted by the fourteenth clause of the Warrant of 1st Feb., 1859. This step was given only to officers of over twenty-five years' service, and only if recommended by the head of the department; and, of course, carried with it no increase of pension. The same rule is repeated in clause 43 of the warrant of 7th Nov., 1864, and in the tenth clause of the Royal Warrant of 10th May, 1873. In the last clause of the Royal Warrant of 16th Nov., 1880, the period of service qualifying for such an honorary step was reduced to twenty years. The grant of an honorary step on retirement was abolished, with effect from 31st Dec., 1887, by the eleventh clause of the Royal Warrant of 30th April, 1887. There can be little doubt that the grant of an honorary step on retirement was a mistake. It applied to all corps and departments, of course, not to the Medical Services only; and, while gratifying to the recipients, made the titles of the higher ranks much too cheap.

Promotion for Distinguished Service.—Such special promotions have rarely been given in the I.M.S., only some dozen or so during the past century, with a few earlier instances.

During the years 1778 to 1782 large detachments from the Bengal Army were sent to serve in the other Presidencies; a force under Colonel Leslie, and after his death under Colonel Goddard, to Bombay, for service in the first Maratha war, and another under Colonel T. D. Pearse to Madras, for employment in the second Maisur war. The Bengal Government granted to many of the Assistant Surgeons employed with these troops brevet and temporary rank as Surgeons, the object obviously being to give their own officers seniority over the men of the same rank in the armies of the other two Presidencies, along with whom they might be serving. The number of such cases was about half a dozen, all of which are recorded in the *Bengal Minutes of Council*, as follows:—

On 30th May, 1778, a brevet of Surgeon was granted to Assistant Surgeon W. R. Munro, while on service with Colonel Leslie's force, "to endure so long as he shall continue on the present Service, and no longer." In his application for this favour Munro quotes as a precedent similar brevets given to Mr. F. B. Thomas, sent to Madras, and to Messrs. Chalcraft and Phillips, sent in the preceding year, 1777, to Bombay.

Two months later, on 25th July, 1778, brevets were given to Assistant Surgeons Robert Johnstone and George Boyd, also attached to Colonel Leslie's force, to rank as Surgeon from the dates of appointment as Assistant Surgeon, until the return of the force to Bengal.

On 26th Jan., 1781, Assistant Surgeon John Williams was granted a brevet as full Surgeon while serving with the detachment under Colonel Pearse.

In one case a brevet was given for good service in the field, to Assistant Surgeon Charles Laird, on 21st May, 1781, for gallantry at the capture of Gwalior by the troops under Major Popham. This brevet was only temporary, "during his continuance with Major Popham's detachment."

In one case, at this period, permanent and substantive promotion to Surgeon was given. The *Minutes* of 4th March, 1782, record—

"Agreed that Mr George Harrison Assist Surgeon be promoted to the rank of Surgeon in consideration of his voluntary offer to go on Service to the Coast, and that Mr William Dick and Mr. Robert Grant Assistant Surgeons be likewise ordered to repair to Fort St. George and join the Army under Sir Eyre Coote."

There is no record of any brevet to Dick or Grant. This permanent promotion given to Harrison, as a reward for volunteering for active service, looks as if there was not much competition to see service in the Karnatik. Harrison was the senior Assistant Surgeon in Bengal at the time, though he had only three and a half years' service, having been appointed Surgeon of the *Royal Charlotte* on 17th Aug., 1778, and ranked as a member of the Service from that date. He died in Calcutta on 22nd Dec., 1784.

Temporary rank as Surgeon-Major was given, on at least two occasions, to the senior Surgeons of detachments serving in these wars, James Ford and John Laird. These grants are recorded in the *Bengal Minutes of Council* of 6th March, 1781, when James Ford, senior Surgeon to the detachment employed under Lieut.-Colonel Camac on service beyond the Jumna was appointed Surgeon-Major to that detachment; and on 25th March, 1782, when John Laird, senior Surgeon doing duty with the Bengal detachment in the Karnatik, was appointed Surgeon-Major to that detachment with effect from 1st Nov., 1780. These grants of temporary rank, however, correspond exactly with the modern practice by which temporary rank as Deputy Surgeon-General, in the last fifteen years as Colonel, has been bestowed upon medical officers of lower rank while acting as P.M.O. of a force on active service.

Two years later, on 28th Jan., 1785, John Laird was appointed Surgeon-Major to the first Brigade, *vice* Thomas, discharged, "in consideration of his meritorious services in the late war in the Karnatik." This promotion was permanent and substantive. It was not given until a vacancy in the higher rank had occurred, when that vacancy was bestowed upon Laird, who thereby superseded a few officers senior to him. Laird afterwards became President of the Medical Board, and held that post for nearly ten years, from June, 1791, to Dec., 1800.

The next case of special promotion occurred on 14th Feb., 1806, when Assistant Surgeon Andrew Jukes, of Bombay, was promoted to Surgeon at the request of Muhammad Nabi Khan, Persian envoy to India, to whose suite Jukes had been attached. As Jukes was then the senior Assistant Surgeon in the Bombay army, his promotion only gave him the rank and pay of Surgeon some two months earlier than he would otherwise have got them.

Half a century elapsed before any other special promotions

were given. On 7th Nov., 1858, the four Assistant Surgeons who had served in, and had survived, the defence of Lucknow, Joseph Fayrer, S. B. Partridge, H. M. Greenhow, and Robert Bird, were promoted to Brevet Surgeon. A fifth, J. W. R. Amesbury, was subsequently also promoted, for services in the Mutiny, from 14th Aug., 1860. These promotions were brevet only, the men promoted dropping back into their original places later on.

Curiously, not one of these five officers rose to the administrative rank. Amesbury was passed over for promotion to Brigade Surgeon, and, while still serving, died at Masuri on 6th Oct., 1881. Fayrer, Partridge, and Greenhow retired as Surgeon-Majors, and Bird as a Brigade Surgeon. Fayrer, of course, left India for better prospects at home, succeeding Sir Ranald Martin as President of the Medical Board of the India Office, a post which he held for over twenty years, from 1874 to 1895, with the rank of Surgeon-General. Partridge also served for some years as junior member of the same Board. These four all survived the Mutiny from thirty to fifty years. Bird died at Cobham, Virginia, on 31st Oct., 1890; Partridge in London on 7th May, 1898; Fayrer at Falmouth on 21st May, 1907, while Greenhow, the last survivor, died so recently as 26th Nov., 1912.

By G.O.G.G. No. 941 of 6th Oct., 1868, it was ruled that special promotion for distinguished service should in future be not brevet, but permanent and substantive. In the Royal Warrants of 30th April, 1887 (clause 9), and of 14th Dec., 1891 (clause 9), it is laid down that an officer promoted for distinguished service in the field shall remain supernumerary in the higher rank until he would have been promoted in the ordinary course. The interpretation put upon these clauses, as laid down in a Despatch from the Secretary of State, dated 12th Feb., 1891, paras. 2 and 3, published in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1891, page 1, is, that an officer promoted to higher rank for distinguished service is entitled to benefit throughout his service by the higher position he has gained. And this procedure has accordingly been followed in those cases of special promotion subsequently given.

" Extract (paras. 2 and 3) from a despatch dated the 12th February 1891, from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

" 2. I forward herewith copy of a letter from the War Office, from which you will observe that, in the case of an officer of the Medical Staff, the procedure adopted in the case of Dr Sibthorpe would certainly have

been followed, as Mr Stanhope is of opinion that that officer was very properly promoted.

"3. It appears from this decision that Article 417 of the Royal Warrant of the 22nd February 1890 is intended only to provide that the ordinary promotion of officers, senior to the officer selected for promotion to a higher rank for distinguished service, shall not be retarded as regards that particular rank; but that as regards further advancement, the officer promoted for distinguished service shall benefit by the position he has gained. As the Secretary of State for War is the interpreter of the Royal Warrant, this must be accepted as an authoritative decision on the subject, and must also therefore be accepted as laying down the rule for the Indian Medical Service."

See my Military Despatches No. 166 of 15th August 1889, para 10, No. 5 of 15th January 1891.

Such special promotions have been very sparingly given in the I.M.S., only in six cases in all, since the Mutiny.

(1) Surgeon John Lumsdaine, Bombay, promoted to Surgeon-Major on 15th Aug., 1868, for services in the Abyssinian War; became D.S.G. 30th Sept., 1876, retired as D.S.G. 1st May, 1883.

(2) Surgeon-Major C. Sibthorpe, Madras, promoted to Brigade Surgeon 17th May, 1886, for services in the Burma campaigns of 1885–86; S.G. Madras, 18th May, 1894; retired 25th July, 1900.

(3) Surgeon-Lieut.-Colonel H. Hamilton, Bengal, promoted to Brigade Surgeon-Lieut.-Colonel 20th May, 1898, for services in the Tirah campaign; S.G. 24th March, 1907; retired 7th April, 1911.

(4) Surgeon-Major T. Grainger, Bengal, promoted to Surgeon-Lieut.-Colonel 20th May, 1898, for services in the Tirah campaign; Colonel 3rd Dec., 1909.

(5) Lieut.-Colonel H. B. Briggs, Bombay, promoted to the selected list 2nd Oct., 1898, for services in the Tirah campaign; Colonel 10th July, 1905; retired 1st Jan., 1909.

(6) Major C. C. Manifold, Bengal, promoted to Lieut.-Colonel 29th Nov., 1900, for services in China; Colonel 29th March, 1910, and I.G.C.H., U.P. and Oudh.

All six of these officers, it will be seen, reached the administrative ranks, two that of Surgeon-General, while two are still serving.

During the last three years a few brevet promotions have been given for distinguished service, in the field or scientific. On 1st Jan., 1911, Lieut.-Colonels W. B. Bannerman, Madras, and

H. F. Cleveland, Bombay, were gazetted Brevet Colonels, and Captain S. R. Christophers, of the General List, received a Brevet Majority. And in the *London Gazette* of 15th Nov., 1912, Captain W. T. McCowen, of the General List, was gazetted to be Brevet Major, with effect from 29th Aug., 1912, for services on the occasions of the attacks made on a detachment of the 39th King George's Own, Central India Horse, near Kazerun in Persia, in Dec., 1911.

On 11th Nov., 1910, a Brevet Colonelcy was conferred upon Lieut.-Colonel J. Shearer, C.B. an officer who had seen much active service, but was debarred by age from substantive promotion, and retired less than a month later, on 6th Dec., 1910.

Another Brevet Colonelcy has since been given to Lieut.-Colonel B. G. Seton, Bengal, from 30th June, 1913.

A Civil Surgeon-General for the province of Bengal was appointed in 1878, and for the N.W.P., now the U.P., on 1st April, 1879, the latter appointment being notified in *I.M.D. Circs.* No. 33 of 2nd April, 1879. From the date of these appointments the civil duties of the D.S.G.'s in these provinces, Calcutta, Dinapur, and Dakka in Bengal; Allahabad, Lucknow, and Meerut in the N.W.P., ceased.

By G.G.O. No. 13 of 2nd Jan., 1880, published in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1880, pages 1–4, the Medical Administrative Staff of the Army in India was entirely reorganised, that of the A.M.D. in India and of the I.M.S. being combined. The amalgamated establishment then introduced was as follows :—

	A.M.D	I.M.S.
Bengal, Surgeon-General . . .	1	–
,, D.S.G.'s.	6	5
Madras, Surgeon-General . . .	1	–
,, D.S.G.'s.	2	4
Bombay, Surgeon-General . . .	1	–
,, D.S.G.'s.	2	2

Officers of the I.M.S. were eligible for the appointments as Surgeon-General; but no officer of the I.M.S. was ever appointed to any of them, during the fifteen years that the above organisation lasted, until replaced by the reorganisation of the Indian Army, in 1895, into four Army Corps.*

* The orders introducing these changes in 1880, and the subsequent modifications, are quoted in Chap. XXXVIII, 1865–96, and Chap. XXXIX, *The New Service*, below.

At the same time the Civil Medical Administrative Staff was reorganised, by Home Dept. Not. No. 150, of 15th March, 1880, published in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1880, pages 10–13. One Surgeon-General was sanctioned in each of the three Services, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, the first-named being styled Surgeon-General and Sanitary Commissioner with the Govt. of India. Four D.S.G.'s were appointed as Civil A.M.O.'s in the four provinces of Bengal, the N.W.P., the Panjab, and the C.P., the first three having the title and the local rank of Surgeon-General. The Civil Medical Administration of Assam was left in the hands of the Military D.S.G. of the Eastern Frontier District; while the Military D.S.G.'s of the Sind District and of the Panjab Frontier Force were left with the Civil Medical Administration of their respective charges, subject, as far as their civil work went, to the Surgeon-Generals of Bombay and the Panjab.

The above changes reduced the number of Military D.S.G.'s by eight, six officers of the I.M.S. and two of the A.M.D. On the other hand, the I.M.S. got two new civil D.S.G.'s, the Panjab and the C.P., besides the two for Bengal and the N.W.P., sanctioned in 1878 and 1879.

By clause 44 of *I.A.C.* for April, 1885, republished in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1885, page 7, the local rank and title of S.G. held by the Civil A.M.O.'s of Bengal, the N.W.P., and the Panjab, were abolished, and the title of Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals was conferred upon them.

Since 1880 various changes have been made in the number and distribution of the appointments of A.M.O., more in military than in civil employment.

The chief civil changes have been two. First, the appointment of an A.M.O. with the rank of Colonel and the title of I.G.C.H. for the Province of Burma, in which the Civil Medical Administration had previously been in the hands of the Inspector-General of Prisons. This appointment was sanctioned in Despatch No. 3 Judicial of 25th Jan., 1900, issued in Govt. of India, Finance and Commerce Dept., Order No. 893 Ex. of 19th Feb., 1900, and republished in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1900, page 12. Second, from the date of the formation of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, 5th Oct., 1905, the Military D.S.G. of the Eastern Frontier province, who had formerly discharged

military, civil, and sanitary duties as A.M.O., became I.G.C.H. of the new province, with a separate Sanitary Commissioner, and no military duties. The title of I.G.C.H. was also conferred upon the Civil A.M.O. of the Central Provinces, by Govt. of India, Finance and Commerce Dept., Order No. 179, of 2nd June, 1904.

The political changes announced by the King at the Delhi Darbar of Dec., 1911, necessitated several changes in medical administration. The medical staff of the abolished province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was, naturally, no longer required; but the same staff, Inspectors-General of Hospitals and Prisons, and Sanitary Commissioner, was sanctioned for the new province of Bihar and Orissa. A new medical administrative appointment was sanctioned for the small province of Assam, then reconstituted, that of Inspector-General of Hospitals, with the duties of I.G. of Prisons and Sanitary Commissioner, in addition to his own purely medical duties.

In the military branch the chief changes since 1880 have also been two. First, the abolition of the three old Presidency Armies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and the substitution for them of four Army Corps, each forming a Command, Panjab, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. This change took place in 1895. The alterations in distribution of Medical Administrative Staff caused thereby were notified in clauses 35, 56, and 63 of *I.A.C.* for 1895, republished in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1895, pages 7 to 9 and 13. A.P.M.O. was appointed to each command, of the rank of Surgeon-Major-General (clause 63), their pay being fixed at Rs.2200 per month (clause 56). Of these four P.M.O.'s, two, for the Eastern and Western Commands, were taken from the British Army; one, for the Panjab, from Bengal; while the fourth, Madras, was taken alternately from the Madras and Bombay Services. The Madras Command was abolished, as a separate Army Corps, in 1904, but the Commanding Officer of the Sikandarabad Division retained the rank of Lieut.-General, and corresponded direct with Army Headquarters. His P.M.O. also retained the rank of Surgeon-General. In 1907 the four Commands were abolished, and the whole Indian Army reorganised in nine divisions. The changes made in the Administrative Staff of the Medical Services were notified in Indian Army Order No. 247, of 30th May, 1907, republished in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1907, page 25. The P.M.O.'s

of three of the nine divisions were to be Surgeon-Generals, on Rs.2200 a month. Two of these, as well as the highest appointment, as P.M.O. H.M.'s Forces in India, were retained by the British Medical Department, the third by the Bengal Service, while Madras and Bombay lost the appointment as P.M.O., with rank of S.G., which they had previously held alternately. The appointment of Civil I.G.C.H. in Burma, which was to have been held by Bengal and Madras alternately, was permanently made over to Madras. Only one Bengal officer ever held this appointment, Colonel R. Macrae, and that only for six months, Feb. to Aug., 1905.

Sanitary Commissioners.—Govt. of India Despatch No. 152, of 16th Aug., 1867, to the Secretary of State for India, details various proposals for the appointment of Sanitary Commissioners. (*a*) That the I.G.'s of Jails should be appointed Sanitary Commissioners in addition to their own duties. (*b*) That the duties of Sanitary Commissioner should be imposed upon D.I.G.'s. (*c*) That some of the D.I.G.'s should be appointed Sanitary Commissioners, their duties being handed over to other D.I.G.'s. (*d*) That separate officers, of the rank of Surgeon-Major or Surgeon, should be appointed.

The Secretary of State, in a Despatch dated 30th Nov., 1867, approved the last proposal, the other three being rejected. (*a*) Because I.G.'s of Jails had enough to do in carrying out their own duties. (*b*) Because D.I.G.'s were military officers. (*c*) Because it was advisable to have one D.I.G. for each division of the army. A Sanitary Commissioner was accordingly appointed for each of the five chief provinces, Bengal, the N.W.P., Panjab, Madras, and Bombay. At the same time the existing Sanitary Commissioner of the Bengal Presidency became Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India.

From 31st March, 1880, the appointment of Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India was combined with that of Surgeon-General with the Government of India, in the person of the head of the I.M.S., and so remained for a quarter of a century, until again made separate appointments in Sept., 1904, when the late Lieut.-Colonel J. W. T. Leslie, who had previously been Secretary to the Director-General, was made Sanitary Commissioner. For the next eight years the Sanitary Commissionership was a semi-independent appointment. Leslie went

on leave in 1911, the Director-General taking over the duties of that appointment, and died at Marseilles, on his way home, on 27th March, 1911. Another reorganisation of the Sanitary Department followed, in which the Sanitary Commissionership, while actually retained, became rather a branch of the Office of the Director-General than an independent post. The Government Resolution on this subject was published in the *Gazette of India* of 25th May, 1912.

Home Dept. Not. No. 150, of 15th March, 1880, in clause six, gave to the Sanitary Commissioners of the five chief provinces, Bengal, the N.W.P., Panjab, Madras, and Bombay, the rank, pay, and privileges of D.S.G., from the date of their completing twenty-six years' service. This period of twenty-six years, fixed upon as the normal date at which promotion to D.S.G. might be expected, fell short of the reality by about four years, and led to wholesale supercession by the Sanitary D.S.G.'s of the senior medical officers in the regular line, especially in Bengal.

Seven Sanitary Commissioners in all held the rank of D.S.G., two in Bombay, two in Madras, and one each in Bengal, the N.W.P., and the Panjab. Only four, however, can be said to have got the benefit of the orders of 15th March, 1880, for J. Lumsdaine in Bombay, aided by his special promotion to Surgeon-Major, attained the rank of D.S.G. in the ordinary course, in 1876, and on his retirement in 1883 was succeeded by T. G. Hewlett, who had previously been promoted to D.S.G. in his turn. In Madras also G. Bidie attained the rank of D.S.G. in turn. The other four were holding the appointment of Sanitary Commissioner before promotion, and became D.S.G.'s on completion of twenty-six years' service. Indeed, in the case of the last of these officers to attain the rank, R. Lidderdale, in Bengal, his name was not placed on the list of the D.S.G.'s in the *Army List*, as those of the others had been, but was left in its original place, with a footnote showing that he had the local rank and title of D.S.G. in Bengal. Of course he got the other advantages of the position, including the extra pension of D.S.G. after five years' service in the rank.*

* Dr. Lidderdale was promoted to Brigade Surgeon on 21st March, 1885, more than a year after he had attained the pecuniary advantages of the rank of D.S.G.

The seven Sanitary Commissioners who held the rank of D.S.G. were :—

Province.	Name.	Entered.	D.S.G.	Retired.
Bombay	J. Lumsdaine	10th Nov., 1852	30th Sept., 1876	1st May, 1883
,,	T. G. Hewlett	20th Jan., 1854	1st Nov., 1879	13th May, 1888
Madras	M. C. Furnell	7th Feb., 1855	7th Feb., 1881	9th Oct., 1886
				S.G. 5th Apl., 1885
,,	G. Bidie	20th Feb., 1856	11th Oct., 1884	29th May, 1890
				S.G. 9th Oct., 1886
N.W.P.	C. Planck	4th Aug., 1855	4th Aug., 1881	4th Aug., 1886
Panjab	H. W. Bellew	14th Nov. 1855	14th Nov., 1881	14th Nov. 1886
Bengal	R. Lidderdale	27th Jan., 1858	[27th Jan., 1884]	27th Jan., 1889

It is worthy of note that both the officers who, as Sanitary Commissioners, held the rank of D.S.G., in Madras, successively were promoted to Surgeon-General, while none of the others reached a higher rank than D.S.G.

The grant of rank and pension as D.S.G.'s to the Sanitary Commissioners was abolished by Home Dept. Not. No. 228, of 4th June, 1886, the " extra compensation pensions " being given to the Service instead. This order is quoted in full in Chap. XX, *Pensions.*

A separate Sanitary Commissioner for the province of Eastern Bengal was appointed, when that province was constituted, from 15th Oct., 1905 ; and one for the Central Provinces was sanctioned in Order No. 1223 of 16th July, 1909, by the Govt. of India, Home Dept. The same appointment in Burma was sanctioned by Order No. 5541 G. of 12th Sept., 1907, by the Govt. of India, Dept. of Mily. Supply. With the abolition of the province of Eastern Bengal the appointment of Sanitary Commissioner of that province was transferred to the newly created province of Bihar and Orissa.

Since the seventeenth century great changes in social rank have taken place, a general levelling up all round. At that time the population was divided into three classes, sharply marked off from each other. The landed gentry, headed by the peerage, along with a sprinkling of clerical and legal dignitaries, formed the upper class. The middle class was composed of members of the professions, with, especially in London and the other great towns, the well-to-do representatives of trade and commerce, who had not yet, even in the departments of banking

and brewing, found their way into the aristocracy. The lower classes were the remainder, nine-tenths of the whole.

Of the three learned professions, the Church stood easily first; partly because it was to some extent recruited from the younger sons of the upper class, who took orders with a view to the prizes of the profession, in the shape of dignities and of well-endowed livings; partly from a survival of the tradition of the times when the Church was the sole repository of learning, the sole source of supply of the great officers of State. Law, in its higher branch, came second. The Bench has always been a position of much dignity and of fair emolument, while successful practice at the Bar has in all times been a sure road to fortune. Medicine was a bad third. The only medical men who could be said to have any place at all in society were a few London consultants, graduates of Oxford and Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians. The other professions of the present day, Science, Art, Education, Engineering, Journalism, the Civil Service, hardly existed.

But if the Church and the Law, in their higher branches, ranked socially above medicine, the holders of the lower posts in these professions certainly stood no higher, if possible they were considered even lower, than the ordinary medical man. The great novelists of the eighteenth century give the best pictures of the Society of the time, pictures no doubt somewhat exaggerated, but not so much so as to degenerate into mere caricature. For, if a satire is carried too far, it loses all its point. In the pictures drawn by these novelists we see our predecessors as they appeared one to two hundred years ago. The country general practitioner, or apothecary, held a low enough position, on a par with the upper servants of the gentry, not with the gentry themselves. But the country lawyer, or, as he is usually called, the attorney, cuts a much worse figure than the apothecary. And, as regards the Church, the poor parson is spoken of as quite on a level with the servants. In Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* we read how Parson Adams, a perfect master of Greek and Latin, with a good knowledge of French, Italian, Spanish, and Oriental languages, is glad to accept a living worth £23 *per annum*, at the age of fifty. (Book I, chapter 3.) In the preceding chapter Adams is sent to drink a cup of ale in Sir Thomas Booby's kitchen. In Book II, chapter 9, we are told that Sir Thomas Booby's

kitchen was always open to him. In *Tom Jones*, we read that Parson Supple marries Jenny Jones (Book XVIII, chapter 13), a lady who, whatever her merits, has been the mistress of four different men in the book, and receives a living from Squire Western as a dowry. In *Roderick Random* (chapter 9) we meet a curate, whose pay is £20 a year, cheating at cards, and are told that "what he most excels in is pimping."

Even the King's commission, of itself, conferred no social rank whatever. The Household troops, the Cavalry, and a few favoured Infantry regiments, were officered almost entirely by scions of the upper class, and all regiments contained some officers of that class, who rose rapidly by purchase. When off duty, they rarely used their military titles, but were spoken of as "Mr. Dash, Major in a Foot Regiment," "Mr. Blank, Captain of a Frigate," and so on. In the Indian official records the famous Admiral Watson is usually referred to simply as Mr. Watson. In many regiments some at least of the officers were of a class far below anything known at the present day. A man without money or interest had no chance of rising. To turn again to the novelists, in *Tom Jones* (Book VII, chapter 12), the hero, when going up to London, falls in with a detachment marching to meet the invasion from Scotland, led by Prince Charles Edward Stuart, commonly called "The Forty-five." Its commander is a Lieutenant, who had been promoted to that rank by Marlborough, for gallantry on the field, but who, having neither money nor interest, remains a Lieutenant, forty years later, at the age of sixty. Under him are two Ensigns, one had been an attorney's clerk, the other was "the son of the wife of a nobleman's butler." The latter worthy, Northerton, quits the army by desertion, after having committed a highway robbery, and having failed to murder a woman, Mrs. Waters, only through his own blundering and cowardice. In *Roderick Random* (chapter 8) the highwayman, Rifle, speaks of buying a commission in the army, if he makes a good haul. In chapter 12 the hero meets Captain Weazel. This self-styled Captain, whose real rank was that of Ensign, is depicted as an arrant little coward, who had been valet to a nobleman, and who had married his master's cast-off mistress, receiving as a dowry "a pair of colours in a marching regiment."

It is to be hoped that such cases as those quoted were, even

then, not common, either in the Church or in the Army. But there can be little doubt that instances of the kind were to be found.

In the Navy matters were much the same. A few aristocratic families, such as the Keppels and the Seymours, had a hereditary connection with the Navy, and sent their sons afloat, where they mostly rose rapidly. But the majority of the officers were drawn from the middle classes; from the sons of professional men, from the officers of the mercantile marine, then very different in education and in position from those of the present day, and even from the lower deck. In *Roderick Random* we are given a picture of the Navy of the time. Smollett had himself been a Surgeon's Mate in the Navy, and knew his subject by experience. Roderick's uncle, Tom Bowling, is depicted as a favourable specimen of his class, the naval officer, but appears inferior to the ordinary seaman of the present day. In chapter 36 we read of the Captain of H.M.S. *Lizard* dying on board of old age, at eighty; and of Roderick's friend Brayl getting a commission as Lieutenant after twenty-five years' service as Midshipman and Mate. In times of peace men-of-war were laid up by the dozen, their officers reduced to the miserable pittance of half pay, the crews paid off to shift for themselves. But in the constant wars of the eighteenth century the Navy had always the chance of prize-money and promotion. Many of our famous Admirals, Sir Christopher Mings, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Benbow, Sir Thomas Troubridge, and Captain James Cook the navigator, were all men who had risen from the lower deck, or, as the phrase went, had "crept in through the hawseholes."

CHAPTER XVIII

PAY

" The labourer is worthy of his hire."
Luke x. 7.

THE early medical officers of the East India Company, like their other servants, were by no means highly paid. Prior to the foundation of the Service on 1st Jan., 1764, the usual salary seems to have been £36 a year in Bengal and Madras, somewhat more in Bombay. Like the other servants of the Company, however, the Surgeon was not entirely dependent on his pay, which was supplemented, not only by professional practice, but in many cases by trade and similar means.

A *Cons.* held at Hugli on 12th Dec., 1679, gives a list of the Company's servants at that station, then their headquarters in the Bay, which includes—

" Mr Robert Dowglass, Chyrurgeon, came out in the *Eagle* and changed place for the Bay. Arrived 16th December 1676. £36 per year."

Five years later, a Letter from Court, dated 26th Nov., 1684, states—

" Mr Henry Watson is likewise entertained to serve as a Chyrurgeon's Mate at Hughly or Cassumbuzar (where there is most need of him) for five years at 25 rp a month for the first two years and 30 rs a month for the three last years."

Twenty-five rupees a month does not seem high pay, to our modern ideas, for a European medical officer. It is less than the lowest pay, Rs.30 per month, now drawn by a Civil Hospital Assistant, now called Sub. Asst. Surgeon, on first joining, under the new scale of pay granted in 1910.* But a simple calculation shows that Watson was really better paid than most medical officers in Bengal. The rupee was then worth half a crown.

* See Chap. XXVII, *The Uncovenanted and Subordinate Services.*

The usual salary of a Surgeon, £36 per year, comes to only Rs.288 yearly, while Rs.25 a month comes to Rs.300 a year.

William Warren, Surgeon at Calcutta, was granted £36 a year by a Letter from Court dated 16th Dec., 1699, and on 16th Feb., 1704, was taken into the service of the United Company on the same pay. Apparently he also drew a separate salary from the Old Company, by whom he was first employed.*

The list of the Company's servants in Bengal, on 18th Jan., 1714/15, shows— †

"Surgeon Richard Harvey, arrived in India 1 Janry 1712, pay £36
,, Oliver Coult ,, ,, 7 Sept 1713, ,, £36
,, William Hamilton ,, ,, 27 Decr 1711, ,, £36
gone with ye present."

A Letter from Bengal dated 4th Feb., 1750/51, notes in para. 113—

"On 3^d November appointed Mr John Bristow Steward of the Hospital with an Allowance of Rupees 30 p. Month." ‡

Another Letter, dated 20th Aug. of the same year, 1751, reports in para. 115—§

"Mr William Fullerton appointed Surgeon in consequence of orders p. *Dragon*. Mr John Bristow late Surgeon's Mate of the *Pss Amelia*, a capable man, succeeds him as Mate."

The following extract from a Bengal Letter dated 28th Feb., 1754, para. 24, shows one way in which a medical officer might sometimes add considerably to his nominal income. If £200 was a "small recompence" to a Surgeon's Mate, the senior officers must have made a fair income.‖

"Mr Inglis, Surgeon's Assistant here, on Capt Field this day representing the *Falmouth's* necessity, agreed to proceed as Surgeon of her, to be allow'd pay as such till she arrived in England, to receive £200 in lieu of Privilege and be paid his passage back by the Owners, he is recommended to the Court to be consider'd for his ready compliance and the small recompence of £200, his Employ will be fill'd up here only provisionally."

Inglis, unfortunately for himself, returned to Calcutta in 1755. A Letter from Court, dated 31st Jan., 1755, states that

* Wilson, *Early Annals*, Vol. I, pp. 228, 235.
† *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 205.
‡ For Bristow, see Chap. XI, *Holwell, and the Fall of Calcutta.*
§ *Abstracts, Letters from Bengal*, Vol. V, 1744–54, pp. 277, 303.
‖ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

he had received permission to return; and his reappointment as Surgeon's Mate to the Calcutta Hospital is recorded in the *Cons.* of 29th Sept., 1755. He served in Calcutta in the siege of 1756, and was one of the refugees who died at Fulta.

The pay of the Surgeons in Calcutta, the senior officers in the Service, remained nominally at about £36, a little more or a little less, up to 1770, as is shown by the entries of salaries paid in the *Cons.* The actual amounts, however, vary curiously. The pay of the Surgeons is shown as £36 each yearly, on 3rd Oct., 1757, 25th March, 1762, and 13th Oct., 1766. On 12th Dec., 1768, it is entered as £35, on 15th May, 1769, as £40, and on 24th April, 1770, again as £35. For the first two entries there were two Surgeons in Calcutta paid at these rates, in the others four.

Broome, in his *History of the Bengal Army*, gives on p. 558 a table of military pay in 1756, as follows. The amounts are given in *sonat* rupees per month. The river Carrumnassa, or Karamnasa, is the small river which divides the district of Shahabad, in Bihar, from the parts of Benares and Ghazipur districts, in the United Provinces, lying south of the Ganges; and formed the boundary in that direction of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal, and now of that of Bihar and Orissa.

	Surgeon.	Asst. Surgeon.
"Pay in garrison or at the Presidency . .	124	62
Half *batta* in Cantonment	93	62
Field *batta* within the Carrumnassa, or in Cantonment beyond that river	186	124
Double *batta* in the field beyond the Carrumnassa	372	248"

The farther from Calcutta, the higher the allowances, a curious contrast to the modern system of Presidency allowances, on account of the great expense of living in the Presidency towns. It will be seen that the military Surgeon's pay, with the lowest rate of *batta*, for one month, is considerably higher than that of the Calcutta Surgeon for six months. But, as shown a few pages further on, the Surgeons in Calcutta were actually in receipt of much higher amounts than their nominal pay of £36.

The *Cons.* of 1st Nov., 1761, order the increase of the pay of Head Surgeons by one hundred rupees a month.*

"Taking into consideration the great increase of expenses in Calcutta, arising particularly from the extravagance of the article of houserent,

* Long's *Selections*, No. 765, p. 385.

housekeeping, and servants' wages, and the inadequacy of the stipends of the Chaplains and Head Surgeons to defray these expenses. It is agreed to add to their allowances the sum of 100 current rupees a month to be paid by the Buxey as charges extraordinary."

A Letter from Fort William, dated 28th Nov., 1766, reports as follows on Surgeons' allowances.

"*Para* 124. Surgeons Regulat^{ns} have been alter'd, the Sick in Garrison and field being to pay 5 Rup^{s} in Venereal cases, and 3 in common Disorders, hoping the Addition in the former, will prevent the frequency and fatal Effects of that Disorder.

"*Para* 125. Do, the pay and allow^{ces} to the Assistants being insufficient for their Support, and they having by constant supercessions very little prospect of Advancem^{t} the allow^{ces} are divided vizt, 1/3 to the head Surgeon of each Brigade 1/3 to the 2nd and 1/3 to all the other Surgeons and their Assistants."

Another Letter from Fort William, dated 2nd Feb., 1769, grants another allowance to medical officers of the grade of full Surgeon.*

"*Paras* 80–82. Surgeons of the Army, being deprived of their Share of the Salt Trade without any Adequate Consideration, it was deemed necessary to encourage Men of Abilities in their Profession, by allowing them to share equally with the Majors in the Commission on the Revenues as they did so on the Salt Trade.

"*Para* 83. D^{o} of the Presidency being in the same Predicament Remonstrated and were allowed the same."

The *Fort William Cons.* of 25th Aug., 1778, contain the following entry.

"The Board have been pleased to permit the Assistant Surgeons of the Army to draw an additional Allowance of one Rupee p^{r} Day to put them upon a footing with Subaltern Officers."

In Madras, accounts were kept in pagodas and *fanams*, down to 1818, when the rupee was made the standard coin. The pagoda was worth three and a half rupees, or about nine shillings.

In the eighth decade of the seventeenth century, Bezaliel Sherman, who was Surgeon at Madras from 7th Aug., 1676, till his death there on 26th Aug., 1680, was in receipt of a salary of £30 yearly, rather less than that given in Bengal.

The *Fort St. George Cons.* of 6th Feb., 1681/82, report the

* *Abstracts, Letters from Bengal*, Vol. I, 1760–70, pp. 235, 336. For the Surgeon's share in the salt trade, see Chap. XVI, *Military and Civil.*

engagement of a Surgeon's Mate at five pagodas a month, or about £27 a year.*

"Dr Heathfield represents to Governor and Council how necessary it would be for the Garrison to have an understanding person for his assistant, and to supply his place in case of mortality, and there being a young man on board the George who is commended for an able man by Doctor Stuart, 'tis thought convenient to entertain him at Pagodas 5 per month, and an order was written to Capt. Earning to give him a discharge from the ship."

Dr. Stuart seems to have been the Surgeon of the *George*. This Assistant Surgeon, whose name is not recorded, did not serve long, for the *Cons.* of 1st Jan., 1682/83, record the appointment of Samuel Willmott, Surgeon's Mate of the *Resolution*, on the same salary.†

"Doctor John Heathfield acquainting the Agent &c of the necessitie of an able mate to officiate under him, (there being none at present), in reguard of the number of Inhabitants of this Place. And Samuel Willmot, Chyrurgeon's Mate of the Resolution, being willing to stay, It was thought fit to entertaine him at the wages of Pagos five per mensem."

On 12th July, 1683, James Grudgfield was appointed Surgeon at Vizagapatam, on £20 a year.‡ The passage is quoted in Chap. VII., *Early History; Madras and the Coast.* Five months later Grudgfield's salary was raised to £30. The *Cons.* of 28th Dec., 1683, record—

"Doctor Grudgfield at Metchlepatam having again requested to serve the Honble Compa as a Chirurgeon att the usuall sallary for those of his profession, vizt Thirty Pounds p. Annum, and we having occation for one in the Southern Factorys, Itt is now thought fitt to entertaine him at that rate and to order him yf he continues in the same mind to come up upon the George and his sallary to commence from his arrivall here."

The list of Company's servants at Fort St. George, entered at the end of the *Cons.* of 1684, shows—

"John Heathfield, Chyrurgeon, married, 40*l.*"

In the following year the *Cons.* of 25th May, 1685, report Heathfield's transfer to the post of Factor on £15 yearly, less than half the salary he had drawn as Surgeon, but with greater opportunities of advancement, and probably of extra earnings

* *The Diary and Consultation Book of the Agent Governor and Council of Fort St. George*, 1682–85; four volumes, edited by Arthur T. Pringle, Madras, 1894, Vol. I, p. 12.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 1.

‡ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 63.

also. The Court, however, refused to sanction the transfer, and he reverted to his former post as Surgeon.*

The *Cons.* of 3rd Jan., 1697/98, note the allowances formerly paid to Dr. Heathfield, who had died nearly ten years before, on 2nd April, 1688, as salary £36 per annum; Mate five pagodas, and Assistant three pagodas a month, with various small sums for oil and servants. It is ordered that Dr. Bulkley is to receive the same as these, but not the five pagodas a month as diet money, and fifty *fanams* a month horse allowance, which Heathfield drew, these allowances being contrary to the Company's general orders. The *Cons.* of 4th Jan., 1703/04, note that Dr. Bulkley is allowed four pagodas monthly for a *pallankeen.*

In the *Factory Records, Fort St. David,* Vol. I, 1690–1704, the *Cons.* of 6th July, 1696, note that Dr. Faucet, the Surgeon at Fort St. David, continuing ill, his Mate, Joseph Royer, who arrived on the *King William* on 18th May, is allowed "4 Pa p. mensem pay, and his dyet at ye Gen^ll^ Table." The *Cons.* of 17th Jan., 1697/98, order that the Company's servants are to be paid at nine shillings the pagoda.

By 1725 the pay of a Surgeon's Mate had risen to ten pagodas a month. A General Letter from Fort St. George, dated 23rd Aug., 1725, reports in para. 144—

"Mr Ramsay chosen Surgeon's Mate till Mr Munro goes home in Janry at 10 Pag^s^ a Month."

Another General Letter from Fort St. George, dated 15th Jan., 1724/25, states in para. 102— †

"The Surgeon's Mate allowed 10 pag^s^ a month for Sallary and dyet."

The *Fort St. David Cons.* (*Factory Records, Fort St. David,* Vol. III, 1723–31) of 9th Aug., 1731, note that the pay of Robert Turin, Surgeon's Mate, was raised from five to eight pagodas.

In 1744 the rate had again increased by fifty per cent., to fifteen pagodas a month. This seems a high salary for the time. At nine shillings the pagoda, it comes to over £80 a year. A Letter from Fort St. George, dated 16th Jan., 1743/44, states in para 46— ‡

"Entertained William Lyon and John Sheafe as Mates in the Hospital, increased their pay from 10 to 15 Pagodas a Month. Mr MacKneight is dead."

* Pringle, *Diary,* 1682–85, Vol. IV, pp. 78 and 173.
† *Abstracts, Letters from Coast and Bay,* Vol. II, 1715–28, pp. 424 and 467.
‡ *Ibid.,* Vol. IV, 1734–43, p. 442.

Another Letter, of 31st Jan., 1745/46, reports in para. 68—*

"Stephen Lightfoot is entertained Surgeon's Mate at 15 Pag a Month."

The *Fort St. George Cons.* of 31st Jan., 1749/50, give the following rates of pay for the Surgeons: Robert Turing and James Wilson each received per annum eighty pagodas as pay, ninety-six pagodas for diet, and forty-eight pagodas *palankin* allowance, a total of 124 pagodas, or a little over £100 a year. Three Assistants, William Massey, John Key, and Thomas Bengley, drew fifteen pagodas each per month, or about £81 yearly.

Factory Records, Fort St. David (Vol. VIII, 1752–56), in a list of Company's Servants, at the end of 1752, show two Surgeons, James Wilson and T. S. Hancock, drawing £36 each a year; five Assistants, F. W. Massey, John Key, Joseph Hinchley, Alexander Boswell, and John Cudmore, on fifteen pagodas each per month, and one Assistant, Henry Fletcher, on six pagodas.

Volume X, 1746–50 (loose papers bound), shows in Jan. 1749/50, two Surgeons, Robert Turing and James Wilson, as drawing monthly six pagodas, twenty-four *fanams* pay, eight pagodas diet allowance, and four pagodas *palki* allowance, a total of £100 a year, as in the *Fort St. George Cons.* of the same date. Madras was from 1746 to 1749 in the hands of the French, and Fort St. David was the seat of the English Government. The same three Assistants as above are shown, drawing the same pay, fifteen pagodas, Bengley receiving ten pagodas additional monthly as hospital steward.

Another pay list of 30th Sept., 1751, in Vol. XI, 1751–59 (loose papers bound), gives three Surgeons, Turing, Wilson, and T. S. Hancock, getting seven pagodas, eighteen *fanams*, each monthly, plus allowances; four Assistants, Massey, Key, Hinchley, and John Burrow, getting each fifteen pagodas per month (double the pay of the Surgeons, but without the allowances), Massey receiving ten pagodas more as steward; and one Assistant, Moses Jennins, on ten pagodas.

The *Fort St. George Cons.* of 23rd April, 1762, give two Surgeons there, Robert Turing and James Wilson, senior, paid forty-five pagodas each for six months; while eighteen pagodas is shown as paid to a third Surgeon, James Wilson, junior, up to

* *Abstracts, Letters from Coast and Bay*, Vol. V, 1744–54, p. 53.

the day of his death, 7th Dec. These rates come to a little over £40 a year. In Madras, however, as in Calcutta, the Surgeons were, as shown below, actually in receipt of much larger sums.

A Letter from Court to Madras, dated 13th March, 1761, quoted in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II, p. 566, states that the pay of the Surgeons in that Presidency is quite sufficient.

"You tell us that the Salaries of our Surgeons must be enlarged if we expect or desire to have Men of Ability in their profession. The Surgeons that we send abroad to our Capital Settlements are always acquainted with their Salaries and Emoluments, and we find no difficulties in having Able Men of that Profession, as well as all other Branches of our Service. If their heads there are turned, give us due Notice, that we may call them home again and supply their Places with Men of more humble minds, though perhaps not inferior Talents. This answer may serve you for all others who are dissatisfied with their Employs and Employers. If the Surgeons labour under any particular grievances or disadvantages which their predecessors did not experience, you ought to have said so and explained them."

The earliest rate of pay of a medical officer in the Company's western factories is found in the *Cons.* held at Spahan (Ispahan) on 16th Oct., 1619, which state that George Strahan was entertained as Physician to the factory there on sixteen ryals per month.* Sir Henry Yule, in an article entitled *Some little known travellers in the East*, in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1888, gives Strahan's salary as twelve *tomams* a year, or £40, the *tomam* being worth £3 6*s.* 8*d.* Strahan, however, was an accomplished linguist, as well as a physician, and gave his services to the factory in both capacities. In a letter to the Company, dated 25th March, 1619/20, Strahan asked for a salary of £100 a year, but without success.† The same pay, £40 a year, is recorded as that drawn by George Turner, "an unprofitable chirurgeon," in 1629.‡

The pay given at Bombay seems to have been considerably higher than in the other two Presidencies. In Chap. VI, *Early History; Surat, Persia, Bombay, and the West*, have been quoted the orders appointing as Surgeons at Bombay, successively, Bartlett, Joyful, and Clausade. The *Bombay Cons.* of 6th Jan., 1704/05, show that Bartlett was paid seventy-two *Xerafins* per

* Sainsbury, *Calendar*, Vol. II, 1617–21, No. 753, p. 305. For Strahan see also Chap. VI, *Early History, Surat, Bombay, Persia, and the West.*

† *Ibid.*, No. 828, p. 364.

‡ Foster, *The English Factories in India*, 1624–29, p. 314. For Turner see also Chap. XXIV, *The Sea Service.*

month, with diet; the first Assistant, Joyfull, forty-two *Xerafins* and diet; the second Assistant, Hutton, thirty *Xerafins*. Taking the *Xerafin* at eighteenpence, these salaries came to £5 8s., £3, and £2 5s. respectively. The first Assistant at Bombay, at this time, got as much as the Chief Surgeons at Calcutta and Madras.

On 8th April, 1707, Clausade was appointed on sixty *Xerafins* a month, or £4 10s. He was found inefficient and discharged within three months. On 22nd Aug., 1707, Henry Staff was appointed, on one hundred *Xerafins*, or £7 10s., per month. On 30th April, 1711, Dr. Daniel Waldo was entertained as physician on seventy-two *Xerafins* pay, plus twenty-eight for diet, monthly. The *Cons.* of 29th June, 1711, record that John Parney, Surgeon of a Bengal ship, was appointed Surgeon to the island, on the Surgeon's usual salary of seventy-two *Xerafins* per month, in succession to Alexander Christie. A Bombay Letter of 14th Sept., 1711, reports, in para. 15, Christie's dismissal.*

"Mr Alexander Christie who came Surgeon on the Abingdon dismist the 1st June last, was negligent, was paid but 30 shillings a Month as ordered."

In the second volume of Forrest's *Selections* (pp. 23, 33, 47), are given extracts from the *Bombay Diaries* between 1720 and 1730, which show the pay of the Surgeons.

"31 July 1720.	Richard Dyer, Physitian . .	£36 per annum
	James Crafford, Surgeon . .	do.
	Clapham Waddington, Surgeon .	do.
	Augustine Duchamp, Surgeon .	do."

On 1st Jan., 1723/24, Crafford and John Ashby are shown as drawing the same pay, £36; and on 1st Jan., 1728/29, Crafford and John Man, at the same rate.

Grose relates how William Phipps, Governor of Bombay from 1722 to 1729, reduced the Surgeons' pay from forty-two to twenty-four rupees a month, saying that the figures must have been accidentally transposed. The official figures given above, however, show that throughout Phipps' tenure of office the Surgeon's pay was £36 a year, or, with the rupee at half a crown, twenty-four rupees monthly.†

In the *Cons.* of 5th Aug., 1737, is recorded a petition from

* *Abstracts, Letters from Bombay*, Vol. I, 1703–24, p. 94.
† See Chap. X, *The First Half of the Eighteenth Century.*

Moreton Peachey, Surgeon, complaining that, though he had served for several years, he had never received anything more than his bare pay of twenty-four rupees a month. The Board agreed that he had been well spoken of by his commanding officers, but regretted that they could not increase his pay, "which we are sensible is a very bare maintenance," without doing the same for all the other medical officers. They sanctioned a gratuity of Rs.400, "which we think he has deserved," equal to about eight rupees a month for the whole time he had served. This must have been between eight and nine years. Peachey died of consumption on 10th Nov., 1738.*

The *Surat Diaries*, quoted by Forrest in the same work (*Selections*, Vol. I), give the pay of the Surgeon stationed there at intervals covering nearly forty years; all at £54 a year.

p. 270.	"June 8th, 1741.	Joseph Gray,	Surgeon	£54 per annum
p. 309.	January, 1756.	Robert Heriot,	do.	do.
p. 335.	January, 1761.	Ritchd Mainwaring,	do.	do.
p. 374.	7 July, 1764.	John Page	do.	do.
	do	William Tennent	do.	do.
p. 429.	1 July, 1779.	John Blakeman	do.	do. "

A Letter from Court of 31st March, 1769, orders that the pay of the Surgeons is to be increased, giving to the two Head Surgeons £150, to the third and fourth £125, yearly, with house rent in each case.

On 30th Sept., 1777, however, the fourth Surgeon is also shown as drawing £150, only the third, Samuel Richardson, receiving £125. Richardson was also Surgeon-Major to the garrison, and received ten shillings a day, in that capacity, in addition to his regular pay. The names of the four Surgeons then were William Tennent, James Bond, Samuel Richardson, and George Birch.

Volume LXXVIII, *Home Series, Miscellaneous Records*, includes several pay lists from 1759–75, which shows that the Presidency Surgeons were really drawing much higher salaries than their nominal £36 a year. This volume also contains lists of medical officers serving in India in 1749 (pp. 53–55), and 1754 (pp. 69–71). The first of these lists has been printed in Chap. X, *The First Half of the Eighteenth Century*.

* *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XXVI, Part III, *Bombay Town and Island, Materials*, p. 546.

On pages 131 to 133 are given tables of pay in 1759.

"Fort St. George.	Surgeon, 285.1.4 pagodas at 8/-	£114.	0.	3	yearly
	Surgeon's Mate, 184.32.20 do.	73.	19.	3	,,
Bengal.	Surgeon, Rs.881.13 at 2/6 per rupee	110.	4.	8	,,
Bombay.	Surgeon, Rs.648 do.	81.	0.	0	,,
Bencoolen.	Surgeon, Salary £50, Diet £60	110.	0.	0	,, ,,

Here Bombay is shown as much worse off than Calcutta and Madras. Another list, on p. 147, gives the pay of the Surgeons at Fort St. George as, salary £36, diet £78, total £114, exclusive of house rent.

Another list, on p. 417, undated, but docketed in England 1770, and headed "Pay and Allowance to the Surgeons in the East Indies as by the last Advice," shows the amounts drawn about ten years later.

In Bengal four Surgeons of Calcutta are entered. The senior, John Taylor, drew £171 9*s.* salary, and £312 8*s.* for diet and allowances, total, £483 17*s.*, and was provided with a free house. The other three, James Ellis, Daniel Campbell, and Thomas Bagnall, drew the same amounts, plus £58 6*s.* 6*d.* house rent, total, £542 3*s.* 6*d.*, all reckoned at two shillings and threepence the rupee. Thomas Anderson, Surgeon-General in the Army, received ten shillings a day as well as his pay of ten shillings a day as Surgeon in the Army, total £365 a year. Surgeons at Subordinate Factories and in the Army drew ten shillings, Assistant Surgeons seven shillings and sixpence a day.

At Madras, two Surgeons, Stephen Briggs and Gilbert Pasley, drew £78 pay, and £38 8*s.* house rent, total, £116 8*s.* William Gordon and Arthur Sinclair, Surgeons in the Army, got £101 14*s.* pay, and £24 house rent, total, £125 14*s.* The Assistant Surgeons received fifteen pagodas per month, or £72 yearly. All were reckoned at eight shillings the pagoda.

In Bombay, three Surgeons, William Tennent, William Shepherd, and Samuel Richardson, and a fourth, James Bond, at Surat, each drew £150 pay, plus £45 diet, total, £195. Surgeons in the army got six shillings a day, plus Rs.40 a month house rent; Surgeons in the Marine, Rs.56 a month. All were reckoned at two shillings and sixpence the rupee.

At Bencoolen the Surgeons at Fort Marlborough and in the Residencies were paid £130 a year each.

It is not clear why the Surgeons in Bengal were paid so much

more highly than those in the other Presidencies. It will be noted that the exchange value of the pagoda had sunk one-ninth, and that of the rupee at Calcutta one-tenth, while the rupee at Bombay remained at two shillings and sixpence.

On p. 451 is given a statement of the number and pay of the Surgeons on the Bengal Establishment, docketed, 1775. This shows in Calcutta four Head Surgeons each drawing—

"Pay, ten shillings per day . . .	£182. 10 per annum
Extra allowance, Rs.100 monthly .	135. 0
House rent, Rs.43 monthly . .	68. 0
Total .	£385. 10

Also ten Assistant Surgeons on ten shillings a day each."

In the Army and at Subordinate Factories there were twenty-one Head Surgeons (*i.e.* full Surgeons) drawing ten shillings a day each, plus fifteen shillings a day *batta* when in the field; and thirty-four Assistant Surgeons on five shillings a day each, with ten shillings a day *batta* in the field.

It may be of interest to compare the pay drawn at about the same time by the medical officers of the French settlements. The *Madras Mily. Cons.* of 5th Nov., 1778, contain a list of officers taken prisoner at Pondicherri, with their pay. Under the head of Medical Establishment are included, Le Normand, Surgeon-Major, pay two thousand livres per annum, four Assistants on 1800 livres, and three Mates on 432 livres; also Theodée, Chief Surgeon at Karikal, 1800 livres. The staff seems strong in numbers, but very poorly paid. The livre was equal to the modern franc. Even taking it at a shilling, the Surgeon-Major got only £100 a year, the Mates only £21 12*s.*

Besides their ordinary pay, various allowances were from time to time granted to Medical officers. A Foreign Letter from Fort William, dated 25th Oct., 1785, states in para. 22 (*Abstracts, Letters from Bengal*, Vol. IV, 1783–89, p. 178)—

"Surgeons. Additional Allowance for House Rent of 200 Rupees p. Month, granted to the Surgeons at the Presidency, in consideration of the hardship of their situation."

The Madras *Mily. Cons.* of 21st Nov., 1786, note the grant to Surgeon William Raine of an allowance of sixty pagodas a month in addition to his pay for the extra duty assigned to him of visiting the prisoners in the Town Jail.

A Fort St. George Mily. Letter, dated 1st Aug., 1788, states in paras. 17, 18 (*Abstracts, Letters from Madras*, Vol. III, 1785–92, unpaged)—

"Mr Gordon, Surgeon. In consideration of his long and meritorious services and distressing situation havé made an addition of 50 Pags to his allowances, which hope you will confirm."

Prior to the foundation of the Medical Boards, a Bengal Letter of 2nd Jan., 1778, states in para. 26 that Surgeon-General Daniel Campbell was then drawing Rs.1250 monthly pay. A General Letter from Court to Bengal, dated 23rd Dec., 1778, in para. 78 (*Abstracts*), fixes Campbell's salary at Rs.10,000 per annum. The Madras *Public Cons.* of 25th March, 1780, record that the title of Surgeon-General was bestowed on Surgeon Gilbert Pasley, with a salary of 150 pagodas a month, and the *Mily. Cons.* of 27th Nov., 1780, report that Surgeon James Anderson has been appointed Surgeon-Major, with a salary of 100 pagodas a month, in both cases presumably in addition to their regular pay as Surgeons.

The *Medical Regulations* sent out in 1785, with the orders of Court for the formation of the Medical Boards, in the first clause, fix liberal salaries for the members; in Bengal and Madras £2500, £2000, and £1500 respectively, to the three members, and £1000 for the Head Surgeons of the other General Hospitals. Bombay came off much worse, with only two members of the Board, the senior drawing £1500, the junior £800 a year. The same clause grants to Surgeons of regiments the pay and allowances of Captains, to Hospital Mates those of Lieutenants, to Regimental Mates those of Ensigns, all of Infantry. The Regimental Mates lost by this order, as stated below; the other ranks gained. These orders are given in full below in Chap. XXIII, *Administration; The Medical Boards.*

A Minute on Hospital Regulations and on the Medical Service by Sir John Dalling, Commander-in-Chief at Madras, dated 22nd Nov., 1785, in Vol. LXXXIV, *Home Series, Miscellaneous Records*, objects very strongly to the system of hospital contracts, under which the Surgeons contracted to supply necessaries to the sick in hospital, and makes the following proposals for the distribution of the Medical Service in the Madras Presidency, and for their allowances.

He puts the strength at fifty-eight, eighteen Surgeons and forty Assistant Surgeons. The Surgeons are posted as follows: one Surgeon-General, one Surgeon-Major, one Surgeon-Major in the field, one Surgeon superintending medicines, and one supernumerary Surgeon assisting at Madras; one Surgeon each for Masulipatam, Ganjam, and Vizagapatam; one each for the Artillery and Cavalry, four for the Infantry, and four supernumeraries, total eighteen. Assistants, two for each Surgeon, and four for Madras, total forty.

To reside at the Presidency, and to attend the General Hospital, Mr. James Anderson, Surgeon-General; Mr. Colley Lucas, Surgeon-Major; Mr. Job Bulman, Superintendent of Medical Stores, with one other full Surgeon, and as many Assistant Surgeons as thought necessary. The Surgeon-General to receive 250 pagodas a month, with the *batta* of Lieut.-Colonel; the Surgeon-Major, 206 pagodas, with *batta* of Major; Mr. Ruding, supernumerary Surgeon, to receive the pay of Surgeon of European Infantry, 100 pagodas, and Captain's *batta;* Thomas Davies, Surgeon-Major in the field, 150 pagodas, with thirty pagodas horse allowance, and Major's *batta;* Jeremiah Adderton, Surgeon of Artillery, to receive Surgeon's pay, 100 pagodas, with a special allowance of fifty pagodas a month on account of the dearness of St. Thomas' Mount, the Artillery station. To each Company * of five hundred Europeans, one Surgeon on one hundred pagodas, and two Assistants, a third Assistant if the strength reaches eight hundred; to the Black Cavalry, one Surgeon and one Assistant, on the same pay as in the Infantry, plus twenty pagodas horse allowance. For Masulipatam, Ganjam, and Vizagapatam, one Surgeon and two Assistants for each station, for Ongole, Ingeveram, Ichapur, and other places in the Circars, each one Assistant Surgeon; pay at the same rate as in European Infantry.

A Mily. Despatch to Madras, dated 26th Aug., 1801, in para. 124 directs that the Medical Board be again raised to three members, and in para. 125 fixes their salaries.

First Member,	pagodas	8750	or £3500	per	annum
Second	,, ,,	7000	or £2800	,,	,,
Third	,, ,,	6000	or £2400	,,	,,
Head Surgeons	,,	4000	or £1600	,,	,,

Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, Vol. III, p. 350, states

* *Company* is evidently used here as equivalent to *Battalion*.

that the salaries of the Medical Board of that Presidency were raised from 9th Oct., 1810, that of the first member to 800 pagodas (Rs.2800), a month, that of the second to 700 (Rs.2450), and that of the third to 600 (Rs.2100). They apparently did not, however, draw the salaries of Presidency Surgeons in addition, as the members of the Calcutta Board did.

A Letter from Court dated 24th April, 1829, published in a Bombay G.O. of 23rd Sept., 1829, fixes the pay of members of the Medical Board at Rs.25,666 per annum, and that of the Superintending Surgeons at Rs.15,600 inclusive, in both cases, of regimental pay and allowances.

The first clause of the *Medical Regulations* of 1785 directs that Regimental Mates, the junior grade of medical officers, who had hitherto ranked as Lieutenants and drawn allowances as such, should be reduced to the rank and pay of Ensigns. A Secret Letter from Fort William, dated 11th Nov., 1786, states that the Medical Board had protested against this order, but the Council did not deem themselves at liberty to cancel it. The order was, however, cancelled in the following year. A Public Letter from Fort William, dated 27th July, 1787, reports in para. 105 (*Abstracts, Letters from Bengal,* Vol. IV, 1783–89, pp. 311, 360)—

"Distinction between Hospital and Regimental Mates abolished, the whole Corps of Asst Surgeons are to be put upon the Pay and Batta of Lieutenants."

In Madras and Bombay the distinction continued about two years longer. A Mily. Letter from Fort St. George, dated 6th Feb., 1789, informs the Court in paras. 406–8 (*Abstracts, Letters from Madras,* Vol. III, 1785–92, unpaged)—

"Hospital Board recommend that all Assistant Surgeons should in future receive Lieutenants' allowances, now only given to a certain number, referred to Court for decision."

A Public Letter from Court to Bombay, dated 8th April, 1789, orders in para. 33 that all Assistant Surgeons shall receive the pay and allowances of Lieutenants.

In the eleventh clause of the *Medical Regulations* of 1785 it is directed that the oldest, *i.e.* the senior Hospital Mate, in each General Hospital shall have charge of the medicines, and shall receive such allowance as the Government may think suitable.

The *C.G.* of 15th March, 1787, fixes this allowance at 150 *sonat* rupees per month.

The *C.G.* of 20th March, 1788, announces an order of Court that, whenever a salary is fixed by them in pounds sterling, the same shall be converted into *sonat* rupees at eight to the pound.

Large incomes, apart from their nominal pay, were sometimes made by medical officers. Hill's *Life of Claud Martin* (p. 56), states that William Blane, Residency Surgeon at Lucknow in 1785, was in receipt of pay and allowances to the total amount of Rs.8000 a month, which were cut down to Rs.5000, and subsequently reduced to Rs. 684. Blane was a brother of I. G. Gilbert Blane, R.N., founder of the Blane medals. A Fort William Secret Inspection Letter, dated 31st July, 1785, states in para. 2 that reforms have been effected in the allowances paid by the *Vizir* of Oudh to Company's servants, and in para. 6—*

"Surgeons Blaine and Bruce, their allowances as Surgeons to the Vizier and to the Civil and Military Service at Lucknow restricted to Sonaut Rupees 684 p. Month."

The military officer, medical as well as combatant, sometimes got a big windfall in the shape of prize-money. In *Hicky's Bengal Gazette*, for the week from 17th to 24th Nov., 1781, it is stated that the Bijaigarh prize-money had amounted to Rs.22,478 for each captain's share, Rs.11,239 for each subaltern's share. Surgeons shared as Captains, Assistant Surgeons as subalterns. Bijaigarh is a fort in the south of Mirzapur district. It was taken by the troops under Major Popham on 10th Nov., 1781, its capture being the final stroke in the suppression of Chait Sinh's rebellion. Twenty-five *lakhs* of treasure were found in the fort.

The *C. G.* of 24th May, 1787, gives a list of officers entitled to share in the Rohilla donation, with the amounts due to each. The list includes four medical officers entitled to receive Rs.5480 each, Surgeon-Major J. Campbell, and Surgeons J. Ford, F. B. Thomas, and T. Harrington; also five to whom was due Rs.2740 each, Surgeons M. Luckett, Invalids, and James Lynd, unattached, and Assistant Surgeons A. Ferguson, J. Ferguson, and J. Macdonald.

The Rohilla donation was given by the *Nawab-Vizir* of Oudh to the British troops, the second Brigade under Colonel Champion,

* *Abstracts, Letters from Bengal*, Vol. IV, 1783–89, p. 151.

who defeated the Afghans of Rohilkand in the battle of St. George, so called because it was fought on St. George's Day, 23rd April, 1774. The actual scene of the action was twenty-three miles south-east of Bareli. The loan of this force to the *Nawab-Vizir* was one of the charges brought against Warren Hastings at his impeachment. Thirteen years had elapsed between 1774, when the battle was fought, and 1787, when the donation was distributed. Of the nine medical officers entitled to a share, only James Lynd remained in the Service. Luckett was still in India, on the invalid establishment, Thomas had gone home, the other six were dead. Presumably the amounts due to them were paid to their heirs.

The pay and allowances of Civil Surgeons in 1790 were fixed by an order of 27th Aug., 1790, published in the *C.G.* of 16th Sept., 1790.*

" Extract from the Proceedings of the Governor General in Council, in the Separate Department, on the 27th of August, 1790.

" It is directed that, from and after the 1st of October next, no Surgeon or Asst Surgeon employed at any of the outstations shall receive more than one Salary from the Civil Department, and for this it is required that he shall perform the duties of all the Civil Departments, whether Revenue, Commercial, or Judicial.

" The Governor General in Council having taken notice that the salaries of the Surgeons and Asst Surgeons employed at the outstations within the Company's Provinces, including the Zemindary of Benares, are not all regulated upon the same scale, directs that from the 1st of October next their allowance be fixed as follows :

" Where full Surgeons are allowed by the Regulations of the 24th of October 1788, and also to those full Surgeons who were permitted to remain at Civil Stations, Sicca Rs 300 for salary and Sicca Rs 100 for houserent.

" To Asst Surgeons, when employed in the Civil line, Sicca Rs 200 for salary and Sicca Rs 100 for houserent.

" Ordered, that the above allowance be drawn, in all instances where it may be practicable, from the Collector, and charged in the Revenue Accounts, and that the salaries of Surgeons or Asst Surgeons be not paid from, or introduced into the Accounts of the Commercial Department, except when they may be stationed at a distance from any Collectorship, as in the instance of Luckypore, Bauleah, &c.

" Ordered that the salaries of the Surgeons and Asst Surgeons attached to the several Presidencies beyond the Provinces be continued as at present.

" (a true extract). J. Fombelle, Sub Secretary."

The *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board of 13th Sept., 1798, contain an extract from the *Cons.* at Fort Marlborough of

* Extracted in Seton Karr's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes*, Vol. II, pp. 29, 30.

2nd April, 1798, which gives the pay of the medical officers in civil employment at that settlement, as follows :—

" Surgeon at the Presidency . . . Rs 496 per month
do. at outstations . . . . Rs 341 ,,
Asst Surgeon doing duty at Presidency . Rs 341 ,, ,,

In 1813 the following rates of monthly pay were in force :—

	Garrison, actual pay.			Garrison, with allowances.			Field, with allowances.		
	R.	A.	P.	R.	A.	P.	R.	A.	P.
European Infantry—									
Captain and Surgeon . .	120	0	0	283	8	0	411	0	0
Lieut. and Asst. Surgeon .	70	0	0	169	0	0	254	0	0
Native Cavalry—									
Captain and Surgeon . .	179	6	4	470	6	4	560	6	4
Lieut. and Asst. Surgeon .	109	8	0	303	8	0	363	8	0
Native Infantry—									
Captain and Surgeon . .	120	0	0	321	0	0	411	0	0
Lieut. and Asst. Surgeon .	60	0	0	194	0	0	254	0	0

At this time the pay of a General Officer was only Rs.300 per month; but, as he also drew allowances of Rs.4400 per month in garrison, and Rs.5000 on service, he did fairly well.

Bengal G.O. of 10th Aug., 1824, lays down the rates, given in table on next page, which show pay somewhat increased in garrison, in the field the same as before.

Bengal G.O. of 11th March, 1831, allows a medical staff salary, to Surgeons of Rs.300 a month in addition to Captain's pay, to Assistant Surgeons Rs. 165 a month in addition to Lieutenant's pay.

" *Fort William, March* 11th, 1831. The Hon. the Vice-President in Council has the satisfaction to direct that the following extract (paras 2 to 8 from a military letter, No. 88, of 1830, from the Hon. the Court of Directors, dated the 8th Sept., be published in General Orders ; the regulation therein sanctioned will have effect from the 1st May next.

" *Para.* 2. Having carefully considered the several memorials from the Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons of your establishment, which you have transmitted to us with your letter of 23rd October, 1829, together with the observations of the several members of your Government upon them, we have come to the following resolutions :

" 3. That every Surgeon in charge of a regiment of cavalry or infantry, European or native, or of a battalion of artillery, horse or foot, be allowed, in addition to the pay of a captain in the corps in which he may serve, a consolidated medical staff salary of three hundred (300) rupees per month, which is to cover the expense he may incur in visiting patients.

" 4. That every Assistant Surgeon having the same charge, be allowed, in addition to the pay and regimental allowances of a Lieutenant in the

—	—	In Garrison or Cantonment.							In Field.					
		Pay.	Gratuity.	Tent allowance.	House-rent.	Horse allowance.	Half batta.	Total.	Pay.	Gratuity.	Tent allowance.	Horse allowance.	Full batta.	Total.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
European Infantry, Artillery, and Engineers	Capt. and Surgeon . . .	120	36	37.8	50	—	90	333.8	120	36	75	—	180	411
	Lieut. and Asst. Surgeon . .	60	24	25	30	—	60	199	60	24	50	—	120	254
Native Cavalry	Capt. and Surgeon . . .	179	36	75	50	90	90	520	179	36	75	90	180	560
	Lieut. and Asst. Surgeon . .	109	24	50	30	60	60	333	109	24	50	60	120	363
Native Infantry	Capt. and Surgeon . . .	120	36	75	50	—	90	371	120	36	75	—	180	411
	Lieut. and Asst. Surgeon . .	69	24	50	30	—	60	224	60	24	50	—	120	254

The same rates were sanctioned in Madras by an order dated 6th Dec. 1824 (Wilson, *History of Madras Army*, Vol. IV, p. 385).

corps in which he may serve, a consolidated staff salary of one hundred and sixty-five (165) rupees a month, which is equally to cover the expense of visiting patients.

" 5. That every Surgeon or Assistant Surgeon in charge of a regiment of European cavalry or infantry, or battalion of European artillery, be granted, in addition to his other allowances, twenty-five (25) rupees per mensem for every 100 Europeans under his charge.

" 6. That every Surgeon or Assistant Surgeon in charge of European or native soldiers, not attached to his own regiment, be granted an allowance of twenty-five (25) rupees per month for every 100 Europeans, and twelve rupees eight annas (12.8) per month for every 100 natives.

" 7. We also authorize you to grant to Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons of civil stations a proportional allowance for the number of irregular troops under their charge, in addition to their present civil salaries.

" 8. These resolutions are equally applicable to the establishments of Madras and Bombay, and we desire that they be brought into operation at all the presidencies on the same day, within two months of your receipt of this despatch."

By Bombay G.O. of 5th Jan., 1832, publishing extracts from a Letter from Court dated 20th July, 1831, Superintending Surgeons in that Presidency were put upon the same footing in regard to pay as those in Madras, and allowed to draw Rs.1575 per month, consolidated pay and allowances, with the *batta* of Major when on field service.

Another Mily. Letter from Court, dated 23rd Oct., 1833, published in Fort St. George G.O. of 1st April, 1834, allows to members of the Medical Board on furlough the pay of Colonels, and to Superintending Surgeons that of Majors, of Infantry in both cases.

By a Bengal G.O. of 10th July, 1834, officers were allowed to make remittances to England through the Company's treasury, Captains and Surgeons up to £100, Lieutenants and Assistant-Surgeons up to £70 a year.

Bengal G.O. of 1st Dec., 1834, grants to Assistant-Surgeons in Civil Stations allowances, of thirty rupees a month for conveyance and twenty rupees a month for vaccination.

" *Fort William, General Department, Dec. 1st*, 1834. Publishes extracts, paras 3 to 5, from a letter from Court, Military Department, dated 4th June, 1834, and makes the following rule on vaccination allowances to Civil Surgeons.

" *Rule.* That from and after 1st January next ensuing, there shall be allowed to all Assistant Surgeons at Civil Stations, whose total allowances do not exceed Rs 300 per month, the additional sum of fifty rupees, *viz.*, thirty rupees as conveyance allowance, and twenty rupees as compensation for undertaking the duty of superintending and diffusing the practice of

vaccination. The Governor General in Council expects that all medical officers, drawing higher allowances than above indicated, will gratuitously undertake the duty."

Madras G.O. of 25th Aug., 1835, fixes the pay of medical officers in Civil Stations and Political Residencies. These orders being issued by the Government of India, presumably were applicable throughout India.

" *Fort St. George, August 25th*, 1835. 1. In obedience to orders from the Hon. the Governor General of India in Council, the Right Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to publish the following revised regulation, in substitution of and cancelling G.O.G. of 22nd May last, to have effect from that date.*

" 2. Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons employed in civil medical duties in the provinces, or attached to [political] residencies under this presidency,† are placed, from 22nd May last, on the same footing, in regard to pay and allowances, as the corresponding ranks under the Bengal Presidency, according to which they are entitled to the following consolidated salaries, including not only all regimental pay and allowances, but also Rs 20 for vaccination, and Rs 30 conveyance allowance.

Civil Surgeons	Rs 412–3–3
Do. Asst Surgeons	360–10–10
Surgeons employed with foreign residencies .	824–6–5
Asst Surgeons do. do. .	515–4–0

" 3. When medical officers, employed in civil or political situations, are placed in temporary medical charge of corps, details, or public followers, entitled to medical attendance, they will on their account receive the authorized headmoney, but they will not be entitled to the established salaries of their rank, or to military pay or allowances for the medical charge of troops in addition to the salaries attached to their civil or political situations.

" 4. Medical officers whose primary and ostensible duties are military, such as the garrison surgeons at Trichinopoly and Bellary, the depot Surgeon at Cuddalore,‡ Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons posted to and in medical charge of regiments, the latter liable to accompany their corps in movement,§ will (in addition to their military staff salaries and regimental pay and allowances) continue to draw the existing rates of zillah allowance for civil medical duties, forfeiting vaccination and conveyance allowances because their aggregate receipts exceed Rs 300 per month.

* In the G.O. of 22nd May, 1835, the pay of a Civil Surgeon is given as Rs.430–12–4, that of an Assistant Surgeon with a Residency as Rs.538–7–5; otherwise the order is much the same as that of 25th August.

† *Note in original:* " Political: Mysore, Tanjore, and Travancore. Civil: Tellicherry, Calicut, Masulipatam, Chittoor, Madura, Coimbatore, Combaconum, Negapatam, Chingleput, Salem, Mangalore, Cuddapah, Guntoor, Rajahmundry, Chicacole, Bellary, Nellore, and Cochin."

‡ *Note in original.* Fixed: Bangalore, Trichinopoly, Cuddalore, and Bellary.

§ *Note in original.* Moveable with corps on a change of quarters: Tinnevelly, Berhampore, Vizagapatam, Dindigul, Vellore, and Mercara.

"5. In conclusion, the rates now fixed, are the highest salaries that can be enjoyed by those concerned, without any further addition than head-money for extra duty."

The following extract gives a Madras medical officer's views on his income and expenditure in 1837:—

"An Assistant Surgeon, on his arrival in India, is appointed to the General Hospital, where he remains for two or three months, and then he is attached to a regiment, or placed at a small civil station. If attached to the former, at a half-batta station, his consolidated allowances will amount to Company's Rs 225.8, or, at the above rate of exchange, to £23.1.0. After he has been in the service about five years, it is probable he may attain the medical charge of a regiment, which will increase his allowances to Rs.360.8, or £34.10.1½d. If at a full batta station, he will draw Rs.421.10 As, or £40.8.1¾d. Let us now consider his expenses: but before stating these, it will be necessary to observe that, in coming to India, an Assistant Surgeon defrays the expense of his own outfit and passage to India, charges which, after the most rigid economy, cannot amount to less than £200. On his arrival in the country, a regulation tent, a horse, saddle and bridle, chairs, table, cooking utensils, and his regimental uniform, will also, with economy, never fall short of £150 more. This latter sum of money is generally obtained by a loan from houses of agency, the interest on which, including insurance of life, amounts to 18 per cent. The next circumstance we have to allude to is the number of servants the medical man is unavoidably compelled to keep. Owing to the inability to interfere with caste, the servants which are indispensable in India, will cost Rs.75. To this add heavy rent, clothing, food and contingencies, Rs.246; the total will be Rs.321, or £30.15.3d., which are greater than his receipts.—*Indian Medical Journal.*" *

Pay in the Indian Navy.†—In the *Bombay Cons.* of 5th Nov., 1740, it is noted that Robert Trotter, Surgeon of the *Restoration Grab*, being the only Surgeon now in the Marine, and skilful, his pay is increased to forty rupees per month from 1st Aug.

The *Bombay Muster Rolls* from 1740 to 1760 give the names of a number of Surgeons serving afloat, but their pay is not entered.

A Bombay Letter of 30th Nov., 1769, reports in para. 90 that medical officers serving afloat will receive the same pay as those of the Army.‡

"Surgeons of the Cruizers; it is desired they may be put on a footing with those in the Military, in respect to Pay."

* *Asiatic Journal*, January, 1837, p. 9. *The Indian Medical Journal* quoted appears to be the *India Journal of Medical and Physical Science*, edited by F. Corbyn, first volume, Calcutta, 1835.

† See also Chap. XVI. *Military and Civil.*

‡ *Abstracts, Letters from Bombay*, Vol. III, 1767–83, p. 166.

It has been noted above, however, that in 1770 Surgeons in the Bombay Marine were drawing Rs.56 per month, which is less than the six shillings a day then drawn by Army Surgeons; the latter comes to Rs.72 per month, with the rupee at half a crown. The Surgeon in the Army also got house-rent.

Bombay G.O. of 13th May, 1836, grants to medical officers serving in the Navy a consolidated allowance of Rs.100 a month, in lieu of allowances hitherto drawn as head-money and for petty stores. Bombay G.O. of 30th Nov., 1837, gives consolidated pay as follows. The Port Surgeon was a senior officer serving ashore, and usually holding other appointments in addition.

"*Bombay Castle, Nov.* 30, 1837. The Right Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to consolidate the pay and allowances of the Assistant Surgeons employed in the Indian Navy, and to direct that the whole be discharged in the Marine Dept., *viz.* :—

"The Port Surgeon	Rs.467. 1.0	
Each Asst Surgeon in medical charge of a cruizer	306. 10. 0	The same every month."
Ditto ditto on shore, exclusive of house rent	206. 10. 0	

When the Indian Navy was abolished, on 30th April, 1863, the pay of an Assistant-Surgeon serving afloat was Rs.318/10/0.

Bengal G.O., No. 350 of 21st Nov., 1845, lays down the pay and allowances for officers of all ranks. Those of medical officers are given in the extracts below. The rates of pay drawn by medical officers serving in the European Infantry Regiments, only a small proportion of the whole, show a considerable increase over those given in 1824; the other rates show an advance of only one or two rupees. The pay proper, given in Table II., forms but a small proportion of the total pay and allowances, given in Table I.

G.O. No. 350 *of* 21*st Nov.*, 1845.

"For the purpose of simplifying the duties of the Pay and Audit Departments, the Honourable the President in Council is pleased, under authority from the Honourable the Court of Directors, and with the concurrence of the Right Honourable the Governor-General, to determine that the Pay, Half-Batta, and Gratuity of the European officers, both of Her Majesty's and the Honourable Company's Service, together with the Non-effective allowance received by certain classes of the former, shall be included in one sum under the denomination of Pay and Indian Allowances, leaving extra Batta, House Rent, Tent and Horse Allowance to be separately drawn as at present, according to the Table No. I annexed.

TABLE OF PAY AND ALLOWANCES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSIONED OFFICERS OF HER MAJESTY'S AND THE HONOURABLE COMPANY'S SERVICE AT THE THREE PRESIDENCIES IN CANTONMENT AND IN THE FIELD.

Extract from Table No. I.

Corps.	Rank.	In Garrison or Cantonment within 200 miles of direct distance from the seat of Government of each Presidency.												In the Field and in Garrison or Cantonment beyond 200 miles of direct distance from the seat of Government of each Presidency.											
		Pay and Indian allowance.			Regl. House-rent.			Horse allowance.			Tentage.			Total.			Pay and Indian allowance.			Extra batta.			Horse allowance.			Tentage.			Total.		
		R.	A.	P.	R.	A.	P.	R.	A.	P.	R.	A.	P.	R.	A.	P.	R.	A.	P.	R.	A.	P.	R.	A.	P.	R.	A.	P.	R.	A.	P.
Foot Artillery and Engineers	Captain or Surgeon . . .	267	5	0	50	0	0	—			75	0	0	392	5	0	267	5	0	91	5	0	—			75	0	0	433	10	0
	Lieut. or Assist. Surgeon . .	154	14	0	30	0	0	—			50	0	0	234	14	0	154	14	0	60	14	0	—			50	0	0	265	12	0
European and Native Infantry	Captain or Surgeon . . .	249	1	0	50	0	0	—			75	0	0	374	1	0	249	1	0	91	5	0	—			75	0	0	415	6	0
	Lieut. or Assist. Surgeon . .	145	12	0	30	0	0	—			50	0	0	225	12	0	145	12	0	60	14	0	—			50	0	0	256	10	0
Horse Artillery and Native Cavalry	Captain or Surgeon . . .	306	11	4	50	0	0	90	0	0	75	0	0	521	11	4	306	11	4	91	5	0	90	0	0	75	0	0	563	0	4
	Lieut. or Assist. Surgeon . .	194	6	0	30	0	0	60	0	0	50	0	0	334	6	0	194	6	0	60	14	0	60	0	0	50	0	0	365	4	0

Of course the pay and allowances of all ranks are given in the original table.

" Table No. 2 exhibits the Subsistence of Pay proper of European Commissioned Officers, converted at the exchange of 2*s.* 0½*d.*, Two shillings and Halfpenny, per Company's Rupee, and admissible to them when not in receipt of Regimental or Staff Allowances.

" The above arrangement to have effect at the three Presidencies from the 1st January next."

Extract from Table No. II.

TABLE OF PAY PROPER OF EUROPEAN COMMISSIONED OFFICERS OF HER MAJESTY'S AND THE HONOURABLE COMPANY'S SERVICES, CONVERTED INTO INDIAN CURRENCY AT 2*s.* 0½*d.* PER COMPANY'S RUPEE, AND ADMISSIBLE WHEN NOT IN RECEIPT OF INDIAN OR STAFF ALLOWANCES.

		Her Majesty's Light Dragoons.			Her Majesty's Infantry.			Native Infantry.		
		R.	A.	P.	R.	A.	P.	R.	A.	P.
Surgeon	On first appt.	193	12	11	193	12	11	149	1	4
	After 10 years' service	223	9	11	223	9	11			
	— 20 ——	283	4	1	283	4	1			
	— 25 ——	327	15	8	327	15	8			
Asst. Surgeon	On first appt.	126	11	6	111	13	0	74	8	8
	After 10 years' service	163	15	10	149	1	4			

The *Bengal Medical Regulations* of 1851 (Chap. V, p. 49), give the pay and allowances of an Assistant Surgeon in a Civil Station as: pay, Rs.200; house-rent, Rs.100; conveyance allowance, Rs.30; total Rs.330. At this time Assistant Surgeons only were still eligible for employment in Civil Stations, with a few exceptions.*

In Nov., 1863, an allowance of fifty rupees per month for attendance on the police, in all stations where the police reserve exceeded 150 men, was sanctioned by the Government of Bengal. This allowance was discontinued a few years later.

By Bengal Govt. Resolution of 24th Nov., 1868, republished in *I.M.D.Circs.* as No. 75 of 8th Dec., 1868, Civil Surgeons were placed in executive charge of District Jails, as Superintendents, with an allowance varying from Rs.50 to Rs.100 a month, according to the capacity of the jail, in most cases the larger amount. This example was before long followed by the other provinces.

Mily. Letter No. 340 of 7th Nov., 1864, from the Secretary of State for India, published in India as G.G.O., No. 1060, of 23rd Dec., 1864, lays down new rates of pay for all ranks, for medical charge of regiments in clause 28, and for unemployed pay in clause 29; I.G.'s, Rs.2500; D.I.G.'s, whether of the British

* See Chap. XVI, *Military and Civil.*

or Indian Service, Rs.1800. The rates for other ranks are shown in the table below, where the second column shows the scale of pay previously in force; the third the new scale of unemployed pay introduced by clause 29, and the fourth and fifth the new scale, granted by clause 28, for medical charge of a regiment.*

Rank.	Previous scale, charge of Regiment.	New scale, unemployed.	New scale, charge of Regiment.	Horse Allowance with Cavalry.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Surgeon Major, 25 years	674	888	1000	90
do. 20 years	,,	852	,,	,,
Surgeon, 15 years .	,,	677	800	,,
do. 10 years .	,,	640	,,	,,
Asst. Surgeon, 10 years	525	410	600	60
do. 6 years	390	392	,,	,,
do. 5 years	,,	304	,,	,,
do. Under 5 years	,,	286	450	,,

Fractions of a rupee are omitted in the table.

The new scale of unemployed pay gave a large increase to all medical officers employed on detached duty, away from their corps; the highest pay hitherto granted in such cases having been Rs.415. This scale of unemployed pay remained in force for over twenty years, until Feb., 1885. The two lowest rates were the cause of much dissatisfaction, and of a widely spread agitation, in 1882–84.†

The pay of all Medical Appointments, Military and Civil, in all three Presidencies, is definitely laid down in G.G.O., No. 370, of 4th April, 1867.

"*Indian Medical Service. Revised Salaries. G.G.O. No. 370, of 4th April,* 1867.

"In continuation of Government General Order No. 1060, of 23d December 1864, and in accordance with instructions received from the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India, His Excellency the Governor General in Council is pleased to lay down the following revised scale of consolidated salaries for Officers of Her Majesty's Indian Medical Service.

"2. The number of Medical Officers allowed for each Presidency town with its immediate suburbs, and the allotment of duties amongst them, are based on the recommendations of the Commission appointed to take this subject into consideration; but it will be open to the Local Governments to modify the proposed allotment of duties, in such manner as from time to time may seem most desirable, with reference to the convenience of the service, provided the prescribed number of Officers and the aggregate of salaries is not exceeded.

* The Secretary of State's Letter of 7th Nov., 1764, is given in full in Chap. XXXVII, *The Crown succeeds the Company.*

† See Chap. XXXVIII, 1865 to 1896.

"3. The appointments of Presidency Surgeons in Calcutta will eventually cease to exist, the duties being performed by the several Medical Officers holding appointments at the Presidency who are not debarred from private practice. These Officers will be required to attend those servants of Government entitled to gratuitous aid, who may seek their services, and also to serve in rotation as members of Standing and other Medical Committees.

"4. Present incumbents of these or other appointments which it is proposed to abolish or absorb, will not necessarily be affected at present, and during the gradual introduction of the new arrangements, the cases of any medical officers who are unable to take up the whole of the duties assigned to them, will be individually and specially considered.

"5. Officers holding the appointments marginally noted, are debarred private practice.

Principals of Medical Colleges.
Resident Medical Officers in Hospitals and Colleges.
Secretaries, and Statistical Officers to Inspectors General.
Secretaries, Sanitary Commissioners.
Examiners, Medical Accounts.

This rule will not, however be enforced in the case of any present incumbents who may have received authoritative permission to engage in such private practice.

"6. Medical officers holding appointments at the Presidency, and not provided with public quarters, will be granted Presidency house-rent according to relative rank, and on the Scale granted to officers of the Staff Corps holding appointments at the Presidency towns. The grant of Presidency house-rent, however, is limited to salaries not exceeding Rupees 1400 per mensem.

"7. The allotment of Civil Stations and Residency charges to their respective classes will be notified hereafter.

"8. In order to render this scale of Indian Medical salaries more complete, the salaries of the administrative appointments and regimental charges already provided for in Government General Orders, No. 1060 of 1864 and No. 901 of 1866, have been included.

"9. Officers of the Indian Medical Service will be on the same footing as Military Staff Officers as regards pay and allowances to be drawn while absent on leave,—the pay of their rank as laid down in para 29 of Government General Order No. 1060 of 23rd December, 1864, being in all cases taken as the basis of the calculation of the moiety due to the absentee and to the officer officiating—present incumbents being allowed the privilege of receiving, during such absence, either the allowance thus due to them under the military Regulations under the revised scale of Regimental pay and Staff salary, or that to which they would have been entitled under the old scale both of pay and staff allowance.

"10. The scale of salaries now sanctioned will be brought into operation from the 15th of November, 1866, the date of the receipt of the instructions of the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State, and be made to apply in all cases where there is no reduction in the present aggregate salary.

"11. Present incumbents, whether drawing the whole * Regimental rate of pay with, or the new regimental rate of pay without, Staff salary, will have the option of retaining such rates, if more beneficial than those now ordered, except in cases where the salaries have been specially fixed pending the revision now brought into effect.

* The word *whole* seems to be a misprint for *old*.

"ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS.

Appointments.	Presidencies.	Salaries.			
		Surgeon Major.	Surgeon.	Asst. Surg. above 5 years.	Asst. Surg. under 5 years.
Inspector General	Bengal	Rs.2700			
do.	N. W. Provinces				
do.	Madras	Rs.2500			
do.	Bombay				
Deputy Inspector General	All Presidencies	Rs.1800			
Secretary to the Inspector General	Bengal	Rs. 1400	Rs. 1200	Rs. 1000	Rs. 850
Secretary and Statistical Officer to the Inspector General	Madras Bombay				
Statistical Officer to the Inspector General	Bengal	1250	1050	850	700
Secretary to the Sanitary Commr.	Bengal	1400	1200	1000	850
do. do.	Madras	1250	1050	850	700
do. do.	Bombay				

"MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.

Appointments.	Presidencies.	Salaries.			
		Surgeon Major.	Surgeon.	Asst. Surg. above 5 years.	Asst. Surg. under 5 years.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Principal Medical Storekeeper and Professor of Materia Medica in the Medical College	Bengal	1400	1200	—	—
	Madras Bombay	1250	1050	850	700
Garrison Surgeon, Fort William	Bengal	1200	1200	—	—
ditto. Allahabad	,,	1200	1000	—	—
Garrison Surgeons at other Stations	All Presidencies	1050	850	650	500
Garrison Asst. Surgeons when in substantive charge	do.	—	—	650	500
Garrison Asst. Surgeons when under a Surgeon	do.	—	—	600	450
Staff Surgeon and Medical Storekeeper	do.	1200	1000	800	650
Medical charge of a Native Regiment (with horse allowance in Cavalry Regiments of Rs. 90 for a Surgeon Major or Surgeon, and Rs. 60 for an Asst. Surgeon)	do.	1000	800	600	450
Charge of a Stud Depot or Remount Agency, when a substantive charge	do.	As Regimental charge			
Examiner of Medical Accounts	do.	A Staff salary of Rs. 400 per mensem with unemployed pay of rank			
Surgeon to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India, with medical charge of Head Quarters Staff and Establishments	do.	1000	1000	1000	1000

"CIVIL APPOINTMENTS.

Appointments.	Presidencies.	Salaries.			
		Surgeon Major.	Surgeon.	Asst. Surg. over 5 years.	Asst. Surg. under 5 years.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Principal of Medical College, Professor of Medicine, and first Physician of College Hospital	Bengal	1800	1800	—	—
Principal of Medical College, Professor of Medicine, and Physician to General Hospital	Madras	1600	1600	—	—
Principal of Medical College, Professor of Medicine, and Physician, Jamsetjee Jheejheebhoy Hospital	Bombay	1600	1600	—	—
Full Professorships in Medical College, with conjoint Presidency duties, viz.:					
Second Physician, College Hospital, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence, Surgeon to the Mint and Customs					
Senior Surgeon, College Hospital, Professor of Surgery					
Second Surgeon, College Hospital, and Professor of Anatomy	Bengal				
Ophthalmic Surgeon, Marine Surgeon, and Professor of Ophthalmic Surgery					
Obstretic Physician, Professor of Midwifery, and Superintendent of Vaccination					
Chemical Examiner and Professor of Chemistry					
Surgeon of the General Hospital and Professor of Surgery in the Medical College		1250	1050	850	700
First Surgeon with Port and Marine duties and Professor of Anatomy in the Medical College					
Ophthalmic Surgeon, Professor of Ophthalmic Surgery and Physiology	Madras				
Superintendent of Lying-in Hospital, Professor of Midwifery and Surgeon to the Penitentiary					
Second Physician to Jamsetjee Jheejheebhoy Hospital, and Professor of Physiology in the Medical College					
Senior Surgeon to Jamsetjee Jheejheebhoy Hospital, with Medical charge of the Byculla Schools, and Professor of Surgery in the Medical College	Bombay				

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS—(*continued*).

Appointments.	Presidencies.	Salaries.			
		Surgeon Major.	Surgeon.	Asst. Surg. over 5 years.	Asst. Surg. under 5 years.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Full Professorships in Medical College, etc. (*cont.*)—					
Second Surgeon to Jamsetjee Jheejheebhoy Hospital, Surgeon to the Coroner and Professor of Anatomy Chemical Analyser to Government and Professor of Chemistry Oculist, Professor of Ophthalmic Surgery, with medical charge of the Jail and House of Correction	Bombay	1250	1050	850	700
Minor Professorships, viz., Botany, Hygiene, Dental Surgery, Medical Jurisprudence and Comparative Anatomy (provided the aggregate salary of the officers holding the post as an extra charge does not exceed that of a full professorship with attached duties)	All Presidencies	Rs. 200 Staff salary			
Resident Physician, College Hospital, and Professor of Pathology Resident Surgeon, College Hospital, and Professor of Physiology	Bengal	—	—	800	800
Surgeon of the General Hospital	Bengal Bombay	1250	1050	—	—
do. do.					
Senior Asst. Surgeon, General Hospital, with attached duties	Bengal	—	—	900	900
Junior Asst. Surgeon, General Hospital, with attached duties	do.	—	—	800	800
Asst. Surgeon, General Hospital, in charge of out-patients and Professor of Pathology, Medical College	Madras	—	—	800	800
Asst. Surgeon, General Hospital, and Professor of Pathology, Medical College	Bombay	—	—	800	800
Principal, Lahore Medical School, and Professor of Surgery and Medicine	Bengal	1400	1200	—	—
Professor of Chemistry and Botany in Lahore Medical School, and Chemical Examiner, Panjab	do.	1250	1050	850	700
Chemical Examiner, N.W. Provinces	do.	1050	850	650	500
District Surgeons with attached duties, viz.:					
First District. Inspector of Emigrants, Surgeon to Native Infirmary, Leper Hospital, Idiot Asylum, and Black Town Dispensary	Madras	1050	850	650	500

CIVIL APPOINTMENTS—(*continued*).

Appointments.	Presidencies.	Salaries.			
		Surgeon Major.	Surgeon.	Asst. Surg. over 5 years.	Asst. Surgeon under 5 years.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
District Surgeons with attached duties (*cont.*)—					
Second District. Surgeon to Female Orphan and Lunatic Asylums, Gunpowder and Guncarriage Factories, and Vepery Dispensary Third District. Surgeon to Male Orphan Asylum and Chintadripet Dispensary Fourth District. With charge of Triplicane Dispensary	Madras				
Presidency Surgeons, with Professorships and attached duties, viz.: First Presidency Surgeon and Professor of Medical Jurisprudence Second Presidency Surgeon and Professor of Midwifery Third Presidency Surgeon, Garrison and Marine Surgeon, with charge of Officers' Hospital	Bombay	1050	850	650	500
Medical Superintendent at Aden	Bombay	1200	1200	—	—
do. do. at Port Blair	Madras				
Surgeon to the Lunatic Asylum .	Bombay	1050	850	650	500
Surgeon to the Viceroy and Governor-General	Bengal	1200	1200	1200	1200
Surgeon to the Governor, with Medical charge of the Body Guard	Madras Bombay	1000	1000	1000	1000
Superintendents General of Vaccination	All Presidencies	1250	1050	850	700
Superintendent of Vaccination .	do.	950	750	550	400
Medical charge of first-class Civil Stations	All Presidencies	1050	850	650	500
do. do. second-class do. (With an extra allowance for charge of Lunatic Asylums, Colleges, or Administrative charge of Jails, which will be fixed in the Civil Department).	do.	950	750	550	400
Residency Surgeons . .	do.	As first or second class Civil Surgeons.			

"ALLOWANCES FOR ADDITIONAL CHARGES (ALL PRESIDENCIES),

Medical charge of an extra native regiment . . . . . Rs 100

" " of an extra wing of a Native regiment, or of a detachment, consisting numerically of not less than a wing Rs 75

" " of a Civil Station by a Regimental Medical Officer, or of a Regiment by a Civil Surgeon, in addition to his own duty Rs 100

"ALLOWANCES FOR EXTRA CHARGES (ALL PRESIDENCIES).
Payable wholly to the Officer in actual performance of the Duty.

Medical charge of a Store Depot	Rs 100
do. do. of a Stud Depot	Rs 50
do. do. of Divisional Staff	Rs 100
do. do. of Brigade or Station Staff	Rs 30
do. do. of a Lock Hospital, first class	Rs 100
do. do. do. do. second class	Rs 50

The Royal Warrant of 1873 made no change in the rates of pay. Govt. of India, Mily. Dept., Order No. 442 of 10th April, 1874, quoted in *I.M.D. Circ.*, No. 12 of 22nd April, 1874, gives the following rates as full pay and unemployed pay. The rate shown as full pay is intermediate between that of an officer in medical charge of a regiment, in the lower ranks, as shown above, and the unemployed scale.

"I am to state that the Royal Warrant changed only the designation of medical officers, without affecting their pay and relative rank. The medical officers in receipt of grade pay under the rules of 1864, quoted in the margin (G.O.G.G. No. 507 of 20th June, 1869, G.G.O. No. 1060 of 23rd December, 1864), should be paid according to the following scale, taken from these orders, and adapted to the new designations.

Per month.	Full pay. R. A. P.	Unemployed pay. R. A. P.
Surgeon Major, 25 years	1093 2 0	888 12 0
do. 20 ,,	1056 9 7	852 3 7
do. 15 ,,	825 11 5	677 6 11
do. under 15 years	789 3 0	640 14 6
Surgeon, 10 years	451 14 5	410 9 5
do. 6 ,,	433 10 2	392 5 2
do. 5 ,,	335 12 2	304 14 2
do. under 5 years	317 8 0	286 10 0

The agitation about unemployed pay in 1882–84 had some effect.* Clause 16 of *I.A.C.*, dated 6th Feb., 1885, notifies that an officer of the I.M.S., when holding no specific appointment, will be granted the rates of pay drawn by officers of the A.M.D. The general effect was to raise the rate of unemployed pay for junior officers by thirty rupees a month, from Rs.286. 10. 0. to Rs.317. 8. 0. By clause 47, *I.A.C.*, of 20th May, 1885, the word *officer* in the Circular of 6th Feb., was changed to *Surgeon*. Clause 16 runs as follows:—

"Under instructions from Her Majesty's Government, the Governor General in Council is pleased to notify that in future an officer of the Indian Medical Service when holding no specific appointment, will be allowed the rates of pay drawn by officers of the Army Medical Department.

* See Chap. XXXVIII, 1865 to 1896.

" When holding any appointment, permanent or acting, he will draw either the consolidated pay fixed for that appointment, or unemployed pay to be designated in future ' grade pay '), with full or half salary or charge allowance, under existing rules, provided the total be not less than the grade pay laid down in Article 301, Army Regulations, India, Volume I, Part I."

The rates of pay then stood as follows :—

	In charge of regiment.	When not holding an appointment carrying higher pay.
	Rs.	R. A. P.
Brigade Surgeon	1000 (*a*)	888 12 0
Surgeon Major, over 25 years . .	1000	888 12 0
do. over 20 ,, . .	1000	852 3 7
do. over 15 ,, . .	800	677 6 11
do. over 12 ,, . .	800	640 14 6

	In charge of regiment.	Not receiving staff allowance.	Receiving staff allowance in addition.
	Rs.	R. A. P.	R. A. P.
Surgeon, over 10 years . . .	600 (*b*)	451 14 5	410 9 5
do. over 6 ,, . . .	600	433 10 2	392 5 2
do. over 5 ,, . . .	600	335 12 2	304 14 2
do. under 5 ,, . . .	450	317 8 0	286 10 0

(*a*) Plus Rs.90 horse allowance in cavalry regiments.
(*b*) Plus Rs.60 do. do. in do. do.

New rates of pay were granted in 1897, which gave an increase to officers of the rank of Brigade Surgeon-Lieut.-Colonel, and also to all under the rank of Surgeon-Major, the rates being as follows :—

	In charge of regiment.	When not holding an appointment carrying higher pay.
	Rs.	R. A. P.
Brigade Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel . .	1100 (*a*)	900 0 0
Surgeon Lieut.-Colonel . . .	1000	25 years . 888 12 0 20 ,, . 852 3 7
Surgeon Major	800	15 ,, . 677 6 11 12 ,, . 640 14 6

	In charge of regiment.	Not receiving staff allowance.	Receiving staff allowance in addition.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Surgeon Captain, over 10 years . .	600 (*b*)	500	450
do. over 5 ,, . .	600	450	400
do. under 5 ,, . .	450	350	300

(*a*) Plus Rs.90 horse allowance in cavalry regiments.
(*b*) Plus Rs.60 do. do. in do. do.

A considerable increase of pay was given to all ranks in military employment in 1903, by Not. No. 1047, by the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept., dated 23rd Oct., 1903. The new rates of pay are shown in the table below. Unemployed pay was drawn by officers of under seven years' service, not holding officiating or substantive charges. Officers of over seven years' service drew grade pay when unemployed. Staff pay is the pay of a command or charge, and is drawn in addition to grade pay. Officers serving in cavalry regiments also draw horse allowance, field officers ninety rupees, officers of lower rank sixty rupees per month.

	Unemployed pay.	Grade pay.	Staff pay.	Officiating charge of regiment.	Substantive charge of regiment.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Lieutenant . .	420	350	150	425	500
Captain . .	475	400	150	475	550
do. over 5 years	475	450	150	525	600
do. over 7 years	—	500	150	575	650
do. over 10 years	—	550	150	625	700
Major . . .	—	650	150	725	800
do. over 15 years	—	750	150	825	900
Lt.-Colonel . .	—	900	350	1075	1250
do. over 25 years	—	900	400	1100	1300
do. on selected list	—	1000	400	1200	1400

Grade pay and staff pay together make up the pay given for substantive medical charge of a regiment, grade pay and half staff pay that given for officiating charge.

Since 1864 the pay of a substantive Civil Surgeon has varied only slightly from that of a medical officer in substantive charge of a regiment. The officers holding first-class Civil or Residency Surgeoncies, comparatively few in number, draw fifty rupees a month more, those holding second-class appointments, the great majority, fifty rupees a month less, than officers of the same length of service who hold substantive medical charge of regiments.

Certain Civil Stations used to be classified as first-class, and the substantive holders of these Civil Surgeoncies, whatever their length of service, were first-class Civil Surgeons. In the last few years of the nineteenth century this system was changed, by the orders of the Govt. of India, Home Dept.: for the N.W.P. and Oudh by Order No. 725 of 27th Aug., 1896; for Bengal by

Order No. 910 of 19th Oct., 1896, republished in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1896, pages 10 and 19. The same change had been made in the Panjab nearly twenty years earlier, by Govt. of India, Home Dept., Resolution No. 2575 of 12th July, 1879, republished in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1879, p. 87. Under the new system the first-class Civil Surgeoncies were made personal, instead of being dependent on station. When a vacancy occurred as a first-class Civil Surgeon, a second-class Civil Surgeon was promoted to the first-class, and gazetted as such, subsequently retaining his grade and pay as a first-class Civil Surgeon, wherever he might be posted.

When the pay of medical officers in military employ was raised in 1903, no corresponding increase was at first granted to those in civil employ, who formed the majority of the Service. The question of raising the civil rates of pay was under consideration for a long period, over a year. Finally, by the issue of Govt. of India, Home Dept., Resolution No. 361–75 Medical, of 17th April, 1905, republished in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1905, pp. 6–11, the pay of medical officers in civil employ was brought into the same relation with that of those in military employ as before; *i.e.* first-class Civil Surgeons drawing fifty rupees a month more, second-class fifty rupees a month less, than their contemporaries in regiments. As this increase was given with a year's retrospective effect, from 1st April, 1904, the officers in civil employ were really only six months later in getting it than those in the army.

"*Revised rates of pay of officers of the Indian Medical Service employed in the Civil Department.*

"*Resolution Nos.* 361–375 *Medical, dated* 17th *April,* 1905, *by the Government of India, Home Department.*

"By the orders contained in the Military Department Notification No. 1047, dated the 23 October, 1903, the pay of officers of the Indian Medical Service in military employ was raised. In connection with this decision the Government of India have carefully examined, in communication with local Governments, the question of the adequacy of the rates of pay of officers of that service in civil employment. The Secretary of State's orders on their proposals have now been received, and the Governor General in Council is pleased to notify the conclusion arrived at for the information of the service.

"2. The scale of pay attached to the appointments, the emoluments of which are or will in future be determined by the military pay of the officers holding them, has been revised in the manner shewn in Schedule A. The consolidated pay of the appointments shewn in Schedule B has also been

SCHEDULE A.

Appointment.	Government or Province.	Monthly salaries and allowances.									
		Lieut.-Colonel specially selected for increased pay.	Lieut.-Colonel after 25 years' service.	Lieut.-Colonel.	Major, after 3 years' service.	Major.	Captain, after 10 years' service.	Captain, after 7 years' service.	Captain, after 5 years' service.	Captain.	Lieutenant.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Civil or Agency Surgeon, 1st class	All provinces	1450	1350	1300	950	850	750	700	650	600	550
Presidency Surgeon, 2nd and 3rd Districts	Bombay										
Civil or Agency Surgeon, 2nd class	—	1350	1250	1200	850	750	650	600	550	500	450
Professorial appointments at the towns of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Lahore	Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Panjab	1650	1550	1500	1150	1050	950	900	850	800	750
Principal, Grant Medical College ††	Bombay	1650 +150†	1550 +150†	1500* +150†	1150 +150†	1050 +150†					
Principal, Lahore Medical College††	Panjab	1800	1700	1650	1300	1200					
Deputy Sanitary Commissioners	Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Panjab, United Provinces, Burma	1400* +100†	1300* +100†	1250* +100†	900* +100†	800* +100†	700 +100†	650* +100†	600* +100†	550* +100†	500* +100†
		1500	1400	1350	1000	900	800	750	700	650	600
Probationary Chemical Examiners ¶	—	—	—	—	—	—	700* +50†	650* +50†	600* +50†	550* +50†	500* +50†
							750	700	650	600	550
Bacteriological Appointments	Burma, Bombay, Bengal, Panjab, United Proves.	1000‡ +600†	900‡ +600†	900‡ +600†	750‡ +400†	650‡ +400†	550‡ +350†	500‡ +350†	450‡ +350†	400‡ +300†	350‡ +300†
Superintendent, King Institute	Madras	1600	1500	1500	1150	1050	900	850	800	700	650
Superintendents, Central Lunatic Asylums	Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Panjab, Burma	1000‡ +550†	900‡ +550†	900‡ +500†	750‡ +400†	650‡ +400†	550‡ +350†	500‡ +350†	450‡ +350†	400‡ +300†	350‡ +300†
		1550	1450	1400	1150	1050	900	850	800	700	650

Personal Assistant to Surgeon General	Madras Bombay	—	—	—	—	800* +100†	700* +100†	650* +100†	600* +100†	550* +100†	500* +100†
						900	800	750	700	650	600
Surgeon, Gokuldas Tejpal Hosp.‖ Physician, St. George's Hospital ‖	Bombay	1650	1550	1500	1150	1050					
Port Health Officer ‖ . . .	Bombay	1450 +500§	1350 +500§	1300 +500§	950 +500§	850 +400§					
		1950	1850	1800	1450	1250					
Port Surgeon, Aden ‖ . . .	Bombay	1450 +150§	1350 +150§	1300 +150§	950 +150§	850 +150§					
		1600	1500	1450	1100	1000					
Resident Surgeon, Medical College, Calcutta	Bengal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	600*	550*	500*
Port Health Officer, Calcutta .	Bengal	1450 +200†	1350 +200†	1300 +200†	950 +200†	850 +200†	750 +200†	700 +200†	650 +200†	600 +200†	550 +200†
		1650	1550	1500	1150	1050	950	900	850	800	750
Resident Medical Officer, General Hospital, Rangoon	Burma	1000‡ +200§ +150**	900‡ +200§ +150**	900‡ +200§ +150**	750‡ +200§ +150**	650‡ +200§ +150**	550‡ +200§ +150**	500‡ +200§ +150**	450‡ +200§ +150**	400‡ +200§ +150**	350‡ +200§ +150**
		1350	1250	1250	1100	1000	900	850	800	750	700
Secretary to the Director General, I.M.S.	Govt. of India	1000‡ +600†	900‡ +600†	900‡ +600†	750‡ +600†	650‡ +600†	550‡ +600†	500‡ +600†	450‡ +600†	400‡ +600†	350‡ +600†
		1600	1500	1500	1350	1250	1150	1100	1050	1000	950
Statistical Officer to the Govt. of India, Sanitary and Medical Departments	Govt. of India	1000‡ +500†	900‡ +500†	900‡ +500†	750‡ +500†	650‡ +500†	550‡ +500†	500‡ +500†	450‡ +500†	400‡ +500†	350‡ +500†
		1500	1400	1400	1250	1150	1050	1000	950	900	850

* Consolidated military pay. † Staff allowance. †† These appointments are not ordinarily filled by officers below the rank of Major.
¶ These appointments are not ordinarily filled by officers above the rank of Captain. ‡ Military Grade pay.
‖ These appointments are not ordinarily held by officers below the rank of Major. § Local allowance. ** Police allowance.

revised. Neither schedule includes appointments in the Jail Department, regarding which orders will be issued hereafter. In view of the unavoidable delay that has occurred in dealing with this complicated question, the Secretary of State has agreed, as a special concession, that the revised rates of pay shall take effect from the 1st April, 1904. In any case where the changes now sanctioned may result in reducing the emoluments of an appointment they will not be introduced until it has been vacated by the present incumbent.

"3. It has further been decided, with the approval of the Secretary of State, that the allowance of Rs.200 per mensem granted under the General Order No. 370 of 1867 for the charge of certain minor professorships shall, in the case of future incumbents, be treated as a local allowance. The allowances of officers hereafter appointed to officiate in such appointments will be regulated by the new scale."

SCHEDULE B.

Appointment.	Government or Province.	Monthly Salaries.
Inspector General of Civil Hospitals .	Bengal	Rs. 2500
	Panjab, Burma	2250
Sanitary Commissioners . . .	Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Panjab	1500–60–1800
First Resident Surgeon, General Hospital, Calcutta	Bengal	1000
Second Resident Surgeon, General Hospital, Calcutta . . .	Bengal	800

In the second clause of the order of 17th April, 1905, it is stated that the scale of pay for officers in the jail department would be issued later. The increased rates given to those officers were notified by Govt. of India, Home Dept., Resolution No. 180–192, Jails, dated 28th Sept., 1905, and republished in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1905, pp. 27, 28. These officers also got the increase with retrospective effect from April, 1904. The rates of pay in the Jail Department are decidedly higher than those in the regular line, the Superintendent of a second-class Central Jail drawing the pay of a first-class Civil Surgeon, if a first-class Central Jail one hundred rupees a month more, in each rank. The Superintendent of a Central Jail also gets a free house, which may be considered equivalent to another hundred rupees a month.

" Rates of pay of officers of the Indian Medical Service employed in the Jail Department.

" Resolution by the Government of India, Home Department, Nos. 182–192 Jails, dated the 28th September, 1905.

" In paragraph 2 of the Home Department Resolution No. 361–375, dated the 17th April, 1905, which announced the decision to increase the emoluments of officers of the Indian Medical Service in Civil employ, the Government of India stated that orders regarding the pay of appointments in the Jail Department held by officers of that service would be issued later on.

" 2. The Government of India have now received the final orders of the Secretary of State on this subject, and are pleased to notify that the following scale of consolidated pay has been sanctioned for officers of the Indian Medical Service employed in the Jail Department :—

Inspector General of Prisons,	Madras . .	1800–50–2000
,, ,, ,,	Bombay . .	1800–50–2000
,, ,, ,,	Bengal . .	2000
,, ,, ,,	Panjab . .	1800
,, ,, ,,	United Provinces .	1800–50–2000
,, ,, ,,	Burma . .	1800
,, ,, ,,	Central Provinces and Berar . .	1500

	Supt. 1st Class, Central Jail.	Supt. 2nd Class, Central Jail.
Lieutenant Colonel (specially selected for increased pay)	1550	1450
Lieutenant Colonel, after 25 years' service . .	1450	1350
Lieutenant Colonel	1400	1300
Major, after three years' service . . .	1050	950
Captain, after ten years' service . . .	850	750
,, seven ,, ...	800	700
,, five ,, ...	750	650
Captain	700	600
Lieutenant	650	550

" 3. The Secretary of State has further decided—

" (1) That the scale will take effect from the 1st April, 1904.

" (2) That officers already in the department may choose between the existing and the new scale, also with retrospective effect.

" (3) That when the present pay of officers choosing the new scale is in excess of that therein laid down, they may continue to draw their present salary until they become entitled to an increase under the new scale."

Further orders about the Jail Dept. were published in Circ. No. 3C of 16th October, 1908, from the Director-General,

I.M.D. Circs. for 1908, pp. 38–40; which adds to the above list the post of I.G. in Eastern Bengal and Assam, on Rs.1800 a month.

Specialist Pay.—This pay was granted to qualified and selected officers by Indian Army Order No. 433 of 1905, published in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1905, pp. 18–20.

"*Appointment of Specialists in the Medical Department. India Army Order No.* 433 *of* 1905.

Military Department No. 2457D, dated 3rd June, 1905.

"In supersession of all previous instructions the Government of India have sanctioned the provisional adoption of the following rules for the grant of specialist pay to officers of the Royal Army Medical Corps and Indian Medical Service.

"*General.*

"(1) Specialist pay is an allowance to officers below the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel for special sanitary or medical work done for the State, which it is not in the power of the ordinary medical officer to perform with the same efficiency as the specialist. It will not be a personal allowance; but will be granted only to the incumbents of certain specified appointments.

"(2) Specialist pay will not be given to officers of the Indian Medical Service in civil employ.

"(3) The services of specialists are absolutely at the disposal of Government in any way they may direct, without further claim for remuneration.

"(4) Except in connection with dental appointments the duties of all specialist appointments must be carried out in addition to ordinary hospital duties.

"*Qualifications.*

"(5) Officers of the Royal Army Medical Corps in India will be eligible for appointment as specialists under the qualifications laid down by the Army Council for the Royal Army Medical Corps.

"(6) The eligibility of an officer of the Indian Medical Service for specialist pay will be decided by the Director General, Indian Medical Service, whose decision will be based either on certificates of a recognised institution, or by examination of the candidate. An officer may qualify as a specialist at any period of his service. The allowance will be admissible to any officer who is in a position actually to perform the duties for which it is granted.

"*Appointments.*

"(7) There shall be 105 appointments in India for which specialist pay at Rs.60 per month shall be granted. Of these appointments 55 will belong to the Royal Army Medical Corps and 50 to the Indian Medical Service in military employ. Selection for appointments will be made under the orders of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

" (8) The following appointments will carry specialist pay :—

Character of appointment.	Special branch of science.	Distribution.	Number.
Prevention of disease	(*a*) Public Health (*b*) Parasitology (including bacteriology)	2 to each laboratory established at the headquarter stations of Divisions or Brigades	44
Medicine and Surgery	(*c*) Dermatology (including syphilis)*	1 per Division	30
	(*d*) Operative Surgery	1 do.	
	(*e*) Fevers	1 do.	
Physical Science	(*f*) Electricity (including skiagraphy)	1 do.	10
Diseases of special regions	(*g*) Dental Surgery *	1 do.	16
	(*h*) Ophthalmology	1 per command	
	(*i*) Otology, Laryngology, Rhinology	1 do.	
Mental Science	(*j*) Psychological Medicine	All India	2
Diseases of women and children	(*k*) Midwifery and diseases of women and children	ditto	3

" (9) Should no officer of one service be qualified for any special service, an officer of the other service may be appointed, but the total proportions should be restored at the first opportunity."

Since 1905 some other orders on the subject of specialist pay have been issued, but the changes made are of little importance.

Exchange Compensation Allowance is given to officers of the superior Services in India, recruited in England, who are not statutory natives of India. The allowance consists of an addition to their salaries of half the difference between their salaries converted at one and sixpence to the rupee, and the average market rate for each quarter. Practically it comes to twopence additional for each rupee, up to half the full salary. It is not given on allowances, as distinct from pay proper. Exchange compensation allowance was first sanctioned by Govt. of India, Finance and Commerce Dept., Resolution No. 3624A, of 18th Aug., 1893, republished in *I.A.C.*, clause 118 of 1st Sept., 1893.

Pay of the A.M.D. in India.—A Madras G.O. of 18th Aug., 1785, directs that Surgeons and Surgeons' Mates of His Majesty's regiments in India are to receive the same allowances as the Company's Medical Officers.†

* Appointments open to the Royal Army Medical Corps only.

† *M.P.L.*, No. 2139 of 18th Aug. 1785 ; *Mily. G.O.*, Vol. V, p. 59.

The *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board of 24th April, 1798, contain a Minute of Council of 6th April, 1798, directing that Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons of His Majesty's regiments of Cavalry and Infantry are to receive King's pay, and that all allowances for medicines and hospital expenses, and perquisites of all sorts, are to be stopped; medicines to be supplied by the Apothecary General. The following regulations about pay and pension are quoted from a Royal Warrant of 30th Nov., 1796.

"Surgeons, Cavalry, 12 shillings a day.
do. Infantry, 10 shillings a day.
"Surgeons to rank as Captains, and to receive a pension of five shillings a day after twenty years' service.
"Surgeons' Mates, to be appointed by Commissions, and to be denominated Asst. Surgeons instead of Mates. Pay, five shillings a day in peace at home; seven shillings and sixpence abroad or on war service; Rank, that of subaltern."

In spite of this warrant, the grade of Hospital Mate existed in the A.M.D. until abolished by the Royal Warrant of 29th July, 1830.*

A Letter from Court, dated 13th May, 1829, para. 3, published in Bombay G.O. of 23rd Sept., 1829, directs that Deputy Inspectors of Hospitals of H.M.'s Forces are to receive Rs.1838 per month, inclusive of all allowances, except the travelling *batta* of major when travelling on duty.

Practice.—The right of Medical Officers serving in India to take private practice has always been acknowledged. Since the earliest times, the medical officers holding certain appointments, especially some of those in the Presidency towns, have made large incomes by private practice, and the hope of getting one of these appointments has always been one of the chief attractions of the Service.

The fact that the medical officers in Calcutta were not only allowed, but expected, to make money by private practice, is stated in a Letter from Court dated 22nd Feb., 1764, para. 119.†

"You inform us you have appointed two additional Surgeons at Calcutta, to succeed to the office of Principal Surgeons when those we have already nominated shall have been provided for; that some further assistance is necessary on account of the increased number of persons in our service, Civil and Military, we cannot but admit; but with respect to

* See Chap. XVII, *Rank*.
† Extracted in Long's *Selections*, No. 748, p. 376.

the inhabitants, they most certainly ought to reward the Physicians who attend them at their own expense. We allow therefore of your said appointments on these conditions however that they are to be deemed assistants only, and that their allowances from the Company shall be proportionately less than the Principal Surgeons."

The right of Medical Officers in India to take private practice was definitely acknowledged in 1773 by Act XIII., George III., *cap.* 63, section 25.

Section 24 provides that—

"No person holding a civil or a military office under the Crown shall accept any donation or gratuity."

Section 25 makes the following exceptions:—

"Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that nothing herein contained shall extend or be constructed to extend, to prohibit or prevent any person or persons who shall carry on or exercise the profession of a counsellor at law, a physician, or a surgeon, or being a chaplain, from accepting taking or receiving any fees, gratuities, or rewards in the way of their profession."

This right to private practice has always been, and still is admitted, in the case of all officers of the I.M.S., except those who hold certain appointments in which the right to practise is definitely withdrawn. Such appointments are not very numerous, and in all or almost all cases are appointments of such a kind that private practice would be incompatible with their tenure. The chief are, all administrative appointments; appointments in departments outside the regular line, such as the Mint; scientific appointments, and resident appointments in large hospitals. It is only within the last half-century that administrative officers have been forbidden to practise. The Cornwallis Regulations of 1788 * grant the pay and allowances of Presidency Surgeons, paid by the Civil Department, to the members of the Medical Board, in addition to their pay as administrative officers, paid by the Military Department, expressly upon the ground that on these officers, selected as the most experienced and the ablest members of the Service, would fall the greater part of the labour of medical attendance upon the servants of Government. But, prior to the abolition of the Medical Boards, the line between administrative and executive appointments was drawn much less definitely than it is now.

* See Chap. XVI, *Military and Civil.*

As an instance of the fact that, in the first half of the nineteenth century, A.M.O.'s were not debarred from private practice, it is stated in *The Life and Letters of Sir John Hall, K.C.B.*, by S. M. Mitra (p. 174), that when Hall was sent out to the Cape as D.I.G. in 1846, he practised his profession there as a matter of course. From the Cape Hall was transferred to India, as P.M.O., Bombay, in 1851. On 23rd March, 1854, he was promoted to I.G., and appointed P.M.O. in the Crimea. He received the K.C.B. on 4th Feb., 1856. He was, of course, an officer of the A.M.D., not of the I.M.S.

Few men seem to have made much by the practice of their profession in early times. The *Bombay Cons.* of 9th Oct., 1742 contain a letter from the Bombay Surgeons, John Neilson and Michael Weston, in which they say that there is little or no native practice in Bombay, and that no Surgeon, except Mr. Dyer, had ever gone home with much over £500. Richard Dyer was only about five years in India. He was Surgeon at Bombay from Jan., 1716, to Nov., 1720.

Sir John Dalling, Commander-in-Chief at Madras, in his minute of 22nd Nov., 1785, quoted above, makes a contribution to this subject. Another member of Council, Mr. Daniell, stated that no medical officer at Madras had ever taken home a fortune of over £500. To this Sir John remarked that at least three had done so, Messrs. Briggs, Wilson, and Maule ; and went on to say that the only reason why others had not done the same was the extravagant way in which they had spent in India the money they had made.

Stephen Briggs was Surgeon-General of the Madras Army in 1761, and one of the Surgeons at Madras from 1764–71. Several Wilsons served in the Madras Medical Service in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The one referred to is evidently James Wilson, senior, who was appointed in 1749, and was Surgeon at Madras from 1751 till he retired on 1st Oct., 1763. Charles Maule served from 1753–71, most of that time as Surgeon, successively, at Masulipatam and Vizagapatam.

Several men have made a considerable amount of money in the nineteenth century, chiefly in the Presidency towns, especially Calcutta. But the amounts made by practice have usually been increased by successful speculation or investment, and in all or almost all cases have been greatly exaggerated by public report.

A Madras G.O. of 9th April, 1831, publishes the following order concerning medical attendance upon officers:—

"*Head Quarters, Choultry Plain, April* 9, 1831. A very erroneous construction having been put upon the General Orders dated 10th Nov., 1828, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief deems it necessary to observe, that it was not his intention by that order to confer on individuals a right to exact professional attendance other than that expressly provided for them, or to interfere with the established usage in the case of their selecting particular attendance; neither was it his intention to impose permanently on the medical officers of the establishment any duty foreign to that which their respective appointments in the civil or military department specially imply. The Commander-in-Chief merely intended by that order to warn medical officers, that when their services should be required on emergencies, or in consultation, they were to be cheerfully and readily rendered without reference to any consideration but the welfare of the patient and the good of the service."

During the last twenty years the Service has from time to time been agitated by what was known as the "Fee Question," *i.e.* the question of the fees charged, or chargeable, to ruling Indian Chiefs and other Indian gentlemen of rank and position. The first order on this subject was passed in 1893, but it was not until seven years later that the matter attracted much attention, either in or out of the Service. In 1900 and 1901 revised rules were published, which were the cause of considerable discussion and protest, both in India and in the professional journals in England. The regulations issued in 1901, and republished in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1902, pp. 53–56, are given below.

"*Rules regarding the remuneration of medical officers for attendance upon Native Chiefs and Nobles, and upon Native gentlemen of position in Native States.*

"Circular No. 3937 IA, dated the 28th October, 1901, from the Government of India, Foreign Department, to all Local Governments and Administrations.

"I am directed to address you on the subject of the rules regarding the remuneration of Medical Officers for attendance upon Native Chiefs and Nobles and upon Native gentlemen of position in Native States.

"2. The existing rules are contained in the Notification of the Government of India in the Home Department, No. 437, dated 25th July, 1893, as amended by the subsequent Notifications which are cited in the margin: By these orders a Local Government is required to satisfy itself that the fee offered is a reasonable and proper one. It also has authority to sanction the acceptance of a reasonable fee up to a maximum of Rs.2000; and where the fee proposed exceeds this sum, a reference is required to the Government of India.

No. 1930, dated the 8th October, 1900.
No. 852, dated the 12th June, 1901.

"3. Although these rules would appear to be sufficiently simple and precise, several cases have recently been submitted to the Governor General in Council which indicate (i) that much uncertainty exists as to what are reasonable and proper fees, and (ii) that Local Governments have, in some instances, failed to realize the importance of strictly scrutinizing and controlling the proposals made, and have, therefore, passed on, and occasionally even recommended for sanction, fees which the Government of India have been compelled to regard as excessive and improper. Upon the first point it is obviously impossible to lay down any precise principles or definite regulations, but the existing rules prescribe that fees should not be out of proportion to the relief afforded or to the circumstances of the case. It may be added that they should also not be out of proportion to the rank, position, and emoluments of the Medical Officer concerned; and though it may often be right that they should be liberal, they should not exceed, to an extent which may be deemed extravagant, the general standard of the fees which the Medical Officer accepts in his ordinary private practice. With regard to the second point, the Governor General in Council desires to take this opportunity of reminding Local Governments of the duty, that is imposed upon them by the rules, of closely investigating the proposals made, not only when they sanction the fees themselves, but also when they forward their suggestions for the orders of superior authority. It should be understood that they are not expected to refer for orders every case in which the fee offered or claimed exceeds Rs.2000, but only those cases in which they desire to recommend that the fee should exceed that amount. It is only by the strict and conscientious discharge of this duty by Local Governments that the Government of India can be relieved of the disagreeable necessity of intervening at a difficult stage, and under circumstances which are invidious to all concerned.

"4. As examples of fees that are considered excessive, I am to say that a case has recently been submitted to the Government of India, in which a fee of Rs.20,000 was under discussion, where a Civil Surgeon had operated on a Native Chief for cataract in one eye, and had remained in attendance upon him for a month. In another case, a Residency Surgeon asked permission to charge the Chief of the State in which he was employed a fee of Rs.1500 monthly, for attendance on his son for a period of 14 months, with a special fee of Rs.3000 for a simple operation. In a third instance, a Local Government recommended fees of Rs.1800 and Rs.1500 for a Residency Surgeon, who visited a neighbouring Chief on two occasions for six and five days, respectively, for purposes of consultation with the local Medical Officer. On another occasion the same Residency Surgeon charged a fee of Rs.6000 for an attendance of 11 days. In a fifth case, a Residency Surgeon asked for a large increase to his allowances for personal attendance on the Chief of the State in which he was posted, although the rules distinctly contemplate that in cases of this kind the initiative should come from the Chief himself. In a sixth case, it was proposed to pay a fee of Rs.15,000 to three officers of the Indian Medical Service who had simultaneously treated a Native Noble for delirium tremens for a period of three weeks. It is the wish of the Government of India that, in cases of this kind, the control of the Local Governments should be exercised with a keener sense of their responsibilities under the rules, and that claims which are manifestly extravagant should not be submitted to them until they have been reduced to reasonable dimensions.

"5. The Government of India desire it to be understood that in making the preceding observations, and in commenting on certain cases in which the moderation inculcated by the rules has not been observed, it is not their intention to bring any general charge against the officers of the medical profession, or to imply that the opportunities given to them of private practice in Native States are, as a general rule, abused. The standard of professional honour, that has always existed among the members of the Service, would alone negative any such imputation; and cases are known to the Government of India in which the professional relations of Medical Officers with Native Chiefs have been characterized by a more than punctilious generosity. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the cases brought to notice in this letter, which are all of recent occurrence, indicate that there are instances in which a clearer understanding of the objects and wishes of the Government of India is desirable; and it is in the hope of preventing the recurrence of similar incidents that these general instructions are issued.

"6. I am to request that the observations contained in this letter may be communicated to all Medical Officers."

In spite of the assurance given by Government in the fifth clause of the above circular, that they had no wish to bring any general charge against the officers of the I.M.S., it can hardly be denied that these rules cast a slur on the Service as a whole. It must be admitted that cases have occurred of exorbitant charges, and of pecuniary demands larger than was just or right. But the obvious way to treat such cases would be to deal with each upon its merits, not to cast an unmerited stigma upon the whole Service, most of the members of which had no concern in the matter, while the individual offender got off scot free. While the whole Service undoubtedly felt that a slur was cast upon them by the issue of these regulations, it must not be forgotten that the great majority were quite unaffected by them. Most of the members of the Service have never treated, and are never likely to treat, any of the Chiefs or other gentlemen of high position mentioned in the rules.

Further regulations on this subject were issued by the Govt. of India as Home Dept. Not. No. 395 of 26th April, 1904, requiring a full medical statement of the case to be furnished to the A.M.O. of the province; and as Home Dept. Not. No. 607 of 1st July, 1907, in which the requirement of a medical statement of the case was dropped, but the rules were extended to include "Indian gentlemen of high position in British India." Obviously there was room for considerable difference of opinion as to who did or did not occupy a "high position."

Fortunately the question may be considered to have been satisfactorily settled under the present Director-General in 1911, by the issue of Home Dept. Not. No. 100 of 2nd Feb., 1911, published in the *Gazette of India* of 2nd Feb., 1911. The vague term "Indian gentlemen of high position" was replaced by an exact definition, and the fees which may be charged without reference fixed at a reasonable amount. The result may be considered as a satisfactory solution of a difficult question, one which raised an amount of ill-feeling quite out of proportion to its intrinsic importance.

Further orders on the same subject were issued in Not. No. 1192 of 20th Dec., 1911, published in the *Gazette of India* of 23rd Dec., 1911. The orders of Dec. do not materially differ from those of Feb., and are quoted below, as the latest orders on the subject.

"*Medical. The 20th December*, 1911. *No.* 1192. In supersession of the orders contained in the Home Department notification No. 607, dated the 1st July, 1907, and of all existing orders on the subject, the Governor General in Council is pleased to make the following rules, which will be applicable to British India and Native States, regarding the receipt by medical officers of Government of fees (including honoraria or presents which may be offered for services rendered) for professional services, whether for an ordinary visit, or consultation, or confinement, or a surgical operation, in certain cases—

"(1) Whenever attendance on a Ruling Chief or his family or dependents, or on an Indian of position who holds a hereditary title conferred or recognised by Government, of rank not below that of Raja or Nawab, or his family or dependents, involves the absence of a medical officer from his station, he shall be permitted to demand or receive such fees as may be arranged between himself and the person employing him provided that he does not without the special permission of the Local Government obtained as provided below, demand or receive in addition to his travelling expenses a higher fee than Rs.500 a day for the first three days and Rs.250 a day thereafter, the full daily fee being given for every complete period of 24 hours' absence with a proportionate fee for periods of less than 24 hours.

"(2) For similar attendance not involving absence from his headquarters, a medical officer may demand or receive fees in accordance with the scale which he has fixed for his patients generally.

"(3) Before accepting or demanding from a ruling chief or Indians of position as referred to in rule (1) a fee in excess of the rates laid down in rules (1) and (2) above, a medical officer must report the case confidentially to the local administrative medical officer, who will obtain unofficially and communicate to him the orders of the Local Government. When taking the orders of Government the administrative medical officer will be careful not to disclose any of the medical particulars of the case.

"(4) Local Governments and administrations shall have full power to dispose of all cases so reported to them, but shall be at liberty to consult

the Director-General, Indian Medical Service, or to refer any particular case for the orders of the Government of India.

"(5) Fees for operations and confinements may be accepted equal in amount to those current in similar circumstances in the profession in the United Kingdom.

"The Home Department notification No. 100, dated the 2nd February, 1911, is hereby cancelled."

Language Rewards.—From an early period Government have encouraged the study of Eastern languages by the grant of pecuniary rewards to officers who passed certain higher examinations in the classical and vernacular languages of the East; examinations of a standard considerably more advanced than those compulsory on all members of various Services. For such rewards officers of all Services have been, and still are, eligible, under rules varying to some extent in different departments. Early instances of the grant of such rewards may be seen in the Madras Records. On 3rd Sept., 1785, Surgeon Kincaid asked for a reward for proficiency in the Persian language. The Persian translator was ordered to examine him, but the result is not stated. On 21st Aug., 1786, the Persian translator reported Assistant Surgeon Henry Harris as proficient in the Persian language, for which a reward of 500 pagodas, about Rs.1750, was given to him.*

Harris was not long in turning his knowledge of Persian to further account. A Letter from Fort St. George, dated 2nd Dec., 1786, reports in para. 5—†

"Dictionary of the Hindoostany Language. Mr Henry Harris had undertaken to prepare and publish one, and as an encouragement thereto has been allowed Pagodas 50 p. Month for seven Months, which it is hoped will be approved."

Harris was appointed Assistant Surgeon on 4th July, 1783, so had been less than four years in the country when he compiled his dictionary. The book was published in 1790, but is now very scarce. That it was a work of real merit is shown by the fact that in the preface to the first edition of Shakespear's dictionary, published in 1817, it is stated that that work is to a considerable extent founded on the *MSS.* of Dr. Harris, preserved in the East India House.

* *M.P.L.*, No. 2280 of 3rd Sept., 1785, *Pub. Cons.*, Vol. CXXXVI, pp. 851–80; and No. 1875 of 21st Aug., 1786, *Pub. Cons.*, Vol. CXXXIX, pp. 1637–1701.

† *Abstracts, Letters from Madras*, Vol. III, 1785–92 (unpaged).

CHAPTER XIX

FURLOUGH AND LEAVE

"Oh! to be in England now that April's there."
BROWNING, *Home Thoughts from Abroad.*

THE grant of furlough and leave is quite a modern idea. The early servants of the Company, civil, military, and medical, got no leave to Europe. An officer who wished to go home had to resign his appointment and the Service, though he might be reappointed and return to India, if he wished, after his visit home. As he received no pay while absent from duty, and as a passage to or from India cost a very large sum, a visit to Europe was an expensive luxury. A medical officer sometimes escaped the expense of a passage home, by taking a berth as Surgeon to a homeward bound Indiaman; the Surgeon who came out with the ship sometimes receiving a post in India in the place of the man who went home.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the E.I. Co. expected its servants to give one year's notice before going home. In the *Fort William Cons.* of 4th Sept., 1755, Holwell asks for leave to return home, on account of impaired health, and quotes a despatch of 24th Jan., 1753, from Court, directing their servants to give one year's notice of their intention to quit India.*

In the records of the next twenty years may be found many instances of officers submitting medical certificates from the Company's Surgeons, recommending that they should be allowed to return to Europe, on account of ill-health. But what the petitioners asked for was permission to go home at short notice. They did not expect to get leave, with pay, and to retain a lien on the Service. The most they expected, or got, was permission to resign the Service, and to go home, with a recommendation to the Court of Directors to reappoint them to the Service, should

* Quoted in Long's *Selections*, No. 157, p. 60.

they wish to return, in the rank which they held when they left India. The manner in which such permission and recommendation was given may be seen from the following extracts.

Fort William General Letter, dated 26th Dec., 1769, *paras.* 3 *and* 4. "Mr Thomas Bagnall Surgeon on the Civil line obliged to return to Europe to reestablish his health, and having expressed a desire of returning to his station beg leave to intercede in his behalf as very skilful in his profession and always paid strict attention to his duty."

Fort William General Letter, dated 9th Feb., 1782, *para.* 30. "Mr John Stormonth, an old Surgeon in your Service, has resigned, and takes passage on the *Dartmouth*."

Para. 31. "Mr Stormonth recommended for leave to return to Bengal, with his full Rank in the Service, agreeably to the representation respecting him in our General Letter p. *Hector* dated May 1777."

Fort William General Letter dated 30th Nov., 1783, *para.* 33. "Doctor Daniel Campbell, Surgeon General, has resigned the Service, and proceeds to Europe p. *Worcester*. Petitions from the Inhabitants and Surgeons in testimony of his Merit, and requesting us to convey to you their wishes that he may be permitted to return to his Station. We unite our request to the same effect. Copies of the Petitions transmitted."

Proceedings Medical Board, Calcutta, 13th Jan., 1789. "Mr Stormonth is permitted to resign the Honble Company's service and to proceed to Europe in the *Prudentia*. It will be recommended to the Honble Court of Directors to allow him to return to Bengal without Prejudice to his Rank, on his application to them for that purpose."

Many other similar instances could be quoted from the Records. As a matter of fact, in not one of the above instances did the officer mentioned actually go home and return to India. Bagnall in 1769 and Stormonth in 1789 went to England, and never returned. Campbell in 1783 went home, and after two years in England got permission to return, but died at Johanna, in Madagascar, on his way out, in Aug., 1785. Stormonth was unfortunate in his attempt to go home in 1782. Fort William General Letter of 7th Dec., 1782, para. 8, states that—

"the ship *Dartmouth* and her Cargo was totally lost upon the Island of Carnicobar the 24th June last." *Para.* 45. "Mr John Stormonth, Surgeon, who was passenger for England in the *Dartmouth* for his health, after the loss of the Ship, returned here; and on Petition was readmitted to his rank, and granted his Arrears of Pay, in consideration of his misfortune." *

In 1780–81 the Government of India had its hands full, with war in several quarters at once, the first Maratha war, the second Maisur war, and the campaign against the Raja of Benares.

* The above extracts, and also those below, are taken from *Abstracts of Letters received from Bengal;* Catalogue, General Records, India Office Library, p. 19.

Large detachments of the Bengal army had been sent to Bombay under Colonel Goddard, and to the Karnâtik under Colonel Pearse. The strength of the army had been greatly increased, by Sepoy battalions raised locally, and by officers sent out from home. The Bengal army had been especially shorthanded in medical officers. A large number of Assistant Surgeons had been appointed locally, chiefly Surgeons of Indiamen, but including several combatant officers, cadets, and free adventurers, who either had medical qualifications, or at least had studied medicine. At the same time the Court of Directors had responded to the applications of the Indian Government by sending out a number of newly appointed Assistant Surgeons, most of whom did not arrive until after the urgent demand for their services was over. Consequently, when the country was again at peace, in 1783, and when the detachments sent to Madras and Bombay returned to Bengal, in 1784, the Government found themselves with a large number of officers, especially medical officers, for whom they could not possibly provide adequate employment. The Court of Directors ordered the dismissal of the locally appointed Assistant Surgeons. After protest from these officers themselves, and from the Bengal Govt., in the end, all of them, with the exception of some who had meanwhile died, were confirmed in the service, but junior to the men appointed from home in the same years.*

In the meantime the Government were trying to find employment for, or to get rid of, as many officers as they could. They implored the Court not to send out more cadets, as they had already more than could be provided for, on the strength of regiments on a peace footing, for years to come. They tried to get rid of medical officers, at first, by offering leave to England without pay. Fort William General Letter of 7th Dec., 1782, para. 7, conveys this offer.

"*Surgeons of the Company's Ships.* Several Commanders now here representing the loss of their Surgeons, and applying for others, we offered to grant leave of absence to any Surgeons, or Assistant Surgeons, whom they could engage to proceed to Europe, and to recommend such persons to the Court, for permission to return with their rank. Not to receive their Pay here during their absence, but every expense to fall upon the Owners of the Ships."

This offer met with little response. Presumably most of the newly appointed Assistant Surgeons could not afford to take leave

* See Chap. XIV, *Strength from time to time.*

home without pay. Three Assistant Surgeons went home as Surgeons of Indiamen in the early months of 1783, John Shaw, Thomas Skarrow, and Adam Burt; the last being sent home on duty, with orders to return. Fort William General Letter of 5th April, 1783, informs the Court of these facts.

Para. 175. "Ship *Resolution*, Surgeon. Mr John Shaw, Assistant Surgeon, allowed to embark as Surgeon of the *Resolution*, and return without prejudice to his rank, but not to draw any pay or allowance during his absence. *Cons. 24th March.*"

Para. 176. "Ship *Worcester*, Mr Thomas Skarrow permitted to proceed as Surgeon, on same conditions."

Para. 178. "Mr Robert Palk, second Member of the Board of Trade, Severe illness rendering it dangerous for him to remain longer here, he proceeds on the *Surprize* to England." *

Para. 179. "*Surprize*, Surgeon. Precarious state of Mr Palk's health indispensably requiring medical attendance, and Colonel Watson positively refusing to appoint a Surgeon at his own expense; we were induced from Mr Palk's long Services, to appoint an Assistant Surgeon to attend him on the Voyage home, with orders to return in a reasonable time to his duty. Mr Adam Burt appointed."

In 1785 the Indian Government made another vigorous effort to get rid of superfluous officers, temporarily at least. Leave to senior officers had recently been sanctioned by the Court, but it was the juniors whose numbers were so large as to cause inconvenience, and they, of course, were entitled to no leave. An offer was accordingly made to all junior officers, of leave for three years, on half pay in Europe, or on full pay in Bengal. At first sight, it appears as if no great economy would be effected by giving leave on full pay, but by doing so the Government saved, and the officer lost, all the allowances, which made up a large proportion of his income. Still, the offer was very liberal for those times, when junior officers were not entitled to any leave at all. This offer of leave was reported to the Court of Directors in Bengal Secret Inspection Letter, dated 31st Jan., 1785, paras. 13 to 16 of which run as follows:—

"*Supernumerary Officers and Surgeons, retirement on Half Pay.* Junior Classes of Supernumerary Officers and Surgeons of the Army allowed an option to return to England on half Pay without prejudice to their rank, or on full Pay should they prefer receiving it in Bengal. Their leave of

* The *Surprize* was a private ship, taken up by the Government, to carry home early intelligence of the treaty with the Marathas, (para. 1 of same letter). Apparently it was owned by, or chartered by, Colonel Watson.

absence to be for 3 Years from the date of their arrival in England, but to return sooner if called on by the Court so to do ; but if not so required after the expiration of 3 Years they are to signify to the Court whether it is their intention to return to Bengal or remain in England, in failure whereof they lose all pretension to the Service. None to be admitted to this indulgence who will not take the Oath prescribed by the Regulation for the Military Fund.* All Officers returning to England this Season on those conditions are to signify the same to the Commander-in-Chief before the 1st April, and those who wish to return the next Season two months before their intended departure."

Bengal Secret Inspection Letter dated 25th March, 1785, reports, in para. 49—

"*Medical Allowances and Expenses*—an Account thereof has been required, with a view to effect every possible reduction therein."

In paras. 64 to 70 of this letter the above offer of leave is repeated, the wording differing slightly, and the following being added :—

" Saving arising from this measure will be considerable. Such Officers &c. as cannot take the oath of qualification for the Military Fund are permitted to retire from the Service without Pay for the time and under the circumstances allowed to Officers retiring on full and half Pay, Board reserving to themselves a discretionary Power of Compliance with their applications."

Bengal Secret Inspection Letter dated 31st July, 1785, in para. 34, notifies the withdrawal of the condition that officers temporarily retiring on full or half pay must declare on oath that they were not possessed of certain amounts of property. The obvious effect of the above condition must have been to prevent from taking leave most of those who could afford to do so.

"*Para.* 34. *Officers retiring on full and half Pay.* It is in contemplation to dispense with the Oath prescribed to officers retiring on leave of Absence, as it is imagined many more will then avail themselves of the indulgence, which will prove a great saving to the Company."

These offers of leave met with no great response from the officers for whose benefit they were intended. The Letters from Bengal report the names of officers taking leave under the new conditions during the years 1785 and 1786. The first list, on 25th March, 1785, gives the names of two Lieutenants, one Ensign, and Assistant Surgeon John McCra, retiring temporarily on half-pay,

* An oath that the applicant did not possess property over a certain amount. See Chap. XXI, *The Funds*.

one Captain Lieutenant and six Lieutenants on full pay. The second list, on 19th Aug., 1785, reports that Surgeon Craigie, four Captains, eight Lieutenants, and one Ensign, had retired on full pay in Bengal; while one Major, three Captains, one Captain-Lieutenant, and one Lieutenant, had taken leave without pay. The third list, on 31st Oct., 1785, is longer, and includes Assistant Surgeon Howarth, four Majors, thirteen Captains, sixteen Lieutenants, and two Ensigns, all retiring temporarily on full pay. The fourth list, on 6th Feb., 1786, includes four medical officers, Surgeon W. Walker, and Assistant Surgeons B. Hartley, A. Russell, and Grant, one Major, five Lieutenants, and two Ensigns, all of whom are stated to be proceeding to Europe for three years on full pay; a considerable improvement on the terms for leave first offered, by which only half pay was obtainable in Europe, full pay in Bengal only. The offer of full pay leave to Europe appears to have been open for only a short time. More than nine months elapse before any more names are given. In two letters of 11th Nov. and 22nd Dec., 1786, a number of officers are stated to have retired on half pay, five Majors, seven Captains, twenty-two Lieutenants, two Lieut.-Fireworkers, and nine Ensigns. Taking all the above six lists together, 133 officers appear to have availed themselves of the terms offered, of whom only seven were medical officers. Of the whole number, only eleven were field officers, while no less than ninety-three were subalterns. Among the Captains taking leave appear the names of Thomas Gladwin, well known as an Oriental scholar, and Andrew Hearsay.

Leave was first sanctioned by the Court of Directors in a letter dated 10th Sept., 1783, published in the *C.G.* of 25th March, 1784. This order permits leave both on private affairs and on medical certificate, the latter on somewhat more favourable terms. The proviso that a medical certificate must be attested on oath before a magistrate by the three chief Surgeons seems calculated to reduce the number of such certificates.

Extract General Letter from Court of Directors, dated 10th Sept., 1783. *Para.* 13. "Having come to an unanimous resolution respecting our Civil and Military Servants abroad, who may return to Europe for the recovery of health, or for the purpose of settling their private affairs—We strictly enjoin your obedience to, and immediate publication of the said resolution, which is as follows, *viz.*

"Resolved unanimously that all Servants of the Company, Civil or Military, employ'd in any of the settlements in India or China, who shall after the publication of this resolution have leave to return to England, shall lose all such promotion or rank as they would have become entitled to, had they remained in India or China, and shall, if permitted by the Court of Directors to return thither have the same rank only, as they held at their departure from thence except in cases of illhealth certified by the Governor (and in China by the chief Supra Cargo) and upon the oaths of a Committee of the three Principal Surgeons (if so many at the Settlement) from whence they shall come, under the following form, and in that case their leave of absence to be for one year only in Europe, except by express leave of the Court of Directors for a second year, taken by the ballot, on proof of their health not being established.

"*Para.* 14. The certificate to be in the handwriting of the principal Surgeon, and attested upon oath by him and the two next in rank, before a Magistrate, *viz.*

"We, A, B, and C, Surgeons of —— do hereby declare that we are of opinion it is absolutely necessary that Mr D. should leave this country, and to go to Europe for the recovery of his health, occasioned by wounds, bilious, or any other disorder."

The first definite furlough rules were issued in 1796. These rules were considerably amplified and modified during the next twenty years. New codes of leave rules were issued in 1854, 1868, 1875, and 1886, the last being known as the Staff Corps furlough rules, now known as the Indian Army furlough rules, still, with some subsequent modifications, in force.

The original furlough rules of 1796 were issued in *Minutes of Council* in the Mily. Dept. dated 29th April, 1796, published in the *C.G.* of 30th April, 1796, and, compared to the subsequent codes of rules, are very short. They run as follows:—

"*Furlough.* That the following proportion of the Company's Officers at each Presidency be allowed to be absent, viz. one third of the Lieutenant Colonels and Majors, one fourth of the Captains and Surgeons to the Troops, and one sixth of the Subalterns and Assistant Surgeons to the Army.

"That the period of Furlough be for three Years, reckoning from its date to the day of the return of the Officer to his respective Presidency.

"You will observe, that though it is to be established as a general rule, that in time of Peace leave of absence may be granted to the above proportion of Officers, yet as those Officers are to be absent for three years, it will be requisite for the Government in India, at the commencement of the present arrangement not to grant leave of absence to the full proportion immediately, but in such a proportion that nearly an equal number may continue on Furlough every year, and consequently the proportion on Furlough to be annually granted, will be one third of the proportion allowed to be absent altogether; regard being had to the number of Officers who are compelled to come home on account of sickness.

" That Subalterns be ten years in India before they can be entitled (except in case of certified sickness) to their rotation to be absent on Furlough, and the same rule to be applicable to Assistant Military Surgeons, the Furlough to be granted by the Commander-in-Chief at each Presidency, with the approbation of the respective Governments.

" The Regulations relative to Furlough and retiring from the Service, are not to extend to the case of Officers who have arrived at the command of Regiments, but their leave of absence must rest, as it now does, on the discretion of the Commander-in-Chief, and our respective Governments, subject to the Controul of the Court of Directors, and if a General Officer or a Colonel of a Regiment shall return to Great Britain with permission, such General Officer's Staff Allowances shall cease, but such General Officer and Colonel shall have the full pay of Colonel, and the profits on the Off-reckonings of his Regiment, during his or their absence, and in respect to the Chief Engineer, when he is permitted to come home, he is to have such an addition to his pay as will be equal to the Off-reckonings of the Colonel of a Regiment.

" We have to advise you, that we have further resolved, that all officers now at home returning to the Company's Service in India, within the leave of absence prescribed by the present established Regulation, shall be entitled to the benefit of this arrangement, with respect to receiving their Pay on Furlough, from the 1st January, 1795, according to their rank.

" That no person be entitled to any other benefit under this arrangement until after his arrival at the Presidency to which he belongs with the leave of the Court."

These rules, somewhat summarized, are published in the *East India Register* of 1803, p. xxi, with the addition of two rules, one allowing furlough to Chaplains after seven years' service, the other stating that " No officer on furlough can receive pay for more than two years and a half from the period of his quitting India."

In 1800 the Court of Directors sent out orders that medical officers, on return from furlough, should resume the rank and appointments which they held before they left India. These orders were strongly objected to by the Bengal Government, though received without question in Madras, as shown by the following extracts:—

Madras Mily. Letter dated 9th Oct., 1800, *para.* 16. " Medical Servants allowed to resume on their return the same Rank which they held when they left India. These orders have been published to the Army." *

Fort William Mily. Letter dated 28th May, 1801, *paras.* 254 *to* 273. " Court's Orders allowing all Medical Officers returning from Furlough to resume their Staff Appointments suspended. Reasons pointing out the impolicy of such a measure fully stated, and recommended that the Government in India be permitted to fill all Staff appointments in the Medical Department

* *Abstracts, Letters from Madras*, Vol. VII, 1798–1805, p. 128.

in the same manner as the Staff situations are now disposed of in the Military Department." *

In subsequent issues of the *East India Register* many additions are made to the furlough rules of 1796. The first of these is dated 1811, and is as follows:—

" At a Court of Directors, held on Friday, the 1st March 1811.

" A report from the Committee of Correspondence, dated this day, being read, calling the Court's attention to the evident misapprehension of the meaning of the 70th section of the act of the 33rd of His present Majesty, *cap* 52, as to the time of absence after which civil and military officers may return to the Company's service in India.

" Resolved—That military officers wishing to avail themselves of the provision above referred to, must arrive in India within five years from their departure from thence, or otherwise they will not be entitled to any pay, rank, or military authority, unless they shall have a permission by the Court of Directors to return to India, having previously proved to the satisfaction of the Court, and to the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, that their absence was occasioned by sickness or infirmity, or some inevitable accident."

This rule, it may be stated, that five years is the absolute maximum of continued absence from India, allowed on any grounds, is still in force.

Act XXXIII, *cap.* 52, section 70, of George III., is quoted again in the rules of 1868. Though of some length, it is of importance in connection with the leave rules, and is therefore given in full.

" *Section* 70.—And be it further enacted that no person who shall have held any civil or military station whatever in *India*, in the service of the said United Company, being under the rank or degree of a Member of Council or Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, and who, having departed from *India* by leave of the Governor-General in Council, shall not return to *India* within the space of five years next after such departure, shall be entitled to any rank or restoration of office, or be capable of again serving in *India*, either in the *European* or Native Corps of Troops, or in the Civil line of the Company's service, unless, in the case of any Civil Servant of the Company, it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the Court of Directors that such absence was occasioned by sickness or infirmity, or unless such person be permitted to return with his rank to *India* by a vote or resolution passed by way of ballot by three parts in four of the proprietors assembled in General Court specially convened for that purpose, whereof eight days' previous notice of the time and purpose of such meeting shall be given in *The London Gazette*, or unless, in the case of any military officer, it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the said Court of Directors and the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of *India* that such absence was occasioned by sickness or infirmity, or some inevitable accident."

* *Abstracts, Letters from Bengal*, Vol. VI, 1795–1803, p. 311.

Subsequent additions appear in the *East India Registers* of 1817, 1818, and 1820.

In Jan., 1817. "All officers finding it necessary to solicit a further leave of absence, on account of sickness, must transmit with their letter of application for such leave, a certificate signed by at least two medical gentlemen, eminent in the medical profession, describing the nature of the applicant's complaint, and stating it to be their opinion that the circumstances of the case render a compliance with his request absolutely necessary. Also previously to such extension of furlough being granted, such further proof shall be adduced by personal examination, or, by such other evidence as shall be deemed satisfactory.

"Officers abroad in any part of Europe, applying to remain a further time from duty, on account of sickness, are to furnish a certificate of two eminent physicians, with the attestation of a magistrate, that the persons who signed the certificate are physicians."

In Sept., 1818. "Officers who have not served ten years in India, but whose presence in England is required by urgent private affairs, may be allowed a furlough for one year without pay."

In Sept., 1820. "Officers coming to England on furlough, are required immediately to report their arrival by letter to the Secretary, stating the name of the Ship in which they came, and their address, forwarding at the same time the certificates they received in India.

"Officers are required to join the Establishment to which they belong at the expiration of the three years furlough, unless they shall have obtained an extension of leave from the Court, six months before that period. No furlough will be extended, except in cases of sickness, certified in the manner hereafter mentioned; or in cases, in which it shall be proved to the Court that a further residence in Europe is indispensably necessary.

"Officers having obtained an extension of furlough to a given period, must at its expiration apply for permission, either to return to their duty or to reside a further time in England.

"No officer who has failed to obtain an extension of furlough, will be considered eligible to return to the service after five years absence under the act of the 33 George III, *cap* 52, section 70.

"Every officer upon leaving India will receive a printed copy of the General Order on this subject, published agreeably to the Court's instruction, and the plea of ignorance of the regulations will not be admitted as any justification of the breach of them; officers therefore who shall come home on furlough and who shall not in due time apply, so as to effect their return to the Presidency to which they belong, within the period of three years from the commencement of their furlough, will subject themselves to the loss of the service, unless they shall be permitted by the Court to remain a further time in Europe."

This last order is in force to the present day. An officer going on leave is furnished with a memorandum of information about leave rules, pay when on leave, fund subscriptions, return to duty, etc., which is most useful.

A G.O. of the 21st Oct., 1820, published in the *C.G.* of 2nd

Nov., 1820, lays down rules for "general leave," as opposed to the regular furlough to Europe, admissible under the former regulations. Such leave might be on either private affairs or medical certificate. It might be granted, in the first instance, for six months only, to any place within the Company's continental possessions in India, as well as to Ceylon, Bombay, Prince of Wales' Island, and Fort Marlbro', for twelve months to places beyond these limits. Such leave could not be taken to any place west of the Cape, except in the case of a ship being unable to touch at the Cape, and carrying its passengers on to St. Helena, from which island they had to return to the Cape. This leave might be converted into furlough, on medical certificate; or, in very special cases only, on private affairs. During this leave an officer drew full pay, including full or half *batta*, as the case might be, and lost only a few special allowances, such as troop or company allowance.

In 1824 furlough to New South Wales was sanctioned, on the same terms as to Europe, and in 1831 to Egypt.

"*Bombay Castle, Jan. 5th*, 1832. The Right Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to direct, that the following extracts of a letter from the Hon. the Court of Directors, dated 20th July 1831, be published in General Orders, to take effect from the 30th November last, the day of their receipt.

"['A steam communication being about to be established between Bombay and the Red Sea, Government recommend that officers proceeding to Egypt for the recovery of their health may not be deprived of the advantages attendant upon proceeding to other places within the Company's charter. It is stated that this will indirectly tend to promote the establishment of steam navigation between India and England.' *Letter dated 3 Decr.* 1829.]

"*Para.* 7. We agree to this recommendation."

Furlough was allowed to Superintending Surgeons by a letter from Court dated 27th Aug., 1828, published in Bengal G.O. No. 71 of 27th March, 1829, and in Madras G.O. of 27th Jan., 1829.

"*Para.* 58. We have also resolved that Superintending Surgeons who come to England on sick certificate shall resume that rank and station on their return to their duty."

Previous to this date, a Superintending Surgeon who took leave to England, and subsequently returned to India, had to wait

for another vacancy in that rank, after his return, filling a post as Surgeon in the meantime.

A similar privilege was extended to members of the Medical Board by a letter from Court dated 3rd Feb. 1841, published in Bengal G.O. of 31st March, 1841.

"*Fort William, March 31st*, 1841. With reference to Gov^{t} G.O. No. 71 of 27th March, 1829, the following extract of a military letter from the Hon. the Court of Directors to the Governor of Bengal, dated 3rd Febry. 1841, is published for general information :—

"['*Letter dated 15th June* 1840. Submit for Court's orders a reference from Bombay as to whether a member of the Medical Board is entitled to resume his former situation in the Board on his return from sick leave to Europe, and what allowance he is to draw in the event of his having to wait for a vacancy.']

"23. When framing the regulation contained in our letter of 27th Aug. 1828, para. 13, that Superintending Surgeons who come to England, on sick certificate, shall resume their rank and station on their return to their duty, it was not in our contemplation that any member of the Medical Board who might come to England on sick certificate would desire to return to India for the purpose of completing the residue of his tour of service in the Board, or we should then have provided for such an occurrence. We can now have no difficulty in authorizing the readmission of the medical officer so circumstanced to the Medical Board, in his proper rank, from the date of his arrival at the capital of his Presidency. The period of service of the junior member, who will in consequence revert to his former position of Superintending Surgeon, will count as so much passed out of the term of five years, to which service in the Medical Board is limited."

In 1843 rules were issued regarding the leave of medical officers in civil employ, under which they were allowed only military pay and allowances during absence on leave, and, what was even more important, forfeited their civil appointments if absent for more than six months. Naturally, great objections were raised to the last clause, and it does not appear to have been enforced for long.* The new rules were published in the *C.G.* of 22nd Nov., 1843, and were as follows :—

"The Governor General in Council is pleased to direct that the following Resolution prescribing the terms on which leave of absence on Private Affairs, or on Medical Certificate, will be granted hereafter to Medical Officers holding Civil Appointments, be published for general information.

* Three letters on this subject from Assistant Surgeon James Esdaile, in Bengal, to Surgeon John Grant, on furlough in England, objecting to the new rules in very forcible language, were published in *Bengal Past and Present*, Vol. V, No. 10, Jan. to March, 1910, p. 52.

"*Resolution.* Any medical officer in Civil medical employ who shall proceed on leave of absence from the Station to which he is attached, whether on Private Affairs or on Medical Certificate, shall forfeit during the period of such absence the whole of his Civil Salary, and shall be entitled to draw his Military Pay and Allowances only, subject to the Rules in the Military Department. The Medical Officer performing the duties of the absentee shall receive the entire allowances of the situation in which he may be appointed to officiate, unless he be in medical charge of a Regiment or the Wing of a Regiment at the same Station, in which case he will receive his allowance for such charge, and 100 Rupees a month additional for the performance of the Civil duties.

"Any Medical Officer in Civil Medical employ who shall be absent fron his duty, whether on Medical Certificate or on account of his Private Affairs, for a period exceeding six months at one time, shall not be permitted to return to his Civil appointment without a fresh nomination thereto, and shall be considered from the date of the expiration of the six months to be at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief."

Such an order as the above would even now cause great indignation, and would be most unjust to all the officers in civil employment. Indeed, the probable effect of such an order, if issued now, would be, that it would be hardly possible to induce medical officers to accept civil employment of any kind at all. And seventy years ago it must have been a greater hardship than it would be now, on account of the much greater time then taken up by the journey in each direction between India and Europe. Nowadays, an officer on six months' leave can make the journey each way in little over two weeks, and get almost, if not quite, five months in England. In 1843 he would have been lucky if he got three months at home.

A Madras G.O. of 25th Feb., 1798,* directs that Surgeons of General Hospitals going to England on furlough, are to be allowed the pay of Majors of Infantry.

The *East India Register* for 1850 shows the following as the rates of pay of medical officers on furlough, under the rules of 1796.

	£	s.	d.	
Members of Medical Board	1	5	0	per day.
Superintending Surgeons	1	0	0	,,
Surgeons	0	10	6	,,
Assistant Surgeons	0	6	6	,,

The same publication for January, 1865, gives the following

* *M.P.L.*, No. 291, of 25th Feb., 1798; *Mily. G.O.*, Vol. XIII, p. 40.

table of furlough pay, per day, admissible under the old (1796) rules.

Years' service on full pay . . .	30	25	20	15	12	10	5	Under 5.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Inspector General	2 5 0	2 5 0	2 0 0*	—	—	—	—	—
Deputy Inspector General . .	1 14 0	1 10 0	1 8 0*	—	—	—	—	—
Surgeon-Major .	—	1 5 0	1 2 0	—	—	—	—	—
Surgeon . .	—	—	—	18 0	15 0	—	—	—
Assistant Surgeon	—	—	—	—	—	13 0	11 6	10 0

The furlough rules of 1854 were published in a Bengal G.O. of 17th Nov., 1854. They are of considerable length. A short summary is given in the *East India Register* of 1855, and the rules in full, with a few slight subsequent modifications, in 1857 and subsequent years.

Under these rules, all leave taken, other than subsidiary and privilege leave (the actual words *subsidiary* and *privilege* are not used), was considered as furlough, and counted in the total amount of furlough admissible during an officer's service. Under Rules 26 and 31, privilege leave to the extent of one month in six, and subsidiary leave before embarkation, and on return from furlough, to a maximum of thirty days, were allowed.

The summary of these rules is as follows :—

" Furloughs or leaves of absence, on sick certificate, to be granted for a term not exceeding eighteen months, whether they be to any place in Europe or elsewhere out of India. The regimental allowances of his rank, for a term not exceeding six months, to be granted to the officer receiving such leave, from the date of his departure from his presidency; regimental pay to be drawn during the period of his absence.

" Extended leave may be granted as at present, on production of medical certificates, for further periods not exceeding eighteen months on the whole. During this further time regimental pay to be continued, but under no circumstances for a longer period than three years altogether, from the commencement of the absence.

" Furlough on private affairs to be allowed for a period of two years at the expiration of ten years' service, and for a second period of two years after twenty years' service in India. Officers who have taken the benefit of the regulation for the grant of furloughs on sick certificate, to Europe or elsewhere beyond sea, to be ineligible to a furlough on private affairs until they have served six years from the date of their last return to duty.

" Pay of regimental rank to be drawn whilst on furlough, but not beyond the period of two years in each furlough.

" All grants of furlough on private affairs to be subject to the exigencies

* Or on promotion, should these periods of service be not already completed.

of the public service, and to the regulations framed for the preservation of the efficiency of each regiment by limiting the number of absentees.

"Officers holding staff appointments may have leave of absence on sick certificate or furlough, for a period not exceeding fifteen months, if on sick certificate, and six months, if on private affairs, without losing their appointment, and if on sick certificate, receiving for that time half staff allowances; but on any absence beyond that period, the staff appointment and allowances cannot be retained except on special grounds.

"No furlough or leave of absence, as announced in general orders, exceeding two years in twenty years of aggregate service, three years in twenty-five years' service, and four years in thirty years' service, shall be allowed to count as service for the retiring pension, and that no difference shall be made, in this respect, between leave of absence taken in Europe or elsewhere, or whether the leave be on sick certificate or on private affairs.

"If regimental officers now in the service prefer retaining what may be considered the advantage of the present regulations, they may do so, provided they signify their wish to that effect through the proper department, when they next apply for furlough or leave of absence."

Rule 36 of the regulations of 1854 gives the periods of leave, in the case of medical officers, allowed to count for pension, as follows:—

"36. The scale for medical officers and veterinary surgeons of privileged furlough and leave of absence as counting for the retiring pension will be as follows:—

"1 year	8 months	in 17	and under	20	years' service.
2 years	——	in 20	——	25	——
3 years	——	in 25	——	30	——
4 years	——	in 30 and upwards."			

By G.O. of 16th June, 1856, an officer who put in twenty years' service before taking his first furlough, was allowed to take his second spell of two years' furlough on completion of five years' duty from the date of his return.

The furlough rules of 1868, with notes and illustrative cases, are of great length. The most important are given below. They are taken from these rules as published, with subsequent modifications, in G.O. No. 171 of 25th Feb., 1874, printed in the *Bengal Army List* for 1882. These rules were made applicable to all officers of the Indian Army, including the I.M.S., who were serving on 1st July, 1868, and who chose to adopt them, in preference to the previous rules; while all officers who joined the army subsequently to that date, came under them as a matter of course. The fact that an officer, serving on 1st July, 1868,

adopted these rules, did not affect his right to *retire* under the rules of 1796. The rules of 1868 increased the maximum furlough allowable for pension up to eight years, *in addition* to periods of leave, on medical certificate or on private affairs, of not more than six months, taken in India. Officers who elected these rules, prior to 1st July, 1871, received their furlough pay at two shillings to the rupee.

" *Furlough Regulations of* 1868, *with subsequent alterations.**
" *G.O. No.* 171 *of 25th February* 1874.

" 2. These rules are applicable to all officers who on the 1st July 1868 belonged to the several Indian Staff Corps or to the Indian Army, and who have elected, or may elect, to adopt them; officers of the British Army who entered the Staff Corps after that date are, of course, subject to them.

" 4. *Note* (1). British Medical Staff Officers holding administrative appointments in India tenable for 5 years, who are compelled by ill health to return to England, will be allowed by the Government of India in the Military Department to proceed there to appear before a Medical Board, and if reported unfit for further service in India, will be removed from the Indian Establishment; if otherwise, they may be allowed by the Secretary of State for India 6 months' leave on medical certificate on their Indian allowances and half staff.

" Such officers are also eligible for 4 months' leave on private affairs without pay, but only one grant of leave will be allowed out of India during their tenure of office.

" 7. These rules apply also to all Warrant Officers holding Veteran or Honorary Commissions, who may elect them; the period of service qualifying for furlough being calculated from the date of attainment of a Commission.

" 8. (4). These rules respecting Warrant Officers apply to Honorary Assistant Surgeons and Warrant Officers in the Medical Department.

" 9. The term 'Furlough pay' having now a changed and two-fold signification, in all future orders and reference 'Furlough pay' will be understood as the half Indian salary within the prescribed limits specified in paragraph V. of these Rules, converted at the rate of exchange fixed by the Secretary of State for the official year, whilst 'English furlough pay' will represent the rates heretofore allowed to the several grades as English pay under the Rules of 1796 and 1854.

" *Note* (2). Officers who *elected* these rules prior to 1st July 1871, or before Government General Order No. 588 of 1871 reached their stations, will receive furlough pay at the exchange of 2 shillings the rupee.

" *Rules.*

" I. The distinction, with respect to allowances, which has been hitherto drawn between furlough on private affairs and sick leave, is abolished, both kinds of leave being included under the general term *furlough;*

* Only extracts are given, comprising those rules which appeared most important, either generally, or specially to the Medical Services. The rules in full fill eleven large octavo pages of small print.

provision, however, being made for the obtainment of furlough under medical certificate without all the restrictions applicable to furlough when taken without medical certificate.

" II. Leave taken under the rules now prescribed will not involve forfeiture of appointment, except in the cases herein specially provided for.

" 2. Officers of the Staff Corps and local Indian Service, and officers on the General List, can retain their appointments during *all* leave of absence granted by competent authority. But their pay during such absence will be the same as they would obtain under these rules had their exemption from forfeiture of appointment not been granted.

" *Note.* The above rule is applicable to all *Military and Medical Officers* taking furlough or leave under these Regulations.

" III. The rules now prescribed do not affect the provisions of Act XXXIII. of George III., Chapter 52, section 70; but an absentee cannot retain his appointment and draw absentee allowances, except under the rules now prescribed. Nor do they affect the regulations by which General Officers Commanding Divisions and Brigades can only obtain limited periods of leave without forfeiting their commands.

" IV. Leave of absence will in future be of three kinds, *viz.* :—

(I). Furlough in or out of India.

(II). General leave on private affairs, or sick certificate in India, or short leave to sea.

(III). Privilege leave.

" *Chapter I. Furlough.*

" V. An officer drawing staff pay in addition to pay of rank, proceeding on furlough, will be allowed pay at the rate of 50 per cent. of the salary of his substantive office.

" 2. But an officer in civil employ and drawing consolidated salary, will be allowed 50 per cent. of the average salary drawn by him during the three years prior to his proceeding on furlough, or during his actual service in India, should that be less than three years ; and the time spent and the allowances drawn during any leave other than ' Privilege leave ' will be omitted in the calculation of average salary.

" 3. No absentee shall in either case draw more than £1000 or less than £250 per annum.

" 7. Officers holding regimental medical charges will be allowed to retain such charges during the authorized periods of furlough, as if they were medical staff appointments. And the difference between the unemployed grade pay of the officer holding the substantive charge, and the consolidated salary of the charge, will be considered the staff salary divisible between the absentee and the officer officiating for him.

" 8. Officers not in staff employ will receive half the Indian pay of their rank, provided that an officer entitled to furlough shall in no case receive less than the above minimum of £250 per annum.

" VI. All grants of furlough on private affairs are subject to the exigencies of the public service,—of which exigency the Government is to be exclusively the judge,—and to any regulations that may be found necessary for limiting the number of absentees.

" VII. The maximum amount of furlough on private affairs to be taken at any one time, carrying pay and retention of appointments, will be two years ; any extension of such furlough will be without pay, unless it is on

medical certificate. And no extension on private affairs beyond two years will be granted, though without pay, except upon satisfactory evidence of very urgent necessity.

" VIII. A period of at least three years' service after return from last furlough, except furlough for a period not exceeding six months under rule XI. (and excepting also, in the case of an officer in civil employ, *ordinary furlough not exceeding three months*), must be completed before furlough can again be taken, unless obtained under medical certificate.

" 2. But an officer who may be *ordered* to return to duty before the completion of his furlough for the purpose of proceeding on field service, may be allowed to take the balance of such furlough at any time.

" *Note* (1). Officers ordered out for special duty, or on account of the exigencies of the service, are allowed a free passage out, but not a return passage home, and furlough pay for the period of the voyage to India and the voyage home, in the event of their returning to England to avail themselves of the residue of their furlough, as also the privilege of counting both periods as service for pension, and as exclusive of the residue of furlough due. No limit to time is imposed within which an officer might take the balance of his furlough after the termination of the duty for which he was recalled.

" IX. An officer will be eligible for two years' furlough on the completion of eight years' actual service in India; for a third year after a further period of six years' actual service; and for a fourth and fifth year after similar intervals of six years, and so on up to the maximum prescribed in Rule XVI. The grant of furlough to an officer eligible for it will be subject only to the conditions specified in Rules VI. and VII.

" X. An officer eligible for furlough need not take the whole amount to which his service entitles him, but may apply for any portion thereof as an instalment; and in that case the balance will remain at his credit in any future computation of the amount of furlough for which he may be eligible.

" XI. Furlough on urgent private affairs for six months, on pay equivalent to the British regimental pay of his rank, may be granted when the officer has less than six months' furlough at his credit, or when, from other causes, *e.g.* the number of absentees, or his not having served three years since his last return to duty, he is not able to take it.

" XII. Subject to State considerations, there will be no restriction as to the places to which an officer may resort during furlough.

" XIII. Furlough on medical certificate is obtainable as indicated in Notes (1) and (2) of Rule IX. and in Rule XIV. Absence on such furlough for a longer period than two years at one time will involve forfeiture of appointment. Furlough may, however, be extended on medical certificate up to a third year on ' English furlough pay,' and an officer on furlough on private affairs, who may be obliged to obtain an extension on medical certificate, will be thenceforward entitled to the same advantages and subjected to the same disadvantages, as to retention of pay, appointment, &c., as if he had originally obtained furlough on medical certificate.

" *Note.* The grant of furlough on medical certificate is restricted to a maximum period of one year in the first instance.

" 2. In the event of an officer not being able to return to his duty after an absence of three years, it will rest with the Secretary of State for India in Council to order him to appear before a Medical Board, with a view to

placing him on the retired list, if entitled to pension, or on the halfpay list.

" 3. Should the circumstances of the case warrant a further extension of furlough, it can only be granted without pay.

" *Note.* All officers, however employed, and whatever the amount of leave granted them may be, who leave India on medical certificate, are required to produce a certificate of fitness for duty before they can be allowed to return.

" XVI. The aggregate amount of furlough, with pay and retention of appointment, on private affairs and on medical certificate that may be granted to an officer during his service, will be limited to eight years.

" XVIII.. Subsidiary leave to embark for Europe or elsewhere on furlough will be granted for any period deemed necessary, not ordinarily exceeding thirty days. Leave up to the same limit, to enable him to rejoin on his return from furlough, will be granted from the date of his disembarkation in India. This applies equally to furloughs taken under Rule XI. The authority which has power to grant subsidiary leave can, on due cause being shown, grant any necessary extension of it; but this can be done only on very sufficient reasons.

" *Note* (4). The amount of subsidiary leave admissible, and the allowances of Military Officers in Civil employ during such leave, will be adjusted according to Civil rules.

" XXIII. Military and Medical Officers under the Regulations of 1854 and 1868 count the following proportion of leave taken under those Regulations as service for pension subject (in the case of officers under the rules of 1796) to the condition laid down in Clause 4 of Rule XXXIV.

Military.	*Medical.*
2 years in 20 years.	2 years in 17 years.
3 — 24 —	3 — 20 —
4 — 28 —	4 — 25 —
5 — 32 —	5 — 30 —
6 — 38 —	

" *Chapter II. General Leave on Private Affairs and Sick Certificate in India.*

" *Note.* See Note 3 to Rule XXXIII.

" XXV. An officer will be eligible, as at present, to take leave on private affairs or sick certificate anywhere in India for any period not exceeding six months, at the discretion of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief or of the Government under which he may be serving. During the entire period of his absence on this account, the officer will be entitled, as at present, to his full pay and a moiety of his Staff salary. Leave taken under this rule will form no part of the eight years' aggregate furlough.

" XXVI. Leave on sick certificate for a period exceeding six months, capable of extension under renewed medical certificate to a limit of one year, may be granted to any officer who, in the opinion of a Medical Board, may require it. Leave of this nature, taken after the promulgation of these rules, will be held to constitute a part of the maximum period of eight years' leave of absence to which an officer is entitled in his entire period of service, but will not be regarded as furlough, nor will it affect the intervals entitling to furlough laid down in Rule IX. During this

leave the absentee will draw a moiety of his staff salary in addition to the pay of his rank. But if the 12 months be exceeded, the whole leave must be reckoned as furlough, and allowances be adjusted accordingly.

" XXVII. Short leave, not exceeding three months, on private affairs or sick certificate, may also be taken to sea on the above conditions, but absence from India for any longer period will be treated as furlough.

" *Note.* This leave is reckoned from the date of embarkation to that of debarkation.

XXVIII. " All general leave taken in India counts as part of the leave reckoning against service for pension.

" *Chapter III. Privilege Leave.*

XXIX. " Privilege leave may be granted, as at present, for sixty days in each year to all officers in military employ, without deduction from the salaries and emoluments drawn by them. General leave, in extension of privilege leave, can only be granted on the ground of sickness, or some other serious emergency which could not have been foreseen when the officer proceeded on privilege leave. Privilege leave may, however, be converted into general leave with the sanction of the Commander-in-Chief or the Government.

" *Note* (1). Privilege leave for ninety days, after thirty-three months' duty, which may be spent anywhere, in or out of India, is admissible to Commissioned and Warrant Officers under these Rules; but to claim the privilege, it shall be necessary for an officer to show that he has had no privilege leave for thirty-three months previous to the date of his application, and that he has made satisfactory arrangements for the performance of his duties during his absence at no additional cost to the State. If leave for a shorter period than ninety days is taken, the balance is forfeited.

" *Military Officers in Civil Employ.*

" XXXIII. Those military officers (including warrant officers who hold Honorary, Veteran, or Unattached Commissions), in Civil or Political employ, who may elect these rules when they take leave in India, come as respects periods of leave obtainable and amount of pay to be granted, under the Civil Leave Rules. When they take leave out of India, they come under the Military Leave Rules.

" *Note* (3). No officer in Civil employ, except those employed in the Police, and all such as have previously been refused permission to revert to Military duty, is eligible for leave under Chapter II.

" *Subsidiary Rule.*

" XXXIV. Officers of the Indian Military and Medical Services will be required generally to notify their intention to accept these rules, or to adhere to those now existing, on the first occasion of their taking furlough or general leave after the publication of this order. Such election must be considered final, and under no plea whatever will an officer be subsequently relieved from the choice thus made.

" 5. His election of these Furlough Rules in no way affects his right to *retire* under the Pension Rules of 1796."

The furlough rules of 1875 were published in G.O.G.G. No. 1316 of 30th Dec., 1875. They are not so long, about one third the length of the rules of 1868. The extracts given below are also

taken from the *Bengal Army List* of 1882, which contains additions and alterations up to date. The chief benefit of these rules, as concerns the I.M.S., was that under them officers in civil employ got the benefit of the Civil leave rules, on furlough and leave out of India; not, as in those of 1868, on leave in India only. The Civil rules gave higher furlough pay than the Military rules, and still do so for the first half of an officer's service, or rather more; though the increase of furlough pay under Military rules, granted in 1905, has given the advantage, in the later years of service, to officers under the Indian Army rules.

The benefit of the Civil leave rules was granted to military officers in civil employ by Clause III. of G.O.G.G. No. 1102 of 7th Dec., 1877, which was subsequently embodied, word for word, in the rules.

"Clause III. Any officer who may enter Civil employ, who is already subject to the Military Furlough and Leave Rules of 1875, shall be subject to the rules in the Civil Leave Code applicable to covenanted civil servants as regards furlough and leave taken out of India and in India."

The following extracts give the most important of the furlough rules of 1875.

"1. Officers included in Schedule A may receive, after five years' service in India or under the Government of India, one year's furlough, and an additional year for each subsequent five years' service. Furlough not taken at the time it becomes due is not lost, and can, subject to these rules, be taken later.

"2. An officer may receive at any time any portion of the furlough to which he is entitled, but, except under Rule VIII, he may not be absent from duty on any ground for more than three years consecutively; nor, on return from furlough, may he receive, except under Rule VI, any further portion of the furlough to which he is entitled until after the interval of two years.

"3. It must be distinctly understood that furlough is subject to the exigencies of the public service. Officers commanding regiments and Heads of Departments, will forward no application for furlough unless able to satisfy the superior authorities that the officer's services can be spared without any inconvenience to the public service.

"4. Furlough does not involve forfeiture of appointment, may be spent anywhere, and counts as service for pension.

"5. A Commissioned officer on furlough receives (up to, but not beyond the sum of £1000 a year) half the emoluments of his office, computed according to a rate of exchange to be fixed in each year by the Secretary of State; but in any case he does not receive less than £250 a year. The emoluments of his office include all pay, staff corps pay, staff salary, and Indian allowances he would receive in respect to it if he

were on duty; and for the purpose of each payment, his office is the office he fills on the day when that payment becomes due.

"6. Upon certificate of a Medical Board, an officer not entitled to furlough, if he served not less than two years in India, may receive it for any period not exceeding two years; but such furlough will be deducted from his next accruing furlough until it is paid off. An officer will not be allowed to anticipate furlough under this rule to an aggregate amount of more than two years.

"*Note* 1. The grant of furlough on medical certificate is restricted to a maximum period of one year in the first instance.

"7. An officer who has exhausted the furlough obtainable under these rules, and who may be certified by a Medical Board to be still unfit for duty, will be placed temporarily or permanently on half pay, according to the circumstances of the case.

"8. Under very urgent circumstances, special furlough may be granted for private affairs, which need not be paid back; but it will be in all cases without any kind of pay, and will not count for pension.

"*Note.* The amount of leave which may be granted under this rule will be restricted to such periods as the Government granting it is satisfied to be actually necessary, with reference to the urgency of the case.

"10. Leave may be granted for any period not exceeding six months at a time, and may not, except for very urgent reasons to be specially reported to the Government of India, be renewed till after six months have elapsed from its expiration. It must be spent at some place east of the 40th degree of east longitude.* Subject to these conditions, it may be granted or refused entirely at the discretion of the local authorities, who in granting it, shall fix its duration and may fix the limits within which it shall be spent, and whether during its continuance half pay and allowances are to be deducted for the payment of a substitute; and they may grant it as preparatory to furlough, or for the purpose of a medical examination.

"11. Leave and furlough are reckoned from and to the close of the days named in the order granting them.

"12. The position of officers not included in Schedule A will be unchanged as respects leave or furlough.

"13. Officers now in the service placing themselves, from a given date, under these rules, shall count service for pension up to that date under the rules to which they were then subject.

"*Schedule A.*

"Officers entering the Staff Corps or Indian Medical Service, and Warrant Officers attaining that rank, after the 31st December 1875, and

"(2). Any other officers, Commissioned or Warrant, belonging to the Indian Army or Medical Service, or officer of the Staff Corps, who, after the 31st December 1875, shall, before asking for leave or furlough, apply in writing to their local Governments to be placed definitely upon this schedule; but their service for furlough under Rule I shall commence from the date of such entry or such application, respectively.

"(3). Any officer in civil employment declared by the Government of India to be under Civil Leave Rules shall not be under these rules.

* The 40th degree of east longitude runs through Russia, Armenia, Arabia, and Abyssinia. Moscow is not far west of it, Medina stands just west, Mekka just east of it; Egypt and South Africa lie well to the west.

"*Subsidiary Rules.*

* * * * *

"Leave under Rule 10 may also be granted to an officer on return from furlough to enable him to rejoin his appointment. During such leave he will receive the pay of his rank and the half Staff pay of the appointment held by him, or to which he may have been transferred or promoted while on furlough, the officer acting in the appointment being restricted to the half Staff pay thereof.

"(2). The leave up to sixty days in each year on full Staff pay under the foregoing rule may be taken either for the full time or by instalments, in the same way as privilege leave under other furlough rules is taken, the condition that six months must elapse between the return of an officer to duty and the grant of a fresh period of leave, not being enforced in respect of such leave of absence.

"*Note* 1. Privilege leave for 90 days, after 33 months' duty, which may be spent anywhere in or out of India, is admissible to Commissioned and Warrant officers under these rules; but to claim the privilege it shall be necessary for an officer to show that he has had no leave on full Indian pay and allowances for 33 months previous to the date of his application, and that he has made satisfactory arrangements for the performance of his duties during his absence, at no additional cost to the State. If leave for a shorter period than 90 days is taken, the balance is forfeited.

"*Supplementary Regulations for Military Commissioned Officers in Civil employ.*

"I. Any officer now in Civil employ, who is subject to the Military Furlough Regulations of 1854 or 1868, shall remain so subject.

"II. Any military officer who may hereafter enter Civil employ, who is not already subject to the Military Furlough and Leave Rules of 1875, shall remain subject to the rules applicable to him when he enters Civil employ.

"*Note.* An officer referred to in Rules I and II cannot elect the Military Furlough and Leave Rules of 1875 so long as he continues in Civil employ.

"III. Any officer who may enter Civil employ, who is already subject to the Military Furlough and Leave Rules of 1875, shall be subject to the rules in the Civil Leave Code applicable to Covenanted Civil Servants, both as regards furlough and leave taken out of India and in India.

"*Note* (1). An officer counts his service for furlough in the Civil Department from the date of his substantive employment in that Department.

"*Note* (2). An officer takes with him to the Civil Department furlough to the extent of one-sixth of his service in the Military Department, less any already taken, to be added to the furlough that may be earned in the Civil Department."

By the provisions of *I.A.C.*, Aug., 1881, clause 154 (*I.M.D. Circs.*, for 1881, p. 45), furlough or leave taken in consequence of wounds or illness contracted in the field, was allowed to count as service for pension, up to a maximum of eighteen months. Mily. Despatch No. 274, dated 18th Aug., 1881, from the Secretary of State, published as clause 170 of

I.A.C., Sept. 1881 (*I.M.D. Circs.*, 1881, p. 51), repeats this rule, noting that such leave cannot count as service towards earning other furlough.

The furlough rules of 1886, at first generally known as the Staff Corps rules, and now as the Indian Army rules, were published as clause 51 of *I.A.C.*, April, 1886, while clause 52 extended them to the I.M.S., with some variations in the rates of furlough pay.* As these are the furlough rules now in force, with some subsequent modifications, they are given below in full. They are of no great length.†

These rules gave two considerable advantages, first, *all* furlough and leave taken was allowed to count for pension; second, an officer could obtain leave as often as he could be spared, and could afford to take it. On the other hand, he was no longer entitled to furlough, as of right, after a certain number of years' service. The rules do not apply to military officers in civil employ (Rule VII.), except that such officers may take advantage of them for the purpose of retirement (Rule IX., 3).

"*Furlough and Leave Regulations for the Indian Staff Corps. Indian Army Circulars, April* 1886, *clause* 51.

"The following regulations and instructions are promulgated by direction of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council.

"Under instructions from Her Majesty's Government, the Governor General in Council is pleased to promulgate the following Rules for the grant of leave to officers of the Indian Staff Corps :—

"*Rules.*

"I. An officer may be granted—

Privilege leave under such regulations as may from time to time be in force.

Leave out of India, for no longer period than one year, capable of extension to two years' absence from duty, on the following pay :—

After appointment to the Staff Corps . . .		£200 a year.
After commencement of	5th year's service for pension	250 ,,
———	15th ———	300 ,,
———	20th ———	450 ,,
———	25th ———	600 ,,
———	30th ———	700 ,,

Leave in India, but for the period of one year only, on full military pay and half the staff salary of appointment.

* *I.M.D. Circs*, 1886, pp. 40, 42.

† Thirty years ago, there were several officers in the I.M.S. still serving under the furlough rules of 1796, and a large number under the rules of 1854. The *Indian Army List* of Jan., 1913, shows only twenty-one men remaining under the furlough rules of 1875, and of them fourteen are administrative officers.

"II. No extension of leave involving absence from duty for more than two years, whether taken in or out of India, can be granted, except on specially urgent grounds and without pay.

"III. An officer, unable on account of the state of his health to return to duty within the maximum period of two years' absence will, unless he is under Rule II. specially granted an extension of leave without pay, be placed on temporary half pay or the retired list, as the circumstances of the case may seem to require. An officer will also be liable to be placed on half pay or the retired list should his health require an undue amount of leave, whether in or out of India. This power will be exercised at the instance of the Government of his own presidency should the officer be in India, or should he be at home, by the Secretary of State in Council.

"IV. All leave in or out of India will count as service for pension.

"V. Leave, whether it is leave in India or leave out of India, will not involve forfeiture of appointment, and may be granted at any time, but solely at the discretion of the Commanders in Chief of the several armies for officers serving directly under their orders, and by the Governor General in Council or the Governors in Council for officers of civil departments of the army or of corps not under the direct orders of a Commander in Chief.

"VI. An officer on leave, whether in India or out of India, will be required to rejoin at once on being recalled to duty, unless certified by a medical board as unfit to do so.

"VII. The above Rules shall apply to—

Officers whose admission to the Staff Corps shall bear date subsequent to the 30th June, 1886.

Officers of the Staff Corps, including probationers, or of the cavalry and infantry lists of the Indian army, in military employment, who may elect them within 12 months of that date. Officers applying for leave of any kind within that period must elect on making their application. Officers already on leave at date of promulgation must elect at once, and the new rules will apply to them from the date on which their notification of acceptance shall be received at either army headquarters, or by the Government of India, or by the Local Governments, or at the India Office at home, as the case may be.

They shall not apply to—

Officers in civil employ.

Officers commanding divisions, districts, or brigades, or holding other appointments under special regulations as to leave of absence, who will continue subject to such regulations.

"VIII. Officers who, under Rule VII, elect to come under them will count all previous leave as service for pension. The position of those who do not so elect will remain unchanged.

"IX. 1. The Secretary of State in Council reserves the right of making any change in the foregoing regulations which circumstances may require.

"2. Officers who do not elect for the above rules in the manner, and within the periods, laid down by Rule VII, will have no further opportunity of election, but will remain under existing rules. It must also be clearly understood that no modifications of the existing codes will be sanctioned, and that there is no middle course between abiding by them and acceptance of the new rules.

"3. Military officers now in civil employ who may desire to retire

direct from such employment will, on such retirement, be given the option of electing the new rules.

" 4. When it may be necessary to convert sterling rates of pay under these rules into rupee currency, or *vice versâ*, the conversion will be made at the rate of exchange in force for the period when the pay became due, as fixed annually for the adjustment of financial transactions between the Indian and Imperial Governments.

" 5. The rules which govern the allowances of officers acting for absentees remain unchanged."

" *Leave Rules for the Indian Medical Service. Indian Army Circulars, April*, 1886, *clause* 52.

" In continuation of special Indian Army Circular of this date, the Governor General in Council, under instructions from Her Majesty's Government, is pleased to notify that the rules therein laid down for the grant of leave to officers of the Indian Staff Corps apply equally to officers of the Indian Medical Service in military employ, with the following modification in regard to the rates of pay whilst on leave out of India.

After arrival in India	. . . . .		£200 a year.
After commencement of	5th year's service for pension		£250 ,,
———	10th	———	300 ,,
———	15th	———	400 ,,
———	20th	———	450 ,,
———	25th	———	500 ,,

" 2. The rules will apply to all medical officers admitted to the service after the 30th June, 1886, and to officers who may elect them under the provisions of Rule VII."

The scale of furlough pay granted in these rules was considerably increased in 1905, by Govt. of India, Mily. Dept. Notification No. 179 of 3rd March, 1905 (*I.M.D. Circs.*, 1905, p. 4), as follows:—

After arrival in India	. . . . .		£250 a year.
After commencement of	10th year's service for pension		300 ,,
———	15th	———	450 ,,
———	20th	———	600 ,,
———	25th	———	700 ,,

The *Civil Leave Code* is applicable to military officers in civil employ, including those of the I.M.S. who are serving under the furlough rules of 1875 and 1886. As there are now no officers left in the service, who are serving under rules older than those of 1875, the civil leave rules are applicable to all officers of the I.M.S. in civil employment.

Formerly there used to be separate Civil Codes for leave, pay, and pension, but in 1889 these codes were combined into one

work, the *Civil Service Regulations*. In the fifth, the latest, edition of this work, published in 1910, the leave rules fill Chapters XI. to XIV., sections 196 to 348, pp. 51 to 89.

A brief summary of the more important rules is given below. The numbers are those of sections.

197. Leave of absence cannot be claimed as of right, but is subject to the exigencies of the public service.

198. Maximum period of absence admissible is five years.

199. An officer recalled to duty before the expiry of leave of any kind is entitled to take the balance of his leave, together with any leave subsequently earned, as soon as he can be spared.

210. An officer going on privilege leave has a lien on his substantive appointment.

211. On furlough or special leave he has a lien on his substantive appointment, or on one of like character and not less pay.

215. An officer cannot obtain Ordinary Furlough or Special Leave unless he has a substantive appointment.

Note. [A Military Officer who has officiated continuously in the Civil Department for at least three years is an officer with a substantive appointment for the purposes of this rule.]

223. An officer may not return to duty more than fourteen days before the end of his leave expires, unless permitted to do so by the authority which granted the leave.

224. An officer on long leave in Europe must, if the leave was granted or extended on account of ill health, whether it be technically leave on medical certificate or not, satisfy the Medical Board at the India Office as to his fitness to return to duty.

229. An officer who overstays his leave is entitled to no pay for the period of overstay, and ceases to have a lien on his appointment, or on any other; if on ordinary furlough, immediately; if on sick leave or privilege leave, after a week.

233. Privilege leave to the amount due may be prefixed to ordinary furlough, sick leave, or special leave. When combined with furlough, the total period must not exceed two years. When combined with special leave, the total must not exceed six months. When combined with any other kind of leave, the total period of leave must be not less than six months.

246. The amount of privilege leave earned is one-eleventh part of the time an officer has been on duty without interruption. When an officer has three months' privilege leave due, he cannot earn any more.

251. The amount of privilege leave admissible at one time is limited to three months.

299. The total amount of furlough, including special leave, admissible, is six years.

308. Furlough for two years may be granted to an officer who has rendered three years' continuous service; on medical certificate, unconditionally; without medical certificate, on certain conditions—that he has that amount of furlough due, that he has served eight years, that 18 months has elapsed since he returned from privilege leave of over six

weeks' duration, and that the whole number of officers absent on leave does not exceed the limit appointed (one-fifth).

312. Furlough may be extended, on medical certificate, to not more than three years.

313. Ordinary furlough is limited to two years.

314. Maximum furlough pay is £1000 a year, the minimum £500 a year, or the full salary last drawn, whichever is less.

316. Special leave on urgent private affairs may be granted at any time, for not more than six months. It cannot be granted for a second time until after the lapse of six years.

332. Extraordinary leave without pay may be granted under special conditions.

Combined Leave.—In 1901 a modification of the *Civil Leave Code* was introduced, by which an officer was allowed to *combine* any privilege leave due to him, up to a maximum of three months, with any kind of furlough or other long leave. The new rules were published in Govt. of India, Home Dept., Public. Nos. 224–240 of 25th Jan., 1901 (*I.M.D. Circs.*, 1901, p. 4). Such combined leave must be of not less than six months', and of not more than two years' duration. An officer who takes privilege leave by itself for six weeks or more must put in eighteen months' service, after his return, before taking furlough or combined leave.

The introduction of combined leave was of great advantage, both to the State and to individual officers. Prior to 1901, an officer, who had three months' privilege leave due, naturally tried to get that leave one year, and furlough, if he wanted it, the following spring. Now he takes the leave all at once as combined leave. The State gains, as only one transfer is required, instead of three. The individual gains, as he gets the first three months of his leave (or as much of it as he has privilege leave due), on full pay, not counting as furlough. Officers of the I.M.S. in civil employ, especially, have sometimes had great difficulty in getting leave when due. It was common for a civil surgeon going on furlough to have three months' privilege leave due, which he was unable to take, and so lost permanently. Now he gets the benefit of any privilege leave due by taking it as the first part of combined leave.

Study Leave.—This leave was sanctioned first in 1903, by Notification No. 1047, dated 23rd Oct., 1903, by the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept. (*I.M.D. Circs.*, 1903, pp. 35–38), which published revised rules for the appointment, pay, promotion,

retirement, pension, and leave of the I.M.S. Clause 9, the only one dealing with leave, runs as follows:—

"9. On the recommendation of the Director-General, Indian Medical Service, and with the approval of the Government of India, officers will be granted study leave to the extent of one month for each complete year's service up to a maximum of twelve months. The leave will be treated as extra furlough and will count as service in India. Officers on study leave will receive ordinary furlough pay with lodging allowances of 4*s*, 6*s*, and 8*s* a day in addition for Lieutenants, Captains, and Field Officers, respectively, and they will be allowed to retain a lien on their Indian appointments."

Since then numerous modifications of the rules for study leave have been published from time to time.

Letter No. 1525G., Medl. Dept., Organisation, from the Govt. of India, Mily. Supply Dept., dated 6th March, 1907 (*I.M.D. Circs.*, 1907, pp. 10–13), laid down the following rules:— (1) Study leave to be granted only on the recommendation of the Director-General, I.M.S.; (2) One month may be granted for each year of service, up to twelve months in all; (3) may be taken at any time, but not more than twice during an officer's whole service; (4) minimum period granted as study leave, two months; (5) minimum period granted as study leave alone, not combined with other forms of leave, six months; (6) may be combined with any other kind of leave.

Detailed rules for the grant of study leave, which embody all alterations up to that date, were issued in Govt. of India, Army Dept., No. 602–1–A.D., of 4th Jan., 1911, and are as follows:—*

"Extract (paragraph 4) of a Military Despatch from the Right Honble the Secretary of State for India, No. 106, dated the 25th November 1910.

* * * * *

"4. I forward herewith a copy of the regulations regarding the grant of Study Leave to officers of the Indian Medical Service, revised up to date.

"An addition has been made to Rule 5 to meet the case of an officer whose course of study does not cover the full period of study leave sanctioned; a sentence has been added to Rule 10 defining the period of vacation for which the lodging allowance may be issued; and the first sentence of Rule 12 has been modified so as to secure uniformity in the certificates of study furnished by officers.

"*Regulations regarding the grant of Study Leave to officers of the Indian Medical Service*

"1. Extra furlough for the purpose of study may be granted to officers

* *Gazette of India*, 14th Jan., 1911; *I.M.D. Circs.*, 1911, p. 1.

of the Indian Medical Service on the recommendation of the Director General, Indian Medical Service.

" 2. The period of such study leave will be calculated in the case of an officer under Military Leave Rules at the rate of one month for each year of pension service, and in the case of an officer under Civil Leave Rules at the rate of one month for each year of active service, as defined in the Civil Service Regulations, up to a total in either case of 12 months in all during an officer's service.

" 3. Study Leave may be taken at any time, but will not be granted more than twice in the course of an officer's service. This restriction does not apply to an officer who has part of his furlough converted into Study Leave under Rule 8.

" 4. The minimum period of study which will render an officer eligible for Study Leave shall be two months.

" 5. The minimum period of leave granted solely as Study Leave shall be six months. Time spent on the journey to and from India by an officer whose Study Leave is not combined with any other kind of leave will reckon as Study Leave, but the allowance specified in Rule 10 will be granted during the period of study only. An officer whose Study Leave is combined with any other kind of leave will, however, be required to take his period of Study Leave at such a time as to retain, at its conclusion, a balance of other previously sanctioned leave sufficient to cover his return journey to India.

" When an officer has been granted a definite period of Study Leave and finds after arrival in England that his course of study will fall short of the sanctioned period to any considerable extent, his absence from India will be reduced by the excess period of Study Leave unless he produces the assent of the authorities in India to his taking it as ordinary furlough.

" 6. Study Leave can be combined with any other kind of leave, provided the period occupied in study is not less than two months and, in the case of leave on medical certificate, provided that the Medical Board at the India Office certifies that the officer is fit for study. In the case, however, of officers in military employment, Study Leave cannot be taken in continuation of the combined privilege leave and furlough admissible under the terms of India Army Order No. 64 of 1904, if the total period would thereby exceed eight months, but Study Leave may be so taken provided such leave is for not less than two months and the total period of combined privilege leave, furlough and Study Leave does not exceed eight months; this limitation to eight months does not, however, apply in the case of Study Leave combined with privilege leave alone. The total period of absence from duty in India, in the case of officers under the Leave Rules of 1886 for the Indian Army, will be strictly limited to two years.

" 7. Except as provided in Rule 8, all applications for Study Leave shall be submitted with the audit officer's certificate, to the Director-General, Indian Medical Service, through the prescribed channel, and the course or courses of study contemplated and any examination the candidate proposes to undergo shall be clearly specified therein.

" 8. Officers on furlough who wish to have part of their furlough converted into Study Leave should address the Under-Secretary of State, India Office, and should furnish a statement showing how it is proposed to

spend the Study Leave. Similarly, officers on furlough or other leave who desire to have it extended for purposes of study should address the Under-Secretary of State, but in addition to the statement of the proposed study they must support their applications with documentary evidence of their having obtained the approval of the authorities concerned in India to their applying for an extension of leave.

"9. An officer who is at home on combined leave may be permitted to commence a course of study before the end of his privilege leave, and to count the period so spent as part of his Study Leave, without forfeiting his privilege leave allowances during such period.

"10. For the course of study, lodging allowance at the rate of 8*s*. a day for a field officer, 6*s*. for a Captain, and 4*s*. for a Lieutenant, will be granted on the production of the certificates required by Rule 12. It is to be understood that in order to qualify for the grant of Study Leave or for the receipt of lodging allowance, a definite course of study at a recognised institution, which will occupy the time of the officer for five or six days a week, must be pursued. This allowance will not be admissible to an officer who retires from the service without returning to duty in India after a period of Study Leave. Lodging allowance will be admissible up to 14 days for any period of vacation.

"11. The rate of pay admissible during Study Leave to an officer under Civil Rules is determined as follows :—

"A. If the rate of pay admissible during furlough earned by service under Civil Rules is higher in his case than that admissible during furlough earned by service under Military Rules, then—

(1) He draws pay at the former rate for such period of his Study Leave as has been earned by his service under Civil Rules, and

(2) for the remainder, if any, he can elect either—

(*a*) to draw pay at the rate admissible during furlough earned by service under Military Rules, or

(*b*) to draw it at the rate admissible during furlough earned by service under Civil Rules for a period not exceeding the amount of such furlough at his credit. In this case an equal period of the furlough at his credit earned by service under Civil Rules will be treated as if it had been earned by service under Military Rules.

"B. If the rate of pay admissible during furlough earned by service under Military Rules is higher in his case than that admissible in respect of service under Civil Rules, then—

(1) He draws pay at the former rate for such portion of his study leave as has been earned by his service under Military Rules, and

2) for the remainder, if any, he can elect either—

(*a*) to draw pay at the rate admissible during furlough earned by service under Civil Rules, or

(*b*) to draw it at the rate admissible during furlough earned by service under Military Rules, for a period not exceeding the amount of such furlough at his credit. In this case an equivalent period of the furlough at his credit earned by service under Military Rules will be treated as if it had been earned by service under Civil Rules.

" 12. On completion of a course of study a certificate on the proper form (which may be obtained from the India Office) together with any certificates of special study should be forwarded to the Under-Secretary of State, India Office, who will arrange for the transmission of copies of the documents to the Director-General, Indian Medical Service. Officers may also be called upon to report themselves in person to the President of the Medical Board, India Office, on the conclusion of their course of study.

" 13. Study Leave will count as service for promotion and pension, but, except so far as it may be taken during privilege leave (*see* Rule 9), it will not count for furlough or any other leave. It will not affect any leave which may already be due to an officer; and will not be taken into account in reckoning the aggregate amount of furlough taken by an officer towards the maximum period of six years admissible under article 299 of the Civil Service Regulations.

"Military Department, India Office, October, 1910."

Some slight additions to and alterations in the above rules were made by a later order, dated Simla, 6th Sept., 1912.

Leave of Administrative Medical Officers.—Officers of administrative rank have always been subject to special leave rules. Those for members of the Medical Board, and Superintending Surgeons, under the Company, have been given above. Para. 38 of the Royal Warrant of 1864 for the I.M.S. allows six months' leave on medical certificate during the five years' administrative term of office. Later, in 1868, four months' leave on private affairs was also sanctioned, as an alternative, but leave could only be taken once during the five years' tour. In 1904 the amount of leave admissible to an A.M.O. was increased, by Govt. of India, Home Dept., No. 300–307 Medical of 19th March, 1904, which directs that, in addition to privilege leave, eight months' leave, either on medical certificate or on private affairs, may be taken by a Colonel, either in or out of India, during three or five years' tenure of office. This leave may be taken in instalments, but cannot be exceeded without forfeiture of appointment.

Privilege Leave is mentioned as one of the forms of leave admissible, under the furlough rules of 1868, 1875, and 1886, and also in the civil leave rules. It has been allowed, under various names, from a very early period. In military employ an officer can get sixty days' privilege leave in the year, but has to find a substitute to do his work, free of expense to the State. The civil officer can only get one month's privilege leave in the year, but the State undertakes to provide and pay a substitute, if one is available. There is often difficulty about finding a

substitute, which leads to refusal of leave; but if an available substitute can be found, there is no difficulty about payment, which is made by Government as a matter of course.

In both military and civil employ, an officer may accumulate, or save up, his privilege leave, by taking none for two years and nine months, when he will have due, ninety days in the former, three months in the latter. Three months is the maximum amount of privilege leave which may be accumulated, or taken at one time, either by itself, or in combination with other forms of leave, as combined leave. Should an officer take no privilege leave for five years or more, he still can have only three months due to him. It will be seen that, by accumulating privilege leave up to ninety days, the military officer loses half his annual privilege leave, the civil officer does not. The latter can also take part of the privilege leave due to him, and carry on the remainder to his credit, the military officer cannot do so. Privilege leave is given on full *pay;* but any extra allowances for extra work are lost while on leave, all such allowances being drawn by the officer who actually does the work for which they are given.

Extra privilege leave may also be got, in small quantities, by officers in civil employ, for certain special reasons; such as having to go for treatment to a Pasteur Institute, to attend a special bacteriological course, or to attend a volunteer camp of exercise.

Special Leave, on urgent private affairs, may be taken by officers in civil employ, for a period not exceeding six months. It may be combined with any privilege leave due, but in this case the total combined leave must be for exactly six months. The rules for combined leave exact that it shall not be less; those for special leave that it shall not be more. Special leave may be taken more than once, but not for a second time until after the elapse of six years after return from the first.

This leave is intended to meet cases in which an officer, who is unable to take furlough under the ordinary rules, requires leave on urgent grounds, other than his own ill-health, such as the health of his wife or children, family affairs at home, etc. It may be taken at any time, if the reason is sufficiently urgent; the rule that an officer must put in three years at duty, after return from furlough, before taking furlough again, does not apply. It is given on ordinary furlough pay, except that any privilege leave combined with it, is given on full pay. As this leave is intended

to meet special cases of urgency, it is always advisable that an officer, during whose service no such special urgency arises, should, in case he may require to take it later on, put off taking special leave till almost the end of his service. Consequently many never take it at all.

Recall from Leave.—An officer on leave or furlough must rejoin at once, on being recalled to duty, unless certified by a Medical Board as unfit to do so, as directed in the leave rules of 1886. His passage out is paid by the State, the voyage both out and home again counts as duty, and he can take the rest of his leave as soon as he can be spared, without waiting for three years.

Such recall is not common, though all officers of the I.M.S. on leave were recently twice recalled to duty within three years, in 1897 on account of the campaign on the North-West Frontier, and in 1900 on account of the war with China. Recall from leave to duty is usually general, all officers concerned, who are on leave, being recalled at once, and is only ordered for urgent reasons, such as war or famine.

Officers of the I.M.S. receive a free passage to India on joining, but have to pay their own passages home and out again when going on furlough. The only exceptions are that a Lieutenant going home on sick leave is provided with a free passage home, and that an officer recalled from leave is provided with a free passage out.

Though leave on medical certificate can always be got by an officer whose health requires it, transfers on medical certificate are not allowed. An officer is either fit for duty in any appointment to which he may be posted, or he is not, and in the latter case he should be on sick leave. This rule is laid down in *I.M.D. Circs.* No. 10 of 16th June, 1865, which is as follows :—

"Every officer appearing before a Medical Board must be declared competent to perform his duty or not, and that it is entirely contrary to rule, and would be most fruitful of inconvenience to the service, were officers under medical protection to lay down what should be the scene of their duties. If any officer is unable, owing to the state of his health, to proceed to or to remain at the post where Government requires his services, he must, for the time being, be considered unfit for any duty."

The same rule is repeated in *I.M.D. Circs.*, Nos. 73 of 3rd June, 1868, and 87 of 20th Sept., 1873.

The reason of the above rule is obvious. There are many stations in India, which, for various reasons, bear a bad reputation on health grounds. Any medical officer could, with perfect truth, give a certificate to any other officer that it would be to the advantage of his health that he should be transferred to a station with a better climate. Were such certificates freely given, it would be impossible to fill posts in unpopular stations.

Until 1908 it was necessary for an officer on leave in England, other than privilege leave, to obtain permission from the India Office to return to India, shortly before the expiration of his leave. Letter No. 2251 P. of 24th April, 1908, from the Govt. of India, Finance Dept., abrogates this rule, and directs that officers on long leave in England, other than medical leave, need not obtain permission from the India Office to return to duty in India. They must inform the authority who granted them leave of the date of their return. Officers on leave on medical certificate, however, must still, of course, be passed as fit by the Medical Board of the India Office before they can be permitted to return.

A Lieutenant on probation is eligible for sick leave, during which he receives pay at the rate of 10*s.* 6*d.* a day. If after completion of his course of training, he is unable to embark for India when ordered, on account of illness, he receives pay at the rate of £250 a year.

A short abstract of the leave rules now in force is given in the *Memorandum regarding the position of officers appointed to the I.M.S.*, which is given to all intending candidates. The last issue is dated May, 1910.

CHAPTER XX

PENSIONS

" I am paid in full for service—would that service still were mine ! "
KIPLING, *The Galley-slave, Departmental Ditties.*

PENSION, like furlough, is a comparatively modern institution. The early servants of the Company neither expected, nor got, any pensions at all; although a compassionate pension might occasionally be granted as a favour. The first mention of a pension to a medical officer appears to be the offer of an allowance of forty rupees a month to Gregorius Meisters, related in Chap. VI, *Early History, Surat, Persia, Bombay, and the West.* This allowance Meisters declined. A Letter from Bombay, dated 26th April, 1770, reports in para. 44—

" Rob[t] Trotter, Surgeon at Anjengo, very old and infirm, has been allowed to retire on full pay."

Another Letter from Bombay, dated 31st Aug., 1775, states in para. 134—

" M[r] Potter, an old Surgeon, permitted to retire on full Pay & recommended for an allowance of £100 per annum."

The careers of Trotter and Potter were, like their names, somewhat similar. Trotter entered the Service in 1739, so had completed thirty years' service, chiefly in the Marine. On 31st Aug., 1757, he was discharged from the Marine to Fort Victoria, and on 20th March, 1759, transferred to Anjengo. John Potter also began his service afloat. His name does not appear in the list of officers serving in the Marine in 1753, the next list extant shows him as transferred from the Marine to Tellicherri on 28th Dec., 1757. Neither lived long to enjoy his pension. Trotter died at Anjengo on 4th Sept., 1771, Potter at Tellicherri on 10th Dec., 1776.

Trotter's pension was sanctioned in a despatch from Court, dated 12th June, 1771, para. 8; and Potter's in a similar despatch of 16th April, 1777, para. 22. In the former it is distinctly stated that Trotter might, if he chose, return to England, and draw his pension at home.

"Surgeon Rob[t] Trotter allow'd an Annuity of £100, he may come home, in that Case acquaint us to what time you shall have paid him."

The *Bengal Minutes of Council* of 29th April, 1796, contain regulations for furlough and pension, which have been given in Chap. XVI, *Military and Civil.* The pensions thereby granted were, to a member of the Medical Board, after five years in that rank, and not less than twenty years' service, £500 a year; to the Surgeon of a General Hospital (*i.e.* a Head Surgeon), on the same conditions, £300 a year; to other medical officers, after not less than twenty years' service, the full pay of their rank.

This rule, allowing full pay pensions after twenty years' service, is not really so liberal as it seems, as the various allowances drawn by all military officers, including military medical officers, came to considerably more than their nominal pay, and pay only, without allowances, was given as pension.

Only military medical officers, *i.e.* those serving with the Army, not those employed in the Commercial Factories and Residencies, were entitled to pension. A Letter from Court, dated 12th July, 1782, quoted in Chap. XXI, *The Funds*, directs that only those Surgeons serving with the Army should be eligible for the benefits of Lord Clive's Fund. In the *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board for 6th July, 1796, is entered a letter to Mr. Wilson, stating that pension after twenty years' service is granted only to Surgeons in the military line of the Service. There were three Wilsons in the Bengal Medical Service at this date; the one to whom this letter is addressed appears to have been James Wilson, who entered on 5th Nov., 1781, was civil Surgeon of Murshidabad in 1796, and died there on 26th Aug., 1803. So in his case no question of pension arose. The same *Proceedings*, on 15th July, 1796, contain a letter, dated 8th July, from the Secretary to Government, stating that military Surgeons only are entitled to pension, furlough, and promotion. Practically, however, this rule hardly operated at all. Shortly afterwards, as

related above in Chap. XVI, *Military and Civil*, it was ruled that all medical officers were liable to military duty, and so were all equally entitled to the advantages of pension, furlough, and promotion, excepting those who had resigned their claims to promotion, in order to retain their civil stations. These were comparatively few in number, and had resigned these advantages by their own deliberate choice.

Regulations for pension were issued in a G.O. dated 20th Feb., 1813, published in the *East India Register* for 1813, from which are quoted the following clauses :—

" Regulations regarding Military Officers retiring from the Company's service.

" Every officer after twenty-five years' service in India, three years for one furlough being included,* is allowed to retire with the pay of the rank to which he has attained ; but such pay is to be the same only as that allowed to officers of infantry.

" A member of the Medical Board, who has been in that station not less than two years, and not less than twenty years in India, including three years for one furlough, is permitted to retire from the service, and allowed £500 *per annum.*

" A Surgeon of a General Hospital, who has been in that station not less than two years, and whose period of service has been not less than twenty years, including three years for one furlough, as above, is permitted to retire from the service, and allowed £300 *per annum* for life.

" All other Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons attached to the military, are permitted to retire from the service on the pay of their rank, after having served in India not less than twenty years, including three for one furlough.

* * * * *

" A Subaltern officer, or military Assistant Surgeon, having served six years in India, is permitted to retire on the *half-pay of ensign,*† if his constitution should be so impaired as to prevent the possibility of his continuing in India.

" Every officer returning on furlough, and wishing to retire from the service, must make a declaration to that effect, within twelve months after his arrival in England ; and in case of his neglecting so to do, he must, at the expiration of his furlough, either return to India, or be held to have relinquished the service, and not be entitled to retire on pay, unless he has continued to serve in India, from his first arrival, for the space of *twenty-two years*, without having a furlough ; in that case he is allowed *two years* before he shall be called upon to signify his intention of retiring, but he can only be allowed the pay of the rank he held at the expiration of twelve months from his arrival in Europe.

" Promotion in consequence of officers retiring in England, takes place from the time when the requests of such officers to retire are laid before the Court."

* *I.e.* including one furlough of three years.
† Italics, here and below, in the original.

The restriction of permission to retire on pension to "Surgeons attached to the military," in the fourth paragraph of the above orders, excluded only those Assistant Surgeons, as before, who had resigned promotion to remain at their civil stations.

The requirement of twenty years' total service in India, in the second and third paragraphs, from members of the Medical Board and Surgeons of General Hospitals (whose title had some years before been changed to that of Superintending Surgeon), seems hardly necessary, as no medical officer had a chance of rising to even the lower of these two grades until he had put in much more than twenty years' service.

A letter from the Court of Directors, dated 27th Aug., 1828, and published as Bengal G.O. of 27th March, 1829, and Madras G.O. of 27th Jan., 1829,* directing that members of the Medical Board shall vacate their posts after five years' tenure of office, also grants considerably increased pensions to the senior ranks of the Service, viz. :—

Member of Medical Board,	after	five	years'	service	as	such,	£700 *per annum.*
do.	do.	do.	two	do.	do.	£500	do.
Superintending Surgeon,	do.	five	do.		do,	£365	do.

Wound pensions were first granted in 1831, by a letter from Court dated 16th February, 1831, published in Bengal G.O. of 3rd June, 1831. For loss of an eye or limb, or loss of total use of a limb, or injury equivalent thereto, annual pensions were sanctioned, their continuance being dependent upon subsequent examinations before a Military Medical Board. The rates given to medical officers were the same as those given in the British Army, member of the Medical Board being equivalent to I.G., and Superintending Surgeon to D.I.G., and were fixed as follows :—

Inspector General	£300	*per annum.*
Deputy Inspector General	£200	,,
Surgeon or Physician	£100	,,
Assistant Surgeon	£70	,,
Apothecary or Hospital Asst.	£50	,,

A Mily. Letter from Court, dated 23rd Nov., 1836, granted to medical officers invalid pensions after three years' service.

* Wilson, *History of Madras Army*, Vol. IV, p. 503; *C. G.*, 30th March, 1829; *Asiatic Journal*, Aug., 1829, p. 223.

"*Fort William, May 1st*, 1837. In continuation of G.O. of the 5th Oct., 1836, the following paragraph of a military letter from the Hon. the Court of Directors to the Governor General of India in Council, dated the 23rd Nov. last, is published for general information :—

"We have to announce that we have extended to the medical branch of our army, the benefits of the regulation, communicated to you in our military despatch, dated the 11th May, 1836, allowing officers who are compelled to quit the service by wounds received in action, or by ill-health contracted on duty, after three years' service in India, to retire on the halfpay of their rank ; on the production of the usual certificates that their health will not permit them to serve in India."

In the pension rules given in the *East India Register* for 1836 appear certain additions, mostly general, one referrring to medical officers only. By the latter, Superintending Surgeons, who had served in that rank not less than two years, and whose total service in India, including one furlough of three years, was over twenty years, were allowed a pension of £300 *per annum ;* after five years in that rank, £365, as before. If invalided on account of ill-health, they got £300 at any time after attaining the rank, £365 after three years' service in the rank.

Bengal G.O., No. 169 of 1st July, 1842,* which changed the designation of the members of the Medical Board, and introduced the new rank of Senior Surgeon, also laid down new rates of pension, with effect from 16th July, 1842 ; rates dependent upon length of service, instead of upon rank, as heretofore. Each term of service for pension, as before, included three years' furlough.

Officers who attained the rank of Superintending Surgeon within ten years of the 16th July, 1842, the date of introduction of the new rates, were permitted to retire on the rates of pension previously in force, if more favourable to them.

An intermediate pension of £250 a year after twenty-four years' service was sanctioned by G.O. No. 122 of 19th April, 1844, the other rates, given below, being the same as those of 1842.†

In 1854 the periods of service for all rates of pension were somewhat reduced.

* This G.O. is given at length in Chap. XXIII, *Administration, the Medical Boards.*

† Mily. letter from Court, No. 3 of 28th Feb., 1844.

The rates of 1842, 1844, and 1854, are shown below in the following table, in pounds *per annum.*

Period of qualifying service.	1842.	1844.	1854.
	£	£	£
Seventeen years .	—	—	191
Twenty ,, .	191	191	—
Twenty-one ,, .	—	—	250
Twenty-four ,, .	—	250	—
Twenty-five ,, .	—	—	300
Twenty-eight ,, .	300	300	—
Twenty-nine ,, .	—	—	365
Thirty-two ,, .	365	365	500
Thirty-five ,, .	500	500	700
Thirty-eight ,, .	700	700	—

The I.M.S. was closed to competition, and no new appointments to it were made, during a period of nearly five years, from Oct., 1860 to April, 1865, while various schemes were under consideration for its abolition, or amalgamation with the Army Medical Department. These schemes being abandoned, a new warrant for the Service was issued from the India Office on 7th Nov., 1864, in the form of a despatch from the Secretary of State for India, Sir Charles Wood, to the Governor General of India in Council.* In this warrant new pension rates were laid down.

Clause 35 fixes these new pension rates as follows :—

After seventeen years' service	£220 *per annum.*
— twenty-one ——	£292 ——
— twenty-four ——	£365 ——
— twenty-seven ——	£456 ——
— thirty ——	£550 ——

Clauses 36 and 37 grant to an I.G. and a D.I.G., respectively, after five years' tour of duty in that rank, extra pensions of £350 and £250 respectively; and, by clause 38, six months' leave on medical certificate was allowed to count as part of the five years' term in each case. By clause 39 all officers then serving, *i.e.* all who entered before and in the year 1860, were given the choice of pension according to the new rules, or those previously in force.

New pension rules were again introduced, with effect from 1st Jan., 1881, by Secretary of State's Despatch No. 112 Mily. of 14th April, 1881, published in G.G.O., No. 279 of 20th May, 1881, giving the various rates of pension at periods of service

* This warrant is given at length in Chap. XXXVII, *The Crown succeeds the Company.*

considerably less than before. With these orders was published a review of the pension rules, by the Secretary of State. The rules and review are given below.*

" *G.G.O. No.* 279, *dated* 20*th May*, 1881. *Despatch from the Secretary of State, No.* 112, *Military, dated* 14*th April*, 1881. *Extracts.*

Para. 5. " The following will be the scale of pensions for the Indian Medical Service with effect from 1st January 1881.

" After 17 years' service, including 1⅔ years' leave and furlough £292
— 20 —— — 2 — —— £365
— 25 —— — 3 — —— £500
— 30 —— — 4 — —— £700

Para. 6. " Those officers who serve five years as Surgeon General or Deputy Surgeon General will receive on retirement extra pensions of £350 and £250 a year respectively—six months' leave on medical certificate, or four months on private affairs, being allowed to count as part of this service of five years. A good service pension granted to a medical officer will lapse on his obtaining the additional pension allowed to a Deputy Surgeon General or Surgeon General."

Para. 7. " Medical officers not entitled to pension, but who, at the expiration of two years leave of absence on medical certificate, are unfit to return to duty, will be placed on temporary or permanent half pay, after examination by the Medical Board of the India Office. The half pay granted in such a case will be the British rate of half pay of the relative rank held by the officer. The period passed on half pay will in no case be reckoned as service in calculating claims to promotion or to pension on retirement." †

Para. 8. " With the liberal rates of pension now introduced, I do not consider that it will be necessary to give any higher rate than that to which they may be entitled to medical officers below the rank of Deputy Surgeon General who may be retired on attaining the age of 55 years, under the provisions of Article 8 of the Royal Warrant of the 16th November, 1880. An officer now in the service, who is so retired, may, if he pleases, elect to receive pension under the previous Regulations."

" *Review of the Revised Pension Regulations recently sanctioned for Officers of the Indian Military Service. Indian Army Circulars, January*, 1882, *clause* 11.

" His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council is pleased to direct the publication of the following despatch from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, No. 407, dated the 8th December, 1881, for general information :—

Para. 1. " In my despatches Nos. 112, 258, 260, and 299 of the present

* G.G.O., No. 279 of 20th May, 1881, is republished in *I.M.D. Circs. for* 1881, p. 8 ; and the review by the Secretary of State in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1882, pp. 8–13.

† Time, not exceeding one year, passed on temporary half pay reckons as service for promotion and pension, in case of an officer placed on half pay on account of ill-health contracted in the performance of civil or military duty. [Memo. regarding the position of officers to be appointed to His Majesty's Indian Medical Service, India Office, May, 1910, Secretary of State's Despatch, No. 130 Mily. of 13th Oct., 1892.]

year, I have sanctioned revised pension regulations for the officers of the various branches of the Indian Military Service, including the Medical and Veterinary Departments. Under the revised rules substantial benefits have been conferred upon officers already serving, while a very sufficient pension has been allowed to those officers who may hereafter enter the service.

"2. It seems to me expedient now to review the general result of these measures, in order that misapprehensions may be removed, and at the same time to issue some further regulations which appear to me desirable, in view to placing the pension system of Her Majesty's Indian Forces on a perfectly satisfactory footing,

"3. I will proceed first to show what alterations have been made in the pension regulations as they existed in the year 1860, and those sanctioned in the year 1881. I select the year 1860 as the best period with which to draw the comparison, as this was the year preceding those great changes in the Indian Service which resulted in the amalgamation of the Artillery and Engineers of the three presidencies with the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, the transfer of European regiments to the British line, and the formation of the Staff Corps. In making this comparison, I shall pass over any regulations made between 1860 and 1881 which have been superseded by the regulations of the present year, but I shall briefly specify the advantages in the matter of retirement which have been avowedly of a temporary nature, and of the benefits of which many officers have availed themselves.

* * * * *

"20. As respects the Medical Department, the following statement shows the pension rates in force in 1860, the revised rates introduced in 1864, and the present rate of pensions :—

RATES OF PENSION FOR THE MEDICAL SERVICE PER ANNUM.

	1860.	1864.	1888.
	£. s. d.	£	£
17 years' service .	191 12 6	220	292
20 ,, ,, .	191 12 6	220	365
21 ,, ,, .	250 0 0	292	365
24 ,, ,, .	250 0 0	365	365
25 ,, ,, .	300 0 0	365	500
27 ,, ,, .	300 0 0	456	500
29 ,, ,, .	365 0 0	456	500
30 ,, ,, .	365 0 0	550	700
32 ,, ,, .	500 0 0	550	700
35 ,, ,, .	700 0 0	550 (*a*)	700

"(*a*) With the option of £700 to officers who entered before 1864, and did not receive the higher additional pensions of Deputy Surgeon-General or Surgeon-General; Medical Officers compulsorily retired at the age of 55 were granted the pension next above that to which their service entitled them.

"Besides this, since 1864 an additional £250 or £350 a year is given to every officer who, on retirement, has rendered five years' service in the office of Deputy Surgeon General or Surgeon General respectively.

"21. From this table it will be seen that the pensions of Medical Officers who have not served in the higher appointments have been raised since 1860

by amounts varying from 37 to 91 per cent. in the case of officers who have served under or up to 30 years ; while the highest pension formerly allowed, —namely £700,—which was only obtainable after 35 years, can now be obtained by 30 years' service. Further, those Medical Officers who serve as Deputy Surgeons General or Surgeons General can now on completion of 30 years' service and five years in the grade obtain pensions of £950 and £1050 a year respectively, as against the £365 and £700 obtainable after 30 and 35 years' service under the old rules, and as against £800 and £900 obtainable by them under the rules of 1864.

" 22. Medical Officers, it must be recollected, have of late years been granted higher relative rank, a privilege which carries with it a higher rate of pension for widows, a higher rate of wound pension, and a higher rate of retirement if an officer is compelled to leave the service from ill-health before completion of 17 years' service in India. By these rules Medical Officers on joining from probation at once rank as Captains, a rank only gained by a Staff Corps officer after 12 years' service, while the relative rank of Major is obtained eight years earlier than in the Staff Corps, and that of Lieutenant Colonel in six years' less service than in the Staff Corps.

" 24. An examination of the foregoing details shows how greatly all classes of officers in the Indian Army have benefited by the alterations in the pension regulations, while very sufficient rates of pension have been fixed for those officers who henceforward enter the service. There are, however, some particular conditions which I think may advantageously be modified ; but, before I refer to these points, I desire to advert to a complaint which has been made that all leave of absence does not count as service for pension. The rules on this subject are not new rules, but rules that have been in existence for 27 years, which rules were again more liberal than those in force prior to 1854. These rules were not interfered with by the recent regulations, which simply augmented rates of pension all round, and they apply to no officer who has entered the service since the year 1875. I cannot admit that the continuance of the long-existing rule, which only admits leave to a certain extent to count as service for pension, constitutes any grievance whatever.

" 25. The position of officers under the regulations referred to is as follows :—

" The whole of the following descriptions of leave of absence count as service for pension without any deduction whatever :—

" I. Recreation or regimental leave, to the extent of three days at a time within musters, and in the district, and to an aggregate of ten days in each six months.

" II. Temporary or station leave, extending to ten days' absence within the presidency in which the officer is serving, and limited to twenty days in six months.

" III. Privilege leave, irrespective of musters, to the extent of 60 days in each year, with liberty to proceed anywhere, provided the officer taking it shall ensure return within the term of his leave. To officers of certain local corps privilege leave is allowed for 90 days in each year, while to military officers in civil employ it is limited to 30 days annually, but with the privilege of accumulating the leave for two or three years and then taking 60 or 90 days. [Officers availing themselves of any of the foregoing descriptions of leave retain their full salary and emoluments.]

" IV. Leave rendered necessary in consequence of wounds or from

ill-health due to exposure on field service, to an extent not exceeding 18 months in each case.

" V. Leave not exceeding 30 days preparatory to embarking on furlough, and again on return from furlough to enable an officer to rejoin his corps or appointment.

" VI. Leave granted to enable an officer to study the Native languages at one of the Presidency towns, provided he passes the prescribed tests within the following periods :—

Higher standard in Hindustani—six months.

Examination in other languages than Hindustani,—a further period of six months.

On obtaining a certificate of high proficiency,—a period of 18 months in the aggregate.

On obtaining a degree of honour in Arabic, Sanskrit, or Persian,—a period of two years.

" 26. In addition to leave taken under any of the circumstances just stated, two years' leave in 20, three years in 25, four years in 30, five years in 35, and six years in 38 years' service are allowed to count as service for pension.

" 27. Not only are these regulations liberal, but officers of the Indian service have had the further advantage of drawing furlough pay when on leave, varying from £250 to £1000 a year, and of retaining Staff and other situations when on leave ; while in nearly all cases where leave on medical certificate has been granted, it has been allowed for a fixed term of two years, instead of being limited to the actual necessities of the case. It is impossible to consider these rules as anything but liberal in the extreme, and I believe that, in several of those cases where leave has been taken in excess of the time allowed to count as service for pension, a more strict attention on the part of superior authorities would have led to the removal from the active list of the Army of officers who have passed a considerable portion of their service on leave on sick certificate. I must also observe that there is no analogy between the case of these officers and that of officers under the British service rules who ordinarily only obtain leave for limited periods and on lower rates of pay, with the disadvantage of compulsory retirement and smaller pensions. Certain considerations have rendered it desirable to cease to deduct leave from the service for pension in the case of officers of the late Indian Artillery and Engineers, and new Line regiments who are under Indian pension rules ; but these considerations do not apply to officers of the Staff Corps or Indian Army.

" 28. I have, therefore, no intention of abrogating rules which I consider to be just, and the operation of which has always been well known to the officers concerned ; but as respects the actual periods to count as service, when the leave has been taken under regulations prior to those of 1875, I have determined to sanction some small modifications, as in some cases the periods in which a certain amount of leave is allowed to count as service for pension do not correspond with the periods at which higher rates of pension are claimable. Thus, after 24 years' service the second rate of pension for combatant officers is claimable, but the second period of leave allowed to count requires 25 years' service before it can be reckoned. I am induced, therefore, to sanction an alteration in the periods of leave to be allowed to count, so as to make each period correspond with a period of service at which a pension can now be earned. Under this view, I will

allow three years' leave to count in 24 years, four years in 28, five in 32, and six in 38 years, instead of, as at present, three years in 25, four years in 30, five years in 35, and six in 38. As respects the Medical Department, the officers of which can claim pensions at periods different from the foregoing, and who enter the service at a later period of life than the combatant officers, the periods allowed will be two years in 17 years' service, three years in 20 years' service, four years in 25 years, and five years in 30 years, at which last period the highest rate of pension is claimable. This latter scale can be applied also to the Veterinary Department.

" 29. In making this concession, however, I must desire that no furlough on medical certificate for officers under any furlough regulations shall be given in future for more than one year in the first instance, and it will only be renewable on satisfactory evidence that more leave is necessary. Officers at home will have to appear before a Medical Board to obtain an extension.

* * * * *

" 33. Having now completed my review of the pension regulations of the various classes of Military and Medical Officers under Indian regulations, I must express my conviction that the rules as they now stand are not, with due regard to the public interest, susceptible of further extension. I have no doubt whatever that the benefits of these regulations, combined with the other advantages of service in India, will continue to attract candidates to the Indian service, well qualified to maintain the deservedly high reputation already acquired by the officers of that service.

" 34. I request you will cause this Despatch to be published in your General Orders, and to intimate that any benefits conferred by it will take effect from the 1st July, 1881."

" *Explanation of the rules regarding the grant of pensions to officers of the Indian Medical Service.* Indian Army Circulars February*, 1882, *clause* 44.

" The following extract, paragraph 11, from despatch from the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, No. 18, dated the 12th January 1882, is published in continuation of Indian Army Circulars, Clause 121, of 1881.

" *Paragraph* 11. With reference to paragraph 8 of my Military Despatch No. 112 of 14th April last, and to the amended article 2179 of the Pay Code for India, it is well, to avoid misapprehension, that I should inform your Government that it was not my intention to intimate that all officers in the service at the date of the despatch should have the option of receiving the next higher pension under previous regulations on being compulsorily retired at the age of 55 years, but only that those officers still in the service who possessed the privilege, *i.e.* those who entered before 13th January, 1860, should retain it.

* * * * *

" With reference to the above, the last sentence of revised article 2179, Pay Code for India, is reconstructed as follows :

Indian Army Circulars clause 130 of 1881.

' but an officer who entered the service before the 13th January 1860, and was still serving on the 14th April 1881, may, if so retired, elect to receive pension under the previous regulations.' "

In 1903 revised rules for the appointment, pay, promotion,

* *I.M.D. Circs.*, 1882, p. 17.

leave, retirement, and pension of officers of the I.M.S., were published as Not. No. 1047 of 23rd Oct., 1903, by the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept. These rules were republished in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1903, p. 35. They took effect from 13th Aug., 1903. Clause 7 of this notification gives the following increased rates of pension at various periods of service.

At seventeen years of service	. . .	£300 *per annum.*
At twenty ——	. . .	£400 ,,
At twenty-five ——	. . .	£500 ,,
At thirty ——	. . .	£700 ,,

Clause 8 of Notification No. 1047 of 23rd Oct., 1903, also laid down rates of extra pensions for A.M.O.'s as follows, reducing the period of service for the pension of Surgeon General from five to three years, and allowing half rates of extra pension to Colonels after three years' service in that rank:—

Surgeon General, after three years' service as such	.	£350 *per annum*
Colonel, ,, ,, ,,	. .	£125 ,,
Colonel, ,, five ,, ,,	. .	£250 ,,

With effect from 2nd Aug., 1908, a new intermediate rate of pension was given, £600 after twenty-seven and a half years' service, by Not. No. 82, dated 18th Sept., 1908, of Govt. of India, Mily. Supply Dept. (*I.M.D. Circs.*, 1908, p. 35).

In 1911 a new graduated scale of pensions was granted by Govt. of India, Mily. Dept. Not. No. 570 of 30th June, 1911, published in the *Gazette of India* of 1st July, 1911, and in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1911, p. 27. The pensions at seventeen, twenty, twenty-five, and thirty years' service remained unchanged, but intermediate pensions were granted, rising some by £20, some by £40 a year, for each year's service from the seventeenth to the thirtieth. This was a concession which had long been desired.

"*Medical Department, No. 570.* With the approval of the Right Honble the Secretary of State for India, the following graduated scale of pension for the officers of the Indian Medical Service is sanctioned, with effect from the 1st April, 1911, in supersession of the scale hitherto in force—

"After 17 years' service	. . . . .	£300
,, 18 ——	. . . . .	320
,, 19 ——	. . . . .	360
,, 20 ——	. . . . .	400
,, 21 ——	. . . . .	420
,, 22 ——	. . . . .	440

"After 23 years' service	. . . . .	£460
,, 24 ——	. . . . .	480
,, 25 ——	. . . . .	500
,, 26 ——	. . . . .	540
,, 27 ——	. . . . .	580
,, 27½ ——	. . . . .	600
,, 28 ——	. . . . .	640
,, 29 ——	. . . . .	660
,, 30 ——	. . . . .	700

"2. The concession authorized in paragraph 6 of G.G.O. No. 1047, dated the 24th October, 1903, under which officers of the Indian Medical Service on the list of selected Lieutenant-Colonels, are permitted to remain in the service beyond the age of 55 years, in order to qualify for the pension admissible after 30 years' service, shall cease in the case of officers entering the Indian Medical Service on or after the 1st April, 1911."

The Staff Corps furlough rules of 1886, now the Indian Army furlough rules, under which all officers joining the service after that year necessarily came, allow all furlough obtained to count as service for pension. While the grant of furlough, and rates of furlough pay, under these rules, apply only to those officers of the I.M.S. who remain in military employ, the rule that all furlough counts as service applies to all officers of the I.M.S., both in military and in civil employ, for all retire under military rules, as officers of the army.

Up to the year 1903, a grievance existed, in connection with pensions, in the fact that an officer who entered the Service after the age of twenty-five, as many do, could not serve long enough to obtain the full pension of £700 a year after thirty years' service, as he was compulsorily retired at the age of fifty-five, unless he had obtained promotion before that time to administrative rank, which was unlikely. Practically, therefore, he could not earn a pension higher than £500 a year. Under clause six of the new rules of 1903, an officer on the "Selected list" of Lieut.-Colonels, if physically fit and reported efficient, could be granted an extension to enable him to complete thirty years' service, and earn the full pension; but, during such extension, was not eligible either for promotion, or for an "extra compensation pension."

The new pension rules of 1911 rendered this concession less necessary, and by these rules it was accordingly withdrawn, in the case of all officers entering the Service after 1st April, 1911.

By Govt. of India, Mily Supply Dept., Not. No. 4296 G of 8th July, 1908 (*I.M.D. Circs.*, 1908, p. 29), officers of the I.M.S.

were allowed to count as service for leave and pension periods of plague duty performed before admission to the Service. By Govt. of India, Army Dept., Not. No. 686 of 16th July, 1909 (*I.M.D. Circs.*, 1909, p. 24), service in the South African War, as a civil medical officer, was similarly allowed to count as service for pension.

Extra Compensation Pensions.—In 1869 the number of Inspector Generals in the Bengal Service was reduced from two to one, and, as compensation, two D.I.G.'s were allowed the special extra pension of £350 a year, instead of £250, by G.O.G.G. No. 375 of 24th March, 1869, which runs as follows :—

" From the retirement of Inspector General W. A. Green, the second appointment of Inspector General in Bengal will be abolished, and the administrative medical staff notified in G.G.O. No. 901 of 26th October, 1866, will be adhered to.

" Two additional special pensions of £350 will be given, in two cases, at intervals of five years, to two Deputy Inspector Generals who have completed five years as such."

When the number of administrative medical appointments was reduced, in 1880, by G.G.O. No. 13 of 2nd Jan., 1880,* the tenth to twelfth paragraphs of that order allowed two S.G.'s or D.S.G.'s of the I.M.S., in each of the three Presidential armies, to retire with the full extra pension of their rank, before completion of five years' service in the rank.

" 10. With a view to the retirement, on favourable terms, of the surplus officers of the Indian Medical Service, the Right Honble the Governor General in Council is pleased to offer to the Surgeons General and Deputy Surgeons General of the three armies the retirement on the extra pension of their grade with an honorary step in rank, notwithstanding that they may not have completed the qualifying service for these pensions.

" 11. The number of retirements in each army will be restricted to two.

" 12. The option of retirement will be given in order of seniority, but applications to retire, which must be made to the Military Department of the Government to which the officer belongs, cannot be accepted after the 31st March, 1880."

At the same time, among the other changes made, the five Provincial Sanitary Commissioners of Bengal, the N.W.P., the Panjab, Madras, and Bombay, were given the rank, title, and pay of Deputy Surgeon General on completion of twenty-six years' service, as well as the extra pension of D.S.G. at thirty-one

* G.G.O., No. 13 of 2nd Jan., 1880, is given at length in Chap. XXXVIII., 1865 *to* 1896.

years' service. This arrangement caused considerable dissatisfaction in the I.M.S., and these advantages to Sanitary Commissioners were abolished in 1886. In fact, only one holder of the office in each of the three provinces of Upper India, Bengal, the N.W.P., and the Panjab, got the benefit of the change. Two officers in Madras, and two in Bombay, became D.S.G.'s as Sanitary Commissioners, but in each case held the office for only a comparatively short time.* When the Sanitary D.S.G.'s were abolished in 1886, as compensation to the Service, four "extra compensation pensions" of £100 a year each, were sanctioned each year, two to Bengal, one each to Madras and Bombay, by clause 91 of *I.A.C.*, June, 1886, which runs as follows :—

"*India Army Circulars, June* 1886, *clause* 91.

"With reference to Home Department Notification No. 228, dated 4th June, 1886, regarding the withdrawal of the rank and privileges of a Deputy Surgeon General hitherto conferred on officers of the Indian Medical Service holding the appointments of Sanitary Commissioners, Her Majesty's Government have sanctioned, as a compensation to the Indian Medical Service, the annual grant of four extra pensions of £100 per annum each to the senior officers of the department, in the proportion of two for the Bengal, and one each for the Madras and Bombay Services.

"2. These extra pensions will be offered yearly in rotation to Surgeons General, Deputy Surgeons General, and to all Brigade Surgeons; but under no circumstances will the extra pensions be given to a Surgeon General or Deputy Surgeon General until he has completed three years' actual service in the grade, excluding all leave except privilege leave, and then only when, from failing health or other unforeseen causes, he may be unable to complete his full tour of service.

"3. Should the full number of pensions not be accepted in any one official year, the balance will lapse, and will not be offered during the following year.

"4. Applications for the above pensions should be submitted to the Surgeons General with the Governments of India, Madras, and Bombay respectively, on or before the 1st September for the current year, and on the 1st of April of each succeeding year." †

These extra compensation pensions were first granted in the financial year, 1887–88. They were abolished, as regards officers joining after that date, by clause 163 of *I.A.C.*, in Sept., 1889. ‡

* See Chap. XVII., *Rank*.

† By Circ. No. 56 of 26th Aug., 1902, from the Surgeon General with the Government of India, special forms were laid down for submission of applications for these extra compensation pensions; and by Circ. No. 10 C. of 17th May, 1893, from the same authority, the date by which such applications must be submitted was altered from 1st April to 1st March.

‡ In 1912 orders were passed that officers whose commissions are dated 30th Sept., 1889, should be eligible for these extra compensation pensions. Those entering on 31st March, 1890, and on later dates, are not eligible.

The grant of these pensions will therefore cease within the next seven years. On several occasions one or more of these pensions have lapsed for want of qualified applicants. Clause 163 of Sept., 1889, runs as follows :—

" Under instructions from the Secretary of State for India, it is notified that the grant of the four extra pensions of £100 *per annum* each to the senior officers of the Indian Medical Service sanctioned in clause 91, India Army Circulars, 1886, will be discontinued as regards all officers who may be appointed to the service after the examination in August, 1889."

From 1886–1903 the first claim on these pensions was that of an A.M.O., who had completed three years as such, but who, on account of ill-health, was unable to complete the full term of five years. On three occasions administrative officers had to take advantage of them, D.S.G. Dallas in 1889–90; Surgeon-Colonels Hilson in 1893–94, and Ross in 1897–98. As the new rules of 1903 allow half pensions of £125 to administrative medical officers who have completed three years as such, not only in case of ill-health, but at their own choice, these officers no longer have a claim upon the extra compensation pensions.

Extra pensions were sometimes, but rarely, given by the E.I. Co. at a much earlier date. A Mily. Letter from Court to Madras, dated 17th Aug., 1803, in para. 192, states that Head Surgeon George Ogilvie, not having served for five years as Head Surgeon, cannot be granted a Head Surgeon's pension, but is allowed to retire on the Surgeon's pension of ten shillings a day, and, on account of his long imprisonment in Maisur, has been granted an additional allowance of £100 a year. Ogilvie entered the Service on 11th Dec., 1777, and was one of the officers taken prisoner after Baillie's defeat at Perambakam on 10th Sept., 1780, in the second Maisur war.

Another Mily. Letter from Court to Bombay, dated 6th June, 1814, in para. 26, states that Surgeon George Keir has been permitted to retire, and has been granted, as a mark of approbation, a pension of £100 a year, in addition to the Surgeon's pension of ten shillings a day. No reason for this extra grant is stated. Keir had been Surgeon to Sir Arthur Wellesley in India.

Invalid Pensions.—Clause 28 of *I.A.C.* for 1894 laid down the following rates of invalid pensions for officers unable, on

account of ill-health, to complete seventeen years' service for regular pension:—

"*I.A.C.* 1894, *dated* 1st *March*, 1894, *clause* 28. *Pensions. Scale of Invalid Pensions for the Indian Staff Corps and Medical Service.**

"Under the authority of the Secretary of State for India, His Excellency the Governor General in Council is pleased to direct the publication of the following Scale of invalid pensions for the Indian Staff Corps and Medical Service.

"An officer who has become incapacitated for further service in India on account of unfitness caused by duty may, after he has been two years on the temporary half pay list, be granted an invalid pension according to the following scale.

INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE.

"After	12	years'	pensionable	service	.	.	£192	*per annum.*
—	13	——	——	.	.	.	212	——
—	14	——	——	.	.	.	232	——
—	15	——	——	.	.	.	252	——
—	16	——	——	.	.	.	272	——"

An officer who has served less than twelve years, and is thus not entitled to even the lowest rate of these special invalid pensions, although unable to rejoin owing to permanent ill-health, is placed on half pay, at first temporary, and later permanent, after examination by the Medical Board of the India Office. The half pay granted in such a case is the British rate of half pay of the officer's relative rank.

Wound Pensions.—These pensions were first granted to medical officers in 1831, as detailed above. Medical officers are entitled to the same allowances on account of wounds received in action, and injuries sustained through the performance of military duty otherwise than in action, as are granted to combatant officers of the Indian Army holding the corresponding military rank.†

A Despatch from the Secretary of State to the Government of India, No. 203 Financial of 19th Oct., 1899, sanctioned the grant of wound pensions to officers disabled by contracting blood poisoning while performing surgical operations.

Good Service Pensions.—Officers of the I.M.S. are entitled, equally with those of other corps and departments of the army, to good service pensions of £100 a year. The number of such

* *I.M.D. Circs.*, 1894, p. 13.

† *Memo. regarding the position of Officers to be appointed to His Majesty's Indian Medical Service*, India Office, Oct., 1903; also that of May, 1910, para. 43.

pensions granted is necessarily very small. The first officers of the I.M.S. to whom such pensions were granted were:

13th Dec., 1867, D.I.G. J. C. Brown, Bengal, afterwards S.G., and K.C.B.;
12th Sept., 1869, I.G. W. Mackenzie, Madras, afterwards K.C.B.;
D.I.G. A. H. Leith, Bombay.

These pensions are as a rule bestowed on an officer on the active list, and only in rare instances on an officer under the rank of Surgeon General. One was, however, bestowed upon Sir Joseph Fayrer in 1898, when he vacated the office of President of the Medical Board of the India Office. An officer in receipt of a Good Service Pension has to give it up on retiring with the extra pension of an administrative medical officer, one of lower rank may hold the pension for life.

Up to date 1913, the total number of these pensions bestowed upon officers of the I.M.S. has been only fifty-three, thirty-three in Bengal, ten in Madras, and ten in Bombay.

The distribution of these pensions was somewhat modified in 1900, by clause 166 of *I.A.C.* of 1900, as follows:—

"*Clause* 166, *India Army Circulars of* 1900.*

"With reference to G.G.O. No. 255, dated the 13th March 1866, it is notified that, with the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, the separate Presidential lists of officers who have been granted good service pensions are abolished, and that the names of officers upon whom these rewards have been conferred will henceforth be borne on one list.

* * * * *

"4. The selection of Medical Officers for good service pensions will also be made in future from an amalgamated list of the officers of the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay Medical Services. These officers will, as hitherto, be allotted good service pensions only in succession to vacancies occasioned by the death, or retirement with special extra pensions, of Medical Officers upon whom these rewards have already been conferred."

Service for Pension used to begin from date of arrival in India, and so lately as 1878 this was laid down as the rule in Govt. of India, Mily. Dept. Order No. 594 of 22nd Nov., 1878.

By the instructions referred to in the first paragraph of Govt. of India, Mily. Dept. No. 2106 S.C. of 19th Oct., 1880, service for pension commenced from the date of joining for training at Netley. The time passed between leaving Netley, at the end of the course there, and landing in India, was, however, deducted

* *I.M.D. Circs.*, 1900, p. 51.

from pension service, though it counted for promotion. Service for furlough, and receipt of Indian pay and allowances, began from date of arrival in India.

Officers of the A.M.D., at that time, were commissioned from the date of leaving Netley, and so were superseded, by four months, by their contemporaries of the I.M.S., who joined Netley on the same day as themselves. This naturally caused considerable dissatisfaction in the former service, the members of which sought to get their commissions dated from joining Netley, like the I.M.S. They were not, at that time, successful in getting their own commissions dated from the beginning of their course of training, but did succeed in getting the I.M.S. put on the same footing as themselves. Clause 115 of *I.A.C.*, June, 1890, altered the date of first commission in the I.M.S. from that of joining to that of leaving Netley, as follows :—

"*Date of commencement of service for pension and promotion of officers of the Indian Medical Service.*

"*India Army Circulars, clause* 115 *of June*, 1890.

"Under the authority of the Secretary of State for India, it is notified, with reference to paragraph 3 of G.G.O. No. 507 of 1865, that in order to assimilate the practice of the Indian Medical Service as regards the dating of Surgeons' commissions to that of the British service, officers hereafter entering the Indian Medical Service will reckon service for pension, as well as for promotion, continuously from the date of passing out of the Medical School at Netley, the time spent there being no longer allowed to count as service for pension or promotion."

The date of commencement of service for pension has since been again changed. Under clause 15 of *I.A.C.* for 1903, commissions are dated from the day on which the course of instruction in England begins, and from that date commences service, both for promotion and pension.

There are, therefore, serving together at the present time, officers who reckon their service for pension in three different ways. First, those who entered in and before 1889, who count service for promotion from date of joining Netley, service for pension from the same date, but subject to a deduction of some two or three months, the period spent between leaving Netley and landing in India. Second, those who joined between 1st Jan., 1890, and 31st July, 1902, who date service for both promotion and pension from the end of their course of training, and are thus at a disadvantage, compared with both those above

and those below them. Third, those who entered on and after 1st Sept., 1902, who count the full time, both for promotion and pension, from the beginning of their training, and are thus better off than their seniors.*

Officers of the I.M.S. who joined after Sept., 1890, are liable to recall to duty, in case of emergency, even after retiring on pension, up to the age of fifty-five, under the orders contained in the first paragraph of a Mily. Despatch from the Secretary of State, No. 105 of 11th Sept., 1890, published as Govt. of India, Mily Dept., Order No. 4075 D of 16th Oct., 1890, which runs—

"It will henceforth be a condition of appointment to the Indian Medical Service that an officer retiring on pension before completing thirty years' service shall be liable, till he completes fifty-five years of age, to be recalled to duty in case of any emergency." †

One of the greatest, perhaps the greatest, of the advantages of service in the I.M.S. is the present rate of pension, which is probably higher than that of any other large graded service in the world, certainly higher than that of any other medical service. It is true that the rates of pension in the I.M.S., as given above, do not, at first sight, appear large in comparison with the pension of £1000 a year, given at twenty-five years' service, of which twenty-one years must have been spent on duty in India, to the Indian Civil Service. But there are two points in which the pensions of the I.M.S. are far superior to those of the Civil Service. *First*, the varying rates given to the I.M.S. for varying lengths of service, whereas the Indian Civilian *must* put in twenty-five years' service, with twenty-one years' residence. He cannot voluntarily retire from the service on pension at any earlier date; should he resign, even with over twenty years' service, he gets no pension at all. Should he be invalided, for ill-health contracted in the service, when he has completed less than twenty-five years' total service, or less than twenty-one years' residence, even should he fall short of these periods by only a few months, he receives only an invalid pension, which up to within the last few years did not exceed £450 per annum. Should he serve on

* Those officers who entered the service on 31st Jan., 1891, are at a disadvantage, compared with their immediate seniors, in two ways: the loss of service while at Netley, and the liability to recall to duty, after retirement, up to the age of fifty-five. The loss of the extra compensation pensions first hits those one term senior, who were commissioned from 31st March, 1890.

† *I.M.D. Circs.*, 1890, p. 47.

to the limit allowed, thirty-five years' service, he gets no higher pension. The invalid pensions, however, were considerably raised a few years ago. *Second*, the officer of the I.M.S. gets his whole pension from Government, while the civilian has to contribute largely towards his pension, out of his pay, throughout his whole service. He is supposed to contribute the value of £500 a year, one half of his pension of £1000 a year, and for this purpose has to contribute four per cent. of his pay throughout the whole length of his service. Should he continue to serve on to thirty-five years, he continues to contribute this fixed proportion of his pay to the pension funds; and, of course, the higher the pay, the higher the contribution. It may thus happen that a civilian, who puts in thirty-five years' service, and has been fortunate in his promotion, holding highly paid appointments during the last fifteen or twenty years, may have contributed to the pension funds more, sometimes even much more, than the total value of his pension of £1000 a year, *i.e.* more than the sum which would purchase an annuity of that amount at the age at which he retires; and may thus, practically, receive no pension at all from Government, and even be a loser, not a gainer, by his connection with the pension funds.

CHAPTER XXI

THE FUNDS

"He that hath Wife and Children hath given Hostages to Fortune."
BACON, *Essays, No. VIII, Of Marriage and Single Life.*

THE Indian Army has, from time to time, established and maintained a number of charitable funds, for the maintenance of widows and orphans of deceased members; also funds for increasing the pensions of retired members. Some of these funds, as their names imply, belonged exclusively to the medical services; for membership of others medical officers, as officers of the Indian Army, were eligible. The oldest of these funds is the Military Fund, generally known as Lord Clive's Fund, established by Lord Clive in 1770, and differing from all the others in not requiring either donation or subscription.

The funds existing at one time or another, in which medical officers have been entitled to contribute and share, have been—

I. The Military Fund, or Lord Clive's Fund.
II. The Bengal Military Orphan Society.
III. The Bengal Military Widows' fund merged into
IV. The Bengal New Military Fund.
V. The Madras Military Fund.
VI. The Bombay Military Fund.
VII. The Bengal Medical Retiring Fund.
VIII. The Madras Medical Fund.
IX. The Bombay Medical Retiring Fund.
X. The Indian Military Service Family Pension Fund.

The Bengal Army had separate funds for widows and orphans, whereas in Madras and Bombay both were included in one fund. The Madras Medical Fund was a charitable fund, making provision for widows and orphans, as well as for extra annuities to officers retiring from the service; the Bengal and Bombay Medical Funds were retiring funds only.

The last mentioned, the I.M.S.F.P. Fund, is the only one which now exists; and it, as described below, while making safe provision for widows and orphans of deceased members, is only a nominal fund, with *pro forma* accounts.

The Bengal Civil Service Fund was instituted in Oct., 1804, to provide annuities for widows and children of deceased members. Subscription was made compulsory on all members of the B.C.S. from 1825, by a Letter from Court dated 17th Jan., 1823, published in Bengal Order dated 13th Jan., 1825. The B.C.S. had also an annuity fund, providing pensions of £1000 a year to members on retirement. Similar funds existed in Madras and Bombay. All these funds were subsequently amalgamated. The assets, liabilities, and management of the amalgamated fund were transferred to the Secretary of State for India on 1st June, 1885, by Act 45 and 46 Victoria, *cap.* 45. This fund, of course, belonged to the I.C.S. alone; officers of the army, including medical officers, having nothing to do with it.

I. Lord Clive's Fund.*

The oldest of the funds established in connection with the Indian Army is that originally known as the Military Fund. Its establishment being entirely due to Lord Clive, it gradually came to be known as Lord Clive's Fund.

The first mention of this fund seems to be in the *Fort William Cons.* of 14th April, 1766, wherein is reported Mir Jafar's legacy of five lakhs to Clive, and the foundation of a fund for invalid officers and soldiers. The same *Cons.* for 21st Jan., 1767, mention Clive's resignation of his office of Governor of Bengal, and include a sketch of the plan for the formation of the fund. On 11th May, 1767, is entered a letter from Madras, proposing to extend the benefit of the fund to widows.

In an agreement, dated 6th April, 1770, between Clive and the E.I. Co., it is stated that five *lakhs* of *sicca* rupees, value £62,833 6*s.* 8*d.*, bequeathed by Mir Jafar to Clive, and paid into the Company's treasury at Calcutta, should be set aside to provide pensions for officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of

* Much of this account of the fund is taken from a memorandum issued by the India Office. A brief history of the fund is also given in Broome's *History of the Bengal Army*, p. 561, and in the same work, Appendix AA., p. lvii, is given Clive's original letter to the Bengal Council, founding the fund.

the Company's army, invalided by age, wounds, or disease, also for their widows. To this sum was added three *lakhs*, value £37,000, given by the then Nawab of Bengal, Saif-ad-daulah, and paid into the Company's treasury at Calcutta in 1767. These sums were to carry interest at eight per cent., and the Company were to be perpetual trustees; the money was to remain in the hands of the Company in London, who were to pay annually £8043 13*s.* 4*d.* as interest, to be used for pensions, with effect from 29th Sept., 1769.

The rates of pensions were settled as—

Commissioned and warrant officers, half pay.

N.C.O.'s and soldiers, rates of Chelsea pensioners.

Widows, one-fourth of husband's pay.

Pensions were to be given only to those in necessitous circumstances, possessed of less than certain sums, as detailed in the regulations below.

It was stipulated that, should the Company cease to maintain a military or marine force, or ships, the five *lakhs* should revert to Clive, or to his heirs.

Up to 29th Sept., 1769, interest, amounting to £24,126, had accrued on the capital of eight *lakhs*, and this sum was added to the capital of the fund.

In *Minutes* of 3rd Oct., 1770, the Court of Directors resolved that the twenty-two rules mentioned in a report from the Committee for management and application of the Military Fund, dated 19th Sept., 1770, should be observed in transacting the business of the fund. These rules were published in Bengal G.O. of 23rd July, 1771.

The *Military Minutes* of the Bengal Council, of 4th April, 1783, contain extracts from a General Letter from the Court of Directors dated 12th July, 1782, among which is included the following order concerning the admission of medical officers to the benefits of the fund. (Near the end the word *has* is used for *have*.)

"*Para.* 77. It having appeared to our Committee for the management and application of the Military Fund, that no distinction has been made between the Surgeons serving in the Factories, and those attending the Army, and we are of Opinion that only those that serve with the Army are entitled to partake of the same Fund, we direct that certificates and recommendations for Pensions be granted in future to such Surgeons only as has been actually employed in the Army and Invalided."

This order was answered by the Bengal Govt. in para. 111 of a Fort William General Letter, dated 5th April, 1783.

"Military Fund—Surgeons. We have never granted Certificates for the Pension to Surgeons, or Assistant Surgeons, attached to the Civil Establishment; nor do we recollect to have ever received any applications for them. The Fund is generally understood to be a Military Fund, and instituted solely for the Army."

The same order had been sent to Bombay in para. 6 of a Letter from Court, dated 28th Aug., 1782.

The following *Regulations for the Admission of Pensioners on Lord Clive's Fund* are given in the *East India Register* for 1813.

"Every petitioning officer and soldier must produce a certificate from his commanding officer, of his being an invalid, and rendered incapable of further service in India, together with an approbation of such certificate by the Governor and Council of the Presidency where he shall have served.

"Every commissioned officer must previously make oath before his governor and council, *viz.*, a colonel that he is not possessed of, or entitled to, real and personal property to the value of £4000. A lieut.-colonel, £3000. A major, £2500. A captain, £2000. A lieutenant, £1000. An ensign, £750. Officers' widows must produce proof, on affidavit, that their husbands did not die possessed of property as above.

"All commissioned, staff, or warrant officers to have half the ordinary pay they enjoyed whilst in service, *viz.*—

	Per annum.	Per day.
"A Colonel	£228 . 2*s*. 6*d*.	or 12*s*. 6*d*.
Lt. Colonel	182 . 10 . 0	10 . 0
Major	136 . 7 . 6	7 . 6
Captain	91 . 5 . 0	5 . 0
Lieutenant	45 . 12 . 6	2 . 6
Ensign	36 . 10 . 0	2 . 0
Surgeon	91 . 5 . 0	5 . 0
Asst. Surgeon	45 . 12 . 6	2 . 6
Conductor of Ordnance	36 . 10 . 0	2 . 0

"Their widows one half the above, to continue during their widowhood.

"Serjeants of artillery to have ninepence per day, and those that have lost a limb one shilling per day. Privates of the artillery sixpence per day, and those that have lost a limb ninepence per day. All other non-commissioned officers and privates to have four pence three farthings per day.

"Officers and privates to be entitled from the period of their landing in England."

The above pensions from Lord Clive's Fund were in addition to those given by the Company.

A somewhat more liberal scale of pensions was granted in 1819, in Military Despatch to Government of India, dated 21st July, 1819, paras. 12–16.

By Act 1 and 2 George IV, *cap.* 61, it was provided that all unclaimed prize money belonging to soldiers or officers of the East India Company should go to Lord Clive's Fund, similar unclaimed prize money of sailors to the Poplar Hospital Fund.

A Mily. Letter from Court, dated 2nd June, 1824, formally laid down that medical officers and chaplains, and their widows, were eligible for pensions from Lord Clive's Fund, at the following rates :—

> "Members of the Medical Board, as Lieut. Colonels.
> Superintending Surgeons and Senior Chaplains, as Majors.
> Surgeons and Chaplains, as Captains.
> Assistant Surgeons, as Lieutenants."

This order was published in Bengal G.O. No. 316 of 14th Oct., 1824, printed in the *C.G.* of 25th Oct., 1824, from which is quoted the following note :— *

> " Though several ladies, the widows of Chaplains, as well as of Surgeons, have at different times been admitted, no rate has been fixed for their pension, corresponding, as in the case of military officers, with the respective ranks of their deceased husbands."

Widows received one-half of the amounts to which their husbands would have been entitled. All payments from the fund were calculated at the rates of Infantry pay.

Medical officers had always been considered eligible for pensions from Lord Clive's Fund, though for some years only those actually doing military duty were admitted to its benefits. In many cases also the widows of medical officers had, from time to time, been granted pensions from the fund. The Madras *Mily. Cons.* of 27th June, 1774, note the grant of a pension from the fund to Jean Suffrein, widow of Assistant Surgeon Bartholomew Suffrein. A Letter from Court, dated 5th April, 1776, in para. 28, also refers to Mrs. Suffrein's pension, and, while requiring further certificates, shows that the pension was duly granted. On the other hand, in 1782, a pension from the fund was refused to Marie Therése Tenier, widow of Assistant Surgeon Tenier. She represented her poverty, and requested the usual pension granted to those in her circumstances, in a petition dated Chingleput, 16th July, 1782; but in answer was referred to the vestry for relief.† Both

* The same order is published in Bombay G.O. of 8th Oct., 1824, quoted in the *Asiatic Journal*, June, 1825, p. 704.

† Madras *Mily. Cons.*, 29th July, 1782.

Suffrein and Tenier were Frenchmen, both were Assistant Surgeons. Suffrein had ten years' service when he died at Ellore on 5th May, 1774. Tenier had served over eleven years when he died at Chingleput in July, 1782. Tenier, however, appears to have been employed altogether on civil duty, Suffrein in the army, which accounts for the difference in the treatment accorded to their widows.

The Bengal *Minutes of Council* of 10th Nov., 1783, contain an entry—

"Ordered that the widow of Surgeon Major Ford be allowed from the period of Mr Ford's death the established pension to Surgeons' widows, but no more."

As Surgeon Majors had been granted the rank of Major from 1st Jan., 1781, it would seem that Mrs. Ford should have received a pension at a higher rate than the widow of a Surgeon, whose rank was that of Captain.

The Bengal *Minutes of Council* of 20th June, 1785, record the admission of Mrs. Mary Harrison, widow of Surgeon George Harrison, on Clive's Fund. Unlike Mrs. Ford, she was lucky to get a pension at the rates given to the widows of Surgeons and Captains, for Harrison had only six years' service when he died.

Pensions were granted, in 1793, to the widow of Head Surgeon William Gordon, and in 1797 to the widow of Colly Lyon Lucas, second member of the Madras Medical Board. The following extracts from Mily. Letters from Fort St. George report the grants :—

"20*th Sept.* 1793, *para.* 7. Dr Gordon soon after his arrival was appointed Head Surgeon at Masulipatam but is since dead and has left a Widow and several Children destitute of Support. Recommend that Surgeons who are compelled to retire from the Service by Age or Infirmity, and the Families of those who have no other means of subsistence, may partake of Lord Clive's fund upon taking the usual Oaths of Qualification."

"2*nd Oct.* 1795, *para.* 12. The widow of the late Surgeon Gordon will be informed that she will be entitled to a Pension."

"25*th Feby.* 1796, *para.* 31. Widow of late Surgeon Gordon admitted on the Military Fund."

"20*th Janry.* 1797, *para.* 198. Pension to Mrs Lucas paid at ¼ of the subsistence of a Colonel, being the Rank her Husband held on the Military Establishment.

"*Para.* 199. Pension to Mrs Gordon, Widow of Mr Gordon, Head Surgeon. Her Pension settled on the same principles as Mrs Lucas's." *

* *Abstracts, Letters from Madras*, Vol. IV, 1786–97, pp. 365, 449, 467, 536.

The grant to Mrs. Gordon was sanctioned in para. 14 of a Mily. Letter from Court to Madras, dated 6th May, 1795 (*Abstracts*)

"Mrs Gordon, the widow of Surgeon Gordon, will be entitled to a Pension from Lord Clive's Fund on her making the usual affidavit."

Both Gordon and Lucas had over thirty years' service. Gordon was appointed in 1758, put in his whole service in military employ, and died at the Luz, Madras, on 4th Sept., 1793, three months after having attained the rank of Head Surgeon. Lucas came to India in 1762, being sent out from London as Chief Surgeon of the King's troops and hospitals in the expedition to Manilla under General Draper. He entered the Company's service on 9th Jan., 1764, as junior Surgeon, was promoted to Surgeon Major in camp on 14th Jan., 1779, and after Pasley's death on 22nd Sept., 1781, became second Surgeon at Madras. When the Medical Board was constituted in 1786 he was appointed second member. One would have thought that Lucas, at least, after fifteen years in Madras, would have been able to leave his widow sufficiently provided for not to require a compassionate pension from the fund.

By an Order from Court, in a letter dated 13th Feb., 1839, published in Bombay G.O. of 1st June, 1839, the rank of administrative medical officers, with respect to Lord Clive's Fund, was raised; members of the Medical Board to Colonel, and Superintending Surgeons to Lieut. Colonel.

By Act 3 and 4 William IV, *cap.* 85, it was ordered that the E.I. Co. should close their commercial business, after 22nd April, 1834. Accordingly from that date they ceased to employ their fleet of Indiamen.

By Act 21 and 22 Vict. *cap.* 106, all the sovereign and territorial rights of the East India Company were transferred to the Crown, and by section 56 it was enacted that the military and naval forces of the Company should be deemed the Indian military and naval forces of the Crown.

On 12th July, 1860, the legal representatives of Lord Clive filed a bill for the return of Lord Clive's five *lakhs*, plus five-eighths of the £24,000 interest. This bill was dismissed by the Master of the Rolls on 6th Dec., 1861. On appeal, the House of Lords reversed the decision, on 21st May, 1863, and ordered the repayment to Clive's heirs of the five *lakhs*.

In Despatch No. 281 of 31st July, 1863, the Secretary of State informed the Government of India of this decision of the House of Lords, and ordered the grant of equivalent pensions to all persons who would have been entitled to pensions from Lord Clive's Fund.

Finance.—In 1770 the fund started with a capital of £100,533, and an income of £8,042; plus the sum of £24,128, which the trustees could use for the purposes of the fund. In 1821 unclaimed prize-money was added. So early as 1808 the income of the fund was found quite inadequate to pay the pensions. (Despatch to Madras, 7th Sept., 1808, paras. 112 to 115.) In 1836 the Court stated that the whole capital had long since been exhausted. (Despatch to India, No. 11, 10th Feb., 1836, paras. 4 and 5.) Though the fund still had a legal existence, its income provided a very small proportion of the amount annually paid in pensions, the deficit being made up from the revenues of India.

A return made to the House of Lords, dated 7th April, 1859, of payments from the fund since 1830, shows an annual charge rising steadily from £63,776 in 1831, to £110,520 in 1855. In each of the last ten years the annual payments had exceeded the whole capital of the fund. In 1887-88, the amount paid in pensions had fallen to £74,000. Being admissible only to servants of the Company, the amount has gradually diminished, and payments will soon cease.

In 1846 the Government of India stated that Lord Clive's Fund existed as such merely in name, having long since been exhausted, and was indebted for the continuance of the support it still afforded to the bounty of the Government of India. (*Jameson's Code*, 1850, page 671.)

A short note on the fund was published in the *Bengal Army List* for 1882. By this time the pensions were diminishing in number, and the question no longer affected officers still serving. In this note it is stated that pensions from Lord Clive's Fund are not admissible to officers retired on full or half pay, or on any retiring pension,* or to those possessed of property of their own, to the same amounts as those given in the regulations of 1813.

* Madras G.O., 28th June, 1836; Mily. Letter from Court, 9th May, 1836, para. 17.

Subalterns and Assistant Surgeons * of less than three years' service in India, compelled to quit the service by wounds received in action, or by ill health contracted on duty; likewise those of between three and six years' service who were otherwise disabled, were eligible for pensions from the fund, of £45 12*s.* 6*d.* per annum, the same rate as in 1813.

Pensions were granted from the fund, to widows not owning property, to the same amounts as those fixed in 1813, at the following rates, all somewhat lower than the rates of 1813.

	£	*s.*	*d.*	
Colonel, and Member of Medical Board	93	2	10	per annum.
Lt.-Colonel, and Superintending Surgeon	74	8	8	,,
Major	55	14	6	,,
Captain and Surgeon	37	4	4	,,
Lieutenant and Asst. Surgeon	18	10	2	,,
Senior Apothecary	18	10	1	,,
Apothecary	14	4	3	,,
Steward	9	5	0	,,
Asst. Apothecary and Asst. Steward	6	4	4	,,

II. The Bengal Military Orphan Society.†

This Society was projected in 1782 by Captain W. Kirkpatrick of the Bengal Army. Proposals for its establishment were circulated to officers of the army in Aug., 1782, and accepted, with only a few dissentients. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Eyre Coote, approved, recommended the scheme to Government, and accepted the office of Patron on 18th March, 1783, a month before his death, which occurred on 24th April, 1783. A set of rules was drawn up, submitted for approval, and sanctioned in a G.O. dated 13th March, 1783; and a committee was formed, which held its first meeting on 29th March, 1783. Surgeon-Major Andrew Williams, then one of the senior medical officers in Calcutta, was one of the original managers of the Society.

The objects of the Society, as stated in the original proposals, were—

" to provide fixed funds or resources for the maintenance of children of officers dying in indigent circumstances; to relieve officers from the

* These rules appear to have been in force since 1855. The titles of members of the Medical Board and Superintending Surgeon had been superseded by those of I.G. and D.I.G. in 1857–58; S.G. and D.S.G. in 1873. The rank of Assistant Surgeon had been abolished from 1st July, 1873.

† The information is taken partly from two articles on the Military Orphan Society in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XLIV, 1866, and Vol. XLV, 1867; partly from the rules of the fund, as given in the *Appendix* to the *Bengal Army List* of 1882.

burden of contributing to private subscriptions on behalf of individual orphans; and in the hour of sickness and danger to yield them the consolation that, in the event of their dying poor, a certain provision would be secured to their offspring."

The objects of the Orphan Institution were to educate, and settle in life, the children, of both sexes, of officers on the Bengal Establishment.

The subscriptions were fixed at the following rates: Majors, nine; Captains and Surgeons, six; Subalterns and Assistant Surgeons, three rupees per month. At first an officer, on attaining the rank of Lieut.-Colonel, became exempt from further subscription. There were only twenty-four officers of this rank in the Bengal Army up to 1796, when the number was increased to sixty-four, and orders were passed by Government that all officers subsequently promoted to Lieut.-Colonel should continue to pay their subscriptions. From 8th April, 1807, subscription was made compulsory on all officers, whatever their rank.

On 2nd April, 1783, the male orphans were sent to Mr. Cowen's school in Calcutta, and a house in Radha Bazar was taken for the girls. Towards the end of 1784, a house in Dakhinshahr, north of Cossipur, was taken, and occupied by the children of both sexes. About the end of the year 1785 the schools were moved from Dakhinshahr to Mr. Levett's house and garden at Howrah, this house subsequently became the Howrah court-house or *Kacheri*. A Government resolution, dated 17th May, 1783, founded the Lower Orphan School for the children of soldiers, Government paying for each child the sum of three rupees a month, subsequently raised to five rupees. The increase was reported in a Military Letter from Fort William, dated 10th Aug., 1791, paras. 103–116.*

"Orphan Society. The Managers requested permission to draw the full sum of 5 Rupees p. Mensem conditionally granted by the Court for each of the Children of non-commissioned and private Europeans; and claimed a Balance on this Account of S^{a} R^{s} 71,427, from September 1784, to the end of December 1789 which, after due Investigation has been allowed, and Promissory Notes have been issued for the amount claimed, bearing Interest at the Rate of 8 p. Cent. p. Annum from the 10th November 1790."

A Fort William Secret Letter, dated 19th Aug., 1785, in para. 70, reports a large grant by Government to the Society.†

* *Abstracts, Letters from Bengal*, Vol. V, 1789–95, p. 154.
† *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, 1783–89, p. 170.

"Orphan Society. We have contributed 40,000 rupees towards the support of this institution. The Managers have engaged to refund the same should the Court disapprove the measure."

The orphans, legitimate or illegitimate, of all subscribers to the fund, were admissible on the fund from the date of their father's death. Children born in wedlock might remain with their mother or guardian, illegitimate children with any person approved by the authorities of the fund, to the age of five years, a monthly sum of twenty-two rupees being allowed for the maintenance of each child. On attaining the age of five, legitimate children were sent to England, illegitimate children to the Society's schools, where they were educated.

The allowances payable to each child in England were, at first, £35 a year for boys, and £40 for girls, payable up to the age of fourteen, when they ceased. Later these amounts were raised to £33 under six years of age, £44 above that age, for boys, payable up to the age of nineteen, when a final grant, or apprentice fee, was given to them, £105 in England, Rs.833 in India. Girls who became orphans and came on the fund after 1st Jan., 1856, received £33 a year under the age of six, £49 10*s.* from six to eighteen, and £40 *per annum* after the age of eighteen, till marriage or death. A marriage portion was also given to daughters, at first Rs.1000; later £150 in England or Rs.1500 in India. Passage money was also paid for the children when sent to England.

In 1796 a rule was passed that no child born before the father had become a subscriber, or after he had ceased to subscribe, should be eligible for the benefits of the fund. The school, though mainly for the benefit of orphans, also took children whose fathers were living, for another rule of 1796 laid down that an officer, going on furlough, must deposit Rs.5000 to meet the expenses of each child left at school.

On 8th March, 1786, Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse, commanding the Bengal Artillery, Deputy Governor of the Society, suggested settling the orphans in the Sundarbans, as a colony, giving grants of lands, to sons of officers one hundred acres each, to sons of soldiers fifty acres; half these amounts to daughters as a marriage portion. Nothing came of this scheme.

About 1791 or 1792 a scheme was originated in Calcutta for training boys from the orphan school for employment as Medical Subordinates. A Mily. Letter from Court, dated 25th June, 1793,

in para. 18, gives orders on the subject, (*Abstracts, Despatches to Bengal,* Vol. II, 1785–97).

" Orphan Society—have no objection to the arrangement for providing for some of the Boys belonging thereto in the Medical Department, but must not be a pretence for appointing them Surgeons or Assistant Surgeons."

This scheme does not appear to have been carried out at this time, but twenty years later it bore fruit, in 1812, as described in Chap. XXVII, *The Uncovenanted and Subordinate Medical Services.*

In 1790 the upper and lower schools were separated, the latter being left at Howrah; the former transferred to Kidderpur House, which was rented for the purpose at Rs.450 a month, and in 1798 purchased by the Society for Rs.75,000. Kidderpur House is a very fine building, standing in large grounds, on the south side of Tolly's *nala.* It was once the residence of Richard Barwell. Up to 1911 there were still about a dozen elderly ladies living there, the last survivors of the female orphans there educated. In that year the institution was closed, and the survivors pensioned. The house and grounds must be worth a very large sum now, though considerable portions of the grounds were made over, during the nineteenth century, to the Zoological Gardens and to the Meteorological Observatory.

In 1810 the boys' school was separated from that of the girls, who remained at Kidderpur. Boys educated in India were placed at a suitable school; after its opening, chiefly at St. Paul's School, Darjiling.

Subsequently the Lower Orphan School for soldiers' daughters was also moved to Kidderpur, and housed in a smaller building in the grounds. The inmates of this school died out many years ago, the European troops of the Company having been absorbed into the Royal Army after the Mutiny, when the Crown took over the Government of India from the Company.

The *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board of 3rd Jan., 1799, contain an order, quoted from a G.O. of 23rd Dec., 1798, that Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons in the Civil Department are, equally with those in military employ, bound to contribute to the Military Orphan Fund. This order was reissued in a G.O. of 2nd Aug., 1822, published in the *C.G.* of 8th Aug., 1822, with the remark that the orders of Dec., 1798, have been overlooked.

The Military Orphan Press was started in 1803, and in 1863 was transferred to Government, having made a profit of twelve *lakhs* during the sixty years of its existence.

From Jan., 1856, greatly increased rates of subscription were levied as follows :—

	In England.	*In India.*
Colonels and Inspector Generals, per month	£2 3 9	Rs. 21 14 0
Lt.-Cols., D.I.G.'s, and Surgeon-Majors of 20 years' service	1 15 0	17 8 0
Majors and Surgeon-Majors . . .	1 6 3	13 2 0
Captains and Surgeons	17 0	8 12 0
Lieutenants and Asst. Surgeons . .	11 0	5 7 6

At the same time contributions for children were required, one rupee or two shillings per month for each boy, three rupees or six shillings for each girl, and the benefits of the fund extended to all subscribers' children, without reference to their pecuniary circumstances.

The assets, liabilities, and management of the Bengal Military Orphan Fund were transferred to Government on 10th Sept., 1866, by Act 29 Victoria, *cap.* 18. The transfer of the fund to Govt. was notified in G.O.G.G. of 9th June, 1868, which is quoted in *I.M.D. Circs.* for that year.

III. The Bengal Military Widows' Fund.

This fund was instituted on 1st Jan., 1806. Its rules are given in the *East India Register* for 1813. The code contains thirty-two articles, filling seven pages of small print, and is too long to quote in full. The following is an abstract of the chief rules :—

Subscriptions were at the following rates per month :—

	As member.	*As unmarried subscriber.*
" Majors and Head (Superintending) Surgeons .	Rs.25	Rs.8
Captains and Surgeons	16	5
Subalterns and Assistant Surgeons . . .	9	3 "

Officers who joined the fund as unmarried subscribers before 1st Jan., 1809, became full members, on marriage, without donation, after three years' subscription as unmarried subscribers. For those who joined after that date five years' unmarried subscription was required to escape payment of a donation on marriage.

Otherwise the following donations were exacted on marriage, varying according to the length of time for which an officer had been an unmarried subscriber.

	3–5 years.	*2–3 years.*	*Under 2 years.*
"Major and Head Surgeon . .	Rs.400	Rs.800	Rs.1200
Captain and Surgeon . . .	250	500	750
Subaltern and Assistant Surgeon .	150	300	450"

No married officer could become a full member whose wife was not actually in Bengal at the time he joined. When he married, or when his wife arrived in India, if he did not join the fund within three months, but wished to join later, the donations, as well as the subscription rates for the months which had expired, were doubled. Applicants for membership had to submit a health certificate, and also their marriage certificates. Officers were permitted to subscribe at the rates, and for the widows' pensions, of a rank higher than their own, on the payment of certain donations, by no means large in proportion to the ordinary fixed donations; *e.g.* the highest, that payable by a subaltern who wished to subscribe for the pension of a colonel's widow, was only Rs.800. Donations were exacted on promotion to a higher rank. Members retiring or going on furlough could either continue their monthly subscriptions, or could become permanent members, on payment of certain large donations. A widower was allowed to subscribe at the unmarried rates, and to rejoin as a full member if he married again. A member could withdraw at any time, on forfeiture of all claims on the fund, but was not entitled to a refund of any of his subscriptions.

The property of the fund was invested in Company's paper, in the names of the President and Managers of the fund, who were elected by the members, from among members resident in Calcutta.

The pensions given by the fund were as follows:—

	In India, per month.	*In England, per annum.*
	Rs. a. p.	£
Widows of Colonels . . .	200 0 0	300
,, Lt.-Colonels . . .	166 10 8	250
,, Majors . . .	133 5 4	200
,, Captains and Surgeons .	100 0 0	150
,, Subalterns and Assistant Surgeons . . .	66 10 8	100

This fund was merged in the Bengal New Military Fund from 1st Nov., 1824.

IV. The Bengal New Military Fund.

This fund, as stated above, took the place of and absorbed the Bengal Military Widows' Fund from 1st Nov., 1824. The donations, subscriptions, and widows' pensions, as laid down in 1824, were as follows :—

DONATIONS ON JOINING.

	In India.		*In Europe.*					
	Unmarried.	Married.	Unmarried.			Married.		
	Rs.	Rs.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Class I. Colonels	1000	2000	37	10	0	250	0	0
,, II. Lt.-Cols. and Members Medical Board	500	1120	30	0	0	140	0	0
,, III. Majors, Superintending Surgeons and Chaplains	420	840	22	10	0	105	0	0
,, IV. Captains and Surgeons	300	600	15	0	0	75	0	0
,, V. Lieutenants and Asst. Surgeons	180	360	7	10	0	45	0	0
,, VI. Cornets, Ensigns and 2nd Lieuts.	120	240	5	12	0	30	0	0

MONTHLY SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Class I.	30	48	1	5	0	6	0	0
,, II.	18	27	1	0	0	3	7	6
,, III.	14	21	0	15	0	2	12	6
,, IV.	8	13	0	10	0	1	12	6
,, V.	5	8	0	5	0	1	0	0
,, VI.	3	6	0	3	6	0	15	0

WIDOWS' PENSIONS.

	In India, per month.			*In Europe, per annum.*		
	Rs.	a.	p.	£	s.	d.
Class I.	228	2	0	342	3	9
,, II.	182	8	0	273	15	0
,, III.	136	14	0	205	6	3
,, IV.	91	4	0	136	7	6
,, V.	62	8	0	93	15	0
,, VI.	50	0	0	75	0	0

These widows' pensions were exclusive of, and in addition to, pensions given from Lord Clive's Fund. A note states that the annuities, as first circulated, were copied from the regulations in force in the Madras and Bombay funds, and the amounts therein given included those from Lord Clive's Fund.

Subscription to the fund was made compulsory for the combatant ranks from 30th Aug., 1826, for medical officers from 1834.

In 1840 a rule was passed that officers who entered the service prior to 30th Aug., 1826, and had not yet joined the fund, could only do so by furnishing certificates of health, marriage, and age, and paying up all subscriptions and donations, with compound interest, from 1824, or from the date of their first commissions, if later. In 1853 the rates of donation and subscription were greatly raised, and large donations exacted on promotion to each higher rank.

Medical officers were at first ranked, for the purposes of the fund, as follows: Members of the Medical Board with Lieut.-Colonels, Superintending Surgeons with Majors, Surgeons with Captains, Assistant Surgeons with Lieutenants. In 1832 the senior medical officers were put on a higher footing, Colonels and eighteen Surgeons, first class (including the Medical Board and Superintending Surgeons); Lieut.-Colonels and eighteen Surgeons, second class; Majors and eighteen Surgeons, third class; Captains and (the remaining) Surgeons; Lieutenants and Assistant Surgeons.

In 1856 a rule was made that, while subscriptions and benefits were nominally dependent on rank, officers might subscribe at higher rates, irrespective of rank, after certain fixed periods of service; as Captains after ten years', as Majors after seventeen years', as Lieut.-Colonels after twenty-two years', as Colonels after twenty-seven years' service. Medical officers might subscribe as Lieut.-Colonels after twenty years', as Colonels after twenty-seven years' service.

Widows' pensions were fixed at rates, slightly higher in India, somewhat lower in Europe, than those of 1824.

Widow of	In India, per month.			In Europe, per annum.		
	Rs.	a.	p.	£	s.	d.
I. Colonel and Inspector-General . . .	238	6	5	312	18	0
II. Lt.-Colonel, D.I.G., and Surgeon (Major) over twenty years' service . . .	190	11	6	250	6	4
III. Major, Chaplain, and Surgeon (Major) under twenty years'	143	0	7	187	14	8
IV. Captain, Junior Chaplain, and Asst. Surgeon over six years'	95	5	9	125	3	2
V. Lieutenant, and Asst. Surgeon under six years'	71	3	1	93	8	9
VI. Ensign, Cornet and Second Lieutenant .	56	9	8	74	5	10

A widow's pension ceased on remarriage, but revived on a second widowhood. If the widow were entitled to a pension

from the fund from two previous husbands, she could receive only one pension, but might draw the higher of the two. A widow coming on the fund prior to 1st Jan., 1856, received Rs.1000 as passage money to Europe; later than that date Rs.500 from the fund, while a second sum of Rs.500 might be insured by special payments by her husband.

Subscribers to the fund were also entitled to certain benefits for themselves, as well as those provided for their widows. A subscriber under the rank of Major, whose pay was less than Rs.640 per month, and not possessed of Rs.5000, if he had to go on furlough on sick certificate, received, if unmarried, Rs.800 as passage money home, £80 as passage money back to India; if married, half these amounts. If not possessed of Rs.2000, he could draw a further sum for equipment, on going home, Rs.300 if unmarried, half that amount if married. A subaltern going on sick leave, not possessing the sum of Rs.1500, and declaring his intention of returning to India, drew £50 a year, if single, half that amount if married.

The assets, liabilities, and management of this fund were made over to the Secretary of State for India from 10th Sept., 1866, in accordance with the terms of Act 29 Vict., *cap.* 18.*

V. The Madras Military Fund.†

The foundation of this fund was sanctioned in a despatch from Court dated Jan., 1795,‡ but it was not actually instituted till April, 1808. Its objects were (1) to provide for the widows and orphans of officers, left destitute of an adequate maintenance; (2) to enable destitute sick officers to return home for their health; (3) to afford destitute subalterns an allowance while at home; (4) to grant passage money to India to destitute officers on sick leave at home. It was optional to join the fund; a donation of one month's pay was required on joining; subscriptions were paid by monthly stoppages from pay.§

The pensions granted to widows were fixed at the following rates: widows of Colonels, £456 5*s.* 0*d.*; Lieut.-Colonels, £365; Majors, £273 15*s.* 0*d.*; Captains and Surgeons, £182 10*s.* 0*d.*;

* *Gazette of India*, 27th Oct., 1866, No. 3014.
† The information is mostly taken from the *East India Register*.
‡ Wilson, *History of the Madras Army*, Vol. II, p. 270.
§ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 226.

Captain-Lieuts., £150; Lieuts. and Assistant Surgeons, £125; Ensigns, £100. These pensions were subject to the following deductions: (*a*) Any pensions granted from Lord Clive's Fund, (*b*) any income, other than children's annuities, exceeding half the widow's pension. The possession of certain rates of income from other sources excluded from all benefits from the fund; viz. Colonel, £684 7*s.* 6*d.*; Lieut.-Colonel, £547 10*s.* 0*d.*; Major, £410 12*s.* 6*d.*; Captain, £273 8*s.* 0*d.*; Captain-Lieut., £225; Lieut., £187 10*s.* 0*d.*; Ensign, £150. Annuities were granted to children, irrespective of their late father's rank; under seven years of age, £30 a year; seven to ten years, £45; ten to eighteen years, £60. At eighteen years of age boys received a gratuity of £300, the pensions to girls were continued till marriage or death.

In May, 1830, it was found necessary to raise considerably the payments required from members. Donations were exacted on joining, on marriage, and on promotion from class to class; *e.g.* an Assistant Surgeon had to pay a donation on joining of £80 if married, £40 if single. The widows' pensions were also reduced to rates considerably lower than before; Lieut.-Colonel and member of Medical Board, £208 15*s.* 0*d.*; Major and Superintending Surgeon, £181 11*s.* 3*d.*; Captain and Surgeon, £136 17*s.* 6*d.*; Lieut. and Assistant Surgeon, £102 3*s.* 9*d.* The rates of children's pensions were slightly raised, those of sons continued to the age of twenty-one, and the gratuity to sons dropped.

Medical officers were eligible for membership of this fund up to 1847. From that year they were no longer allowed to join, having a similar special fund of their own; but those who had previously joined continued their membership.

This fund was taken over by Government at the same date and on the same terms as the Bengal New Military Fund.

A Despatch from Court, dated 4th March, 1789, in para. 42, speaks of an Asylum for Female Orphans at Madras, to which Government contributed five rupees per orphan per month. Another Military Letter, of 15th Dec., 1790, in para. 18, mentions an Asylum there for male orphans. But these orphanages do not appear to have had any special connection with the army. The latter, for male orphans, was founded by the wife of Sir Archibald Campbell, the Governor, in 1786.

VI. The Bombay Military Fund.*

This fund was instituted on 1st May, 1816, its objects being much the same as those of the Madras fund. Donations were required on joining, marriage, and promotion. The rules were revised in 1827, and again in 1831. The donations, subscriptions, and pensions, according to the rules of 1831, were as follows :—

A.—Donations on Joining.

Class.	Married.	Widower with children.	Unmarried, and childless widower
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
I. Colonel	3000	2250	1500
II. Lt.-Colonel and Member Medical Board	1800	1350	900
III. Major, Supg. Surgeon and Senior Chaplain . . .	1400	1050	700
IV. Captain, Surgeon, and Chaplain	900	670	450
V. Lieutenant, and Asst. Surgeon	600	450	300
VI. Cornet or Ensign . . .	400	300	200

Equivalent rates in sterling were payable by an officer who joined the Fund while at home. The monthly subscriptions were much higher in India than in Europe.

B.—Monthly Subscriptions.

Class.	Married, and widower with children.		Unmarried, and childless widower.	
	In Europe.	In India.	In Europe.	In India.
	£ s. d.	Rs. a.	£ s. d.	Rs. a.
I. . .	1 17 6	64 2	1 5 0	43 0
II. . .	1 10 0	34 2	1 0 0	23 0
III. . .	1 4 0	27 3	0 16 0	18 2
IV. . .	0 15 9	17 0	0 10 6	11 1
V. . .	0 9 9	9 3	0 6 6	6 2
VI. . .	0 7 10½	7 2	0 5 3	5 0

The pensions are shown in three columns: first, the full pension received by the widow; second, the amount payable from Lord Clive's Fund; third, the balance, payable by the Military Fund.

C.—Widows' Pensions.

Class.	Full amount.	From Clive's Fund.	Balance, paid by Military Fund.
	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
I.	300	114 1 3	185 18 9
II.	250	91 5 0	158 15 0
III.	200	68 8 9	131 11 3
IV.	150	45 12 6	104 7 6
V.	125	22 16 3	102 3 9
VI.	100	18 5 0	81 15 0

* Information taken chiefly from the rules of the fund, as given in the *East India Register* for 1836.

The pensions of children were—

D.—CHILDREN'S PENSIONS.

	No parent.	Fatherless.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Under seven years of age . .	22 10 0	15 0 0
Seven to ten years of age . .	33 15 0	22 10 0
Ten to eighteen years of age . .	45 0 0	30 0 0

These amounts were considerably increased if the parents had paid donations on the birth of each child, Rs.100 for a son, Rs.200 for a daughter.

In May, 1850, rules were passed that the pensions of sons should continue to the age of eighteen, when they received a gratuity of £225; those of daughters continued till marriage or death.

The fund also gave benefits to subscribers in need themselves, going home on sick leave, similar to those given by the Bengal and Madras funds.

This fund was taken over by Government at the same date and on the same terms as the Bengal and Madras Military Funds.

VII. The Bengal Medical Retiring Fund.*

This fund was started, with effect from 1st Jan., 1833. It was sanctioned in a Mily. Letter from Court, dated 11th July, 1834, and published in Bengal G.O. of 10th Dec., 1834, given below. The deed which actually constituted the fund was drawn up in 1836.

"*Fort William, December* 10*th*, 1834. The following paragraphs of a military letter, dated 11th July, 1834, from the Hon. the Court of Directors to the Governor of the Presidency of Fort William, are published for general information.

"[Letter from ——, dated 22nd November 1833, paragraphs 1 to 4,—Submit a memorial from the Medical Officers, praying the Court to give their support to a separate medical retiring fund, and to bestow similar benefits to those granted to the Madras Medical retiring fund, with reference to donation, rates of interest, and exchange.]

"1. We are prepared to sanction the institution of a separate retired fund for the medical officers upon your establishment, but we cannot consent to grant to it any specific donation, nor any advantages in the shape of interest or exchange beyond those mentioned in our despatch, dated 6th March, 1832.

* Most of the information given is taken from an India Office memo.

"2. Neither can we allow of the remittance through our treasury of so large a number of annuities of £300 as will provide for six being annually granted. The number must be limited to three, which is a full proportion relatively with that which we fixed for the military service in the event of a retired fund being instituted by the army."

A meeting of the subscribers to the fund, held in Calcutta, on 17th Dec., 1834, Surgeon F. Corbyn in the chair, agreed to the terms laid down by the Court in the above despatch, and decided on the formal institution of the fund, with effect from 1st Jan., 1833.

The fund was open for admission, as members and subscribers, to all officers of the Bengal Medical Service, except Assistant Surgeons who had given up promotion. The rates of subscription for various ranks were fixed by Clause IV; they might be increased by vote of the subscribers, but under Clause V might not exceed certain maximum sums, as follows:—

	Rate fixed.	Maximum rate.
Members, Medical Board . .	Rs.120	Rs.240
Superintending Surgeons . . .	80	160
Surgeons	28	56
180 Senior Assistant Surgeons . .	16	32
Next sixty do. . .	10	20
Remaining do. . .	6	12

These amounts were payable in *sikka* rupees, worth about one anna per rupee more than Company's rupees; they were deducted from pay monthly (Clause VI).

Under Clause VII each member, on joining, had to pay up four months' subscription, at the rate fixed for his class, as a donation.

A subscriber, suspended or dismissed from the Service, forfeited, under Clause X, all his interest in the fund, but, if reinstated, was readmitted to its benefits, on paying arrears of subscription for the time he was under suspension or out of the Service.

Under Clause XVI a secretary was appointed, whose salary was subsequently fixed at Rs.250 per month, with Rs.100 for office establishment. Clauses XII to XV dealt with the Committee of Management. This Committee consisted of eight members, subscribers to the fund, resident in Calcutta or Fort William, elected by general vote of the members of the fund. The two senior members of Committee had to retire each year,

but were eligible for re-election. Clauses XVII to XXI dealt with the management of business by the Committee, including the appointment of a London Agent (Clause XVIII). The fund was unfortunate in its choice of its first Agents, the firm of Messrs. Cockerell, Larpent, and Co., who became bankrupt almost immediately, after which Messrs. Coutts and Co. took up the agency.

Under Clause XXV the Fund gave six annuities of £300 a year each, which were claimable by the six senior members serving, every year. Should any of these six not desire to accept the annuity, the offer passed down the Service by seniority, those who declined the offer one year being, of course, eligible for the annuities granted in the following year. These annuities were allotted at the third quarterly general meeting of members, held on the second Monday of July each year (Clause XXVII); the members who got the offer of them had to notify their acceptance or refusal before 31st Oct.; and those who took them were bound to retire from the Service before the 31st March following. Under Clause XXIV a subscriber, after completing seventeen years' service in India, might retire from the Service, without prejudice to his future chance of getting an annuity. His subscriptions ceased from the date of his retirement, but, if he subsequently got an annuity, he had to pay up all arrears of subscription from the date of his retirement to the date when he got the annuity. Under Clause XXIII a subscriber must have paid up half the value of his annuity into the fund in subscriptions; if he had not done so, he had to pay up the balance before he could get the annuity.

Under Clause XXV Assistant Surgeons who gave up promotion forfeited all interest in the fund. Clause XXVI provided that officers of a higher rank who gave up further promotion did not forfeit their interest in the fund, but had to subscribe at the higher rates which they would have had to pay if they had accepted promotion.

Clause XXXIII provided that subscribers who retired, or were pensioned, before the completion of seventeen years' service, lost their interest in the fund, but might receive a refund of the whole, or part, of their subscriptions, by a general vote of the members. Clause XXXIV provided that subscribers invalided, or placed upon half pay, on account of ill health, with less than

seventeen years' service, should receive back all their subscriptions. This clause was rescinded, except as regards present members, at a meeting held on 13th April, 1840.

The formation of the Retiring Fund was approved in paragraphs 1 to 5 of Mily. Letter from Court No. 15, dated 6th March, 1832, published in G.O. No. 97 of 18th June, 1832; stipulating, however, that the number of annuities must not exceed twelve in Bengal, eight in Madras, and four in Bombay. Mily. Letter No. 5, of 8th Jan., 1836, from the Court, sanctioned the scheme, and made subscription compulsory on all Assistant Surgeons joining after that date. Financial Letter No. 8, from the Court, dated 20th Sept., 1854, approved of the grant of a seventh annuity of £300 yearly, on the ground that, between 1833 and 1854, the strength of the Service had increased from 350 to 410.

In 1868, an eighth annuity, given every second year, was sanctioned, with effect from 1861. The assets, liabilities, and management of the fund were taken over by Government from 4th June, 1868, as notified in G.O.G.G. No. 532 of 4th June, 1868, published in the *Gazette of India* of 6th June, 1868, p. 940. No new members were admitted after that date, but the existing members retained their rights in the fund. In 1881 Government sanctioned the return to all members of the sums then standing to their credit, including interest, subject to a deduction of ten per cent. in each case. All the existing members, with one exception, accepted the offer, and the fund came to an end. The individual who held on to his liabilities and rights under the fund made a bad speculation, as he died barely a year after his retirement.*

VIII. The Madras Medical Fund.†

This fund was instituted in 1807. Unlike the Bengal and Bombay Medical Funds, which were retiring funds pure and simple, it was also a charitable fund, its objects being (*a*) to give pensions to widows and children of medical officers dying in indigent circumstances; (*b*) to assist medical officers going on

* This statement rests upon general report only. I have often heard the story of the single officer who refused the terms, and the unfortunate result of his refusal, but cannot give any trustworthy authority for its truth.

† The information is chiefly from the rules of the fund, as given in the *East India Registers*.

sick leave to Europe; (c) to provide annuities, dependent on the assets of the fund, to senior officers retiring from the Service.

The fund at first gave pensions to the widows of Surgeons, and of Assistant Surgeons who joined prior to 5th Jan., 1815, sufficient to make up their incomes to £300, to those of Assistant Surgeons who joined after that date, to £200. Orphans under six years of age received £20 a year, if motherless also, £30; from six to twelve years £40; from twelve to twenty-one years, or in the case of daughters till marriage, if they married before twenty-one, £70. To officers going on sick leave it gave allowances sufficient to make up their incomes to £300 a year, if Surgeons; to £200, if Assistant Surgeons; up to a period of three years. To senior subscribers retiring annuities, if the assets permitted, of £400 a year for life.

Subscription to this fund was made compulsory, in 1823, for all officers joining after that date; and this order was republished in 1829, by Madras G.O. of 23rd Jan., 1829, as follows :—

"*Fort St. George, 23rd Jan.*, 1829. Adverting to the extract of a letter from the Hon. Court of Directors in the Military Department, dated the 30th April 1823, and published in G.O. under date the 9th Sept. following, the Right Hon. the Governor in Council desires it may be distinctly understood that no individual admitted a member of the Medical Service subsequently to the publication of the Hon. Court's letter above-mentioned, shall have the option of not subscribing to the Medical Fund, but shall pay his regulated contribution thereto so long as he may remain in the service; and all paymasters or others, by whom the pay and allowances of medical officers may be discharged, are hereby ordered and directed to make the requisite stoppages from the abstracts of subscribers, according to the information which they may receive from the secretary of the fund."

In 1844 the pension rates were somewhat changed; to widows of Surgeons, and of Assistant Surgeons who had joined the fund before 1815, (there can have been but few of the latter left after thirty years), Rs.2000; to widows of Assistant Surgeons who had joined later, Rs.1400. To children under two years of age, Rs.180 a year; from two to seven years, Rs.270; from seven to eleven years, Rs.340; from eleven to eighteen years, Rs.620; from eighteen to twenty-one years, girls only, Rs.620. Three annuities were granted each year to senior members retiring, two of Rs.3500 each, and one of Rs.1750, the last to a subscriber obliged to retire on sick certificate.

In 1847 a further change was made in the widows' pensions,

which were fixed at £228 11*s.* 5*d.* for the widows of Surgeons, and of Assistant Surgeons over fifteen years' service; £100 for the widows of other Assistant Surgeons.

In this fund members were allowed to subscribe for any or for all of their children, and might subscribe at one-half or two-thirds rates for both widows and children. They might also pay extra subscriptions, to ensure pensions for orphan sons up to the age of twenty-one, for daughters till marriage or death.

The assets, liabilities, and management of this fund were transferred to Government from 1st April, 1870, by Despatch No. 101 M. of 9th Dec., 1869; and after that date no new members were enrolled. In 1880 it was decided that it was not desirable to offer to members a refund of their subscriptions. For many years annuities from this fund continued to be granted yearly. All members have long since retired, but some are yet living who still draw their annuities.

IX. The Bombay Medical Retiring Fund.

This fund was instituted in 1829, by Bombay G.O. of 7th Aug., 1829, as follows :—

"*Bombay Castle, Aug. 7th*, 1829. The Hon. the Governor in Council having conditionally sanctioned the institution of a medical fund at this Presidency, subject to the confirmation of the Hon. the Court of Directors, is pleased to direct that the several paymasters receive subscriptions and arrears on account of the same, agreeably to such communications on the subject as they may receive from Surgeon Smyttan, the Secretary to the Fund Committee, in the same manner as contributions are received on account of the Military Fund."

The object of the fund was to provide annuities for senior members of the service to enable them to retire. One annuity of £300 was available each year. A subscriber was qualified for the annuity after seventeen years' service.

The formation of the fund was sanctioned by the Court in a letter dated 20th Dec., 1833, published in the following G.O. of 11th Sept., 1834 :—

"*Bombay Castle, Sept. 11th*, 1834. With reference to the G.O. of the 7th of August, 1829, the Right Hon. the Governor in Council is pleased to direct, that the following copy of a letter from the Hon. the Court of Directors, dated the 20th of December last, be published in General Orders, and to direct that the Medical Retiring Fund be considered in operation.

"[Letter from —— dated 15th April 1833. With reference to Court's

letter of 8th August 1832, forward memorial with strong recommendation in its favour, soliciting that the Medical Retiring Fund be not consolidated with the Military Retiring Fund.]

"*Para.* 1. As there appears to be no prospect of amalgamating the military and medical services upon your establishment, in the formation of a retiring fund, we shall not object to the institution of a separate fund for the medical services, as proposed, but we cannot consent to the remittance, through our treasury, of so many as three annuities of £300 in two years.

"2. In our despatch dated the 8th of August, 1832, we stated our willingness to allow the remittance of annuities for the medical service proportioned to the amount which, in our despatch dated the 28th of March 1832, we expressed our readiness to sanction for the army. In conformity with that intimation, we now authorize the remittance through our treasury, at the rate of two shillings the sicca rupee, of one annuity of £300 in each year, on account of the medical retiring fund upon your establishment.

"3. In the event of the fund being finally formed, we will give direction for a clause to be inserted in the covenants of every person hereafter appointed to your medical service, binding himself to subscribe to it."

This fund was taken over by Government from 4th June, 1868, after which date no new members were enrolled.* In 1877 refunds of the sums to their credit were offered to all members who had joined subsequent to 1st Jan., 1852.† Some of these officers accepted the terms offered, the majority did not. For many years later the allotment of annuities went on yearly, those falling to officers who had accepted a refund, of course, lapsing to Government. All the members have long since retired, but some are yet living who still draw annuities from the fund.

Annuities were given at three rates, £252 a year, which required that the recipient should have paid into the fund at least Rs.9600; £210, requiring a minimum payment of Rs.8000; and £168, requiring a minimum payment of Rs.6400.

X. The Indian Military Service Family Pension Fund.

This fund was established by Government from 1st Jan., 1873, to take the place of the various older funds which had been taken over by Government. No actual separate fund exists; Government receives all contributions, and assumes responsibility for all liabilities. *Pro formâ* accounts are kept, to ensure that, on the one hand, the nominal assets are sufficient to meet the liabilities,

* Despatches to Bombay, No. 35 of 8th Feb., 1868, and No. 113 of 4th June, 1868.

† Despatch to Bombay, No. 221 of 28th June, 1877.

and that, on the other hand, the contributions levied, including interest, do not exceed the liabilities to such an extent as to form a reserve. In other words, to ensure, as far as possible, that Government neither loses nor profits by the nominal maintenance of the fund. Every five years a valuation is carried out, based on these *pro formâ* accounts, and, as the result of such valuation, the contributions of subscribers may be either increased or diminished.

The fund was instituted by G.G.O. No. 1315 of 28th Dec., 1872, and G.O.G.G. No. 560 of 23rd May, 1873. Officers serving in the Indian Army on 1st Jan., 1873, might join the fund, or not, as they pleased. Any officer who did not join before 1st July, 1873, could only do so on production of a medical certificate of good health, and officers who did not join before 1st July, 1874, could only do so by special order of the Governor-General in Council. Every officer joining the Indian Army after 1st Jan., 1873, was bound to subscribe to the fund, as a condition of appointment.

Officers were classified as follows for the purposes of the fund :—

Class I.—Colonels, and Surgeon-Generals.
Class II.—Lieut.-Colonels, D.S.G.'s, and Surgeon-Majors over 20 years' service.
Class III.—Majors, and Surgeon-Majors under 20 years' service.
Class IV.—Captains, and Surgeons over six years' service.
Class V.—Subalterns, and Surgeons under six years' service.

By G.O.G.G. No. 756 of 18th July, 1873, officers who had already made provision for their wives might join the fund for their children only, paying unmarried rates of subscription.

By an order from the Secretary of State, No. 1 of 30th April, 1909,* officers of the Indian Medical Service were classified, for the purposes of the fund, entirely by length of service, instead of by rank, a change which had previously been introduced in the case of combatant officers. The classification, and the rates of widows' pension, now in force, are as follows :—

		Per annum.
I.	Colonels, Surgeon-Generals, and I.M.S. officers of 26 years' service	£160
II.	Officers of Indian Army of 26 years', I.M.S. officers of 20 years' service	130
III.	" " 18 " " 12 "	100
IV.	" " 9 " " 6 "	70
V.	" " under 9 " " under 6 "	40

* Published as memo. No. 5340 of 30th June, 1909, from the D.G., I.M.S., and as Circ. No. 65 of 19th July, 1909, from I.G.C.H., Bengal.

Pensions to orphan children are as follows: from birth to six years, £10 per annum; from six to twelve years, £20; from twelve to twenty-one years, £30; daughters over twenty-one years, £45 until marriage or death.

The pension of a widow who remarries ceases during her married life, but is revived should she become a widow for a second time. Should she be entitled to a pension through each husband, she can only draw one pension, but may draw the higher of the two. The pension of a daughter ceases on marriage, and does not revive on widowhood.

The pension of a male orphan ceases on attaining the age of twenty-one years. But subscribers may make special provision for pension for life for sons permanently incapacitated from earning a livelihood.

Pensions payable from this fund may not be transferred or assigned, nor in any way alienated; but the pension of a male orphan over the age of sixteen may be commuted, on production of a health certificate, for a lump sum, diminishing from £129 at sixteen to £7 at twenty years and nine months.

Subscribers may, by a special contribution, provide passage money home for their widows and orphans. The amount which might be so provided was limited to Rs.1500, up to 1901, when it was raised to Rs.3000. Should this sum not be required as passage money, the subscriber may either draw the amount himself on retirement from the service, or may leave it to be paid to his estate after his death.

All members have to pay to the fund (i) a donation on entering the service married, or on marriage, and on remarriage; (ii) a donation on promotion from class to class; (iii) a monthly subscription; and (iv) members who have children also pay a donation on the birth of each child, and a monthly subscription for each child.

The rates of subscription and donation vary from time to time, according to the state of the fund, as shown at the quinquennial valuations. Those now in force (1913) were laid down in Secretary of State's despatch, Financial (Funds) No. 6, of 9th Aug., 1907, issued in a memorandum from the Mily. Accounts Dept., Calcutta, dated 6th Sept., 1907. They are twenty-five per cent. lower than the rates previously in force, and are as follows:—

Class.	Donation on entering the service married, or on marriage, or re-marriage.		Donation on promotion.		Married subscription.		Unmarried subscription.	
	In England.	In India.	In England.	In India.	In England.	In India.	In England.	In India
	£	Rs.	£	Rs.	£ s. d.	Rs.	£ s. d.	Rs.
I.	288	4320	54	810	3 12 0	54 0	1 16 0	27 0
II.	144	2160	27	405	2 17 6	43 2	1 3 0	17 4
III.	72	1080	18	270	2 3 2	32 6	17 4	13 0
IV.	36	540	9	135	1 8 10	21 10	10 0	7 8
V.	18	270	—	—	14 6	10 14	5 10	4 6

It will be noticed that many of the rates are exactly doubled, on going up from class to class. The contributions payable for children are the same for all classes, and stand as follows :—

	Donation.						Subscription.					
	In England.			In India.			In England.			In India.		
	£	s.	d.	Rs.	a.	p.	£	s.	d.	Rs.	a.	p.
Son	11	5	0	168	12	0	0	1	6	1	2	0
Daughter . . .	18	0	0	270	0	0	0	3	8	2	12	0

In addition to the marriage donation, the following "excess age" donations are payable, according to the officer's age in each class :—

	£	s.	d.		Rs.	a.	p.		
Class V.—	1	2	6	or	16	14	0	for each year of age exceeding	30
,, IV.—	2	5	0	or	33	12	0	,, ,,	35
,, III.—	4	10	0	or	67	8	0	,, ,,	42
,, II.—	6	15	0	or	101	4	0	,, ,,	48
,, I.—	9	0	0	or	135	0	0	,, ,,	53

Should the husband's age exceed that of the wife by twelve years or more, an additional marriage donation is payable, which, at the highest rate, that due from a husband in Class I, who, at the age of sixty, marries a wife thirty years younger than himself, comes to £334. These rates have, for the present, been reduced by twenty-five per cent.

All donations are payable in twelve monthly instalments.

By G.G.O. No. 138 of 14th Feb., 1879, republished in *I.M.D. Circs.* for 1879, officers of the I.M.S. of Indian extraction were permitted to subscribe to this fund. But in their case, and in their case only, subscription is optional, not compulsory, (*India Office Memo* of May, 1910, para. 45).

The existence of this fund, and the compulsory membership of it, are of the greatest benefit to all members. Complaints are sometimes made that somewhat better terms could be obtained from insurance offices than those imposed by Government. This is probably the case. But, if insurance were entirely optional, many would never trouble to insure at all, whereas the regular monthly deduction of the subscriptions from pay is little felt. The payment of the marriage, promotion, and birth donations sometimes comes hard on individuals; but the difficulty is lessened by payment by instalments. Unmarried members sometimes complain of having to subscribe towards the future maintenance, as widows, of non-existent wives. But the unmarried rates are small, and are no great tax upon men who have no wives and families to maintain. Moreover, as almost all officers in the Indian Army marry sooner or later, those who do not ultimately share in the benefits of the Fund are few in number. Of course the man who outlives his wife, and lives till his sons are all over twenty-one, and his daughters all married or dead, loses by his connection with the Fund. But he has had the advantage, for many years, of knowing that provision was made for his widow and children in the event of his premature death.

Pensions to widows and families of officers of the Indian Army left in necessitous circumstances may also be granted under the provisions of such Royal Warrant, regulating the grant of pensions to the widows and families of officers of the British Army, as may be in force at the time. The grant of such pensions is entirely a matter of grace, not of right, and no definite rules on the subject are laid down. Each case, as occasion arises, is judged on its merits.

CHAPTER XXII

APPOINTMENT TO THE SERVICE: EXAMINATIONS

" Take up the white man's burden."
KIPLING, *The Five Nations.*

FROM a very early date the E.I. Co. ordered that applicants for appointments as Surgeon on board their ships should undergo an examination as to their fitness for the post. In Vol. III, 1622–24, of Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, India, China, and Japan,* several references to such examinations may be found, so early as 1622.

Para. 17, *No.* 38, *25th Feb.*, 1622, *Court Minutes of E.I.Co.* " Edward Charley, Surgeon on the *Blessing*, displaced. Richard Parkes, who has been Surgeon on five voyages, to take Charley's place."

Para. 18, *No.* 38, *27th Feb.*, 1622, *Court Minutes of E.I.Co.* " Parkes, the Surgeon, examined in the presence of Dr Winston and Mr Fenton and others, found grossly ignorant and incompetent, and discharged. The order for displacing Charley countermanded. In future all Surgeons to be examined before engaged. Dr Winston offers his services for this purpose, free."

Para. 243, *No.* 404, *3rd Feb.*, 1624, *Court Minutes of E.I.Co.* " To the motion that the Surgeons entertained be examined, it was answered that the Surgeons of this fleet are all experienced men, who have been in the Indies long, have performed extraordinary cures, and are men approved for their efficiency in their profession, and such as will scorn to be examined, therefore the opinion of the Court was that such Surgeons as come home well approved from the Indies and proceed again shall not be subject to examination, but if a new unknown man be propounded, then to have him examined."

Richard Parkes, however, had made five voyages before he was " examined and found grossly ignorant and incompetent." No doubt he also would have " scorned to be examined " if he could have avoided the test. Probably others like him could have been found.

Most of the appointments as Surgeons to Indiamen appear

to have been made on the nomination of John Woodall, the E.I. Co.'s Surgeon-General in London. Many complaints were made of the incompetence of the men appointed. Woodall seems to have appointed his apprentices to serve on board ship at a nominal wage, while he himself, as their employer, drew the greater part of their pay in London. A letter from Richard Baker* dated Saldania (Saldanha Bay), 20th June, 1615, reports:—

"Mr Woodall's great abuses in the chirurgeon's chest putting divers boxes of one simple, whereas he writeth in their superscriptions to be diverse; drugs rotten, unguents made of kitchen stuff. Boys that have no skill thrust into place of chirurgeons. He is to be accounted guilty of the death of so many men as perish through his default."

The "boys of no skill" were probably Woodall's apprentices, whose pay he drew. Similar complaints occur in Sainsbury's *Calendar*.

Para. 416, *No.* 628, *1st Oct.*, 1624, *Court Minutes* of *E.I.Co.* "Information having been given that Mr Woodall has shipped 12 servants into the Indies, whose wages he is to receive, ordered that he be warned to attend the next court."

Para. 424, *No.* 643, *13th Oct.*, 1624, *Court Minutes of E.I.Co.* "Examination of Woodall charged with seeking his own gain by thrusting his servants upon the company; he admits he has seven apprentices as Surgeon's Mates in the Indies, but has had 20, who are dead; that they are set out at his great charge, and the benefit he makes is but their two months pay yearly, and that such as live to return prove the ablest for that employment by reason of their practice, as will appear upon examination of skilful surgeons to whom he refers; with that his submitting trial the court was satisfied."

It has been stated that grossly incompetent men, with little or no medical education, were, from time to time, in the eighteenth century, appointed as medical officers to the Company's service in India. Surgeon-General W. B. Beatson, in his pamphlet on the Indian Medical Service, published in 1902 † states that about 1758, or perhaps later, an instance is recorded of a person who had been a butcher on board an Indiaman being appointed as Surgeon, and that this individual was so grossly ignorant as to sign himself *Sergeant* instead of *Surgeon*. That such cases may have occurred is possible. But the words Sergeant and Surgeon

* *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East*, 1602–17, edited by F. C. Danvers and W. Foster, six volumes, 1896–1902. Baker's letter is in Vol. II, p. 184.

† *The Indian Medical Service, Past and Present.* Reprinted from the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1902.

are not unlike each other, both in spelling and pronunciation, and instances may be found in the records where one of these words has been misprinted or miscopied for the other.

It seems more likely that the ship's butcher was appointed Sergeant than Surgeon. A ship's butcher is hardly likely to have been able to get a nomination from Court, or even to have been locally appointed in India. Another possibility is, that an ex-medical student might have been serving on board ship in a menial capacity, and locally appointed in India, at a time of pressure, to the Medical Service.

An instance, however, is on record where a Surgeon in the Service formally and deliberately made a similar charge, of the appointment to the Service of unqualified and incompetent men. In the *Calcutta Press Lists* (Vol. III, 1775–79, p. 406) is quoted a memorial by Assistant Surgeon James Kerr, (appointed 16th May, 1770, Surgeon 25th April, 1778, died in Calcutta, 17th Sept., 1782), in which he states that he had seen a person serving as Head Surgeon in Bengal who could not have passed as a Surgeon's Mate at Surgeons' Hall; also that a black slave boy, named Nicholas, was appointed Assistant Surgeon on Rs.130 a month, while he (Kerr) served for seven years on Rs.120. Surgeon-General Daniel Campbell's remarks on this memorial are dated 15th May, 1778. He states that he does not know who the Head Surgeon, thus referred to as incompetent, is; but that the black slave boy, Nicholas, was a dresser under Mr. Anderson, one of the medical officers killed in the Patna Massacre of 1763; for his services to the prisoners he was granted the pay and *batta* of an Assistant Surgeon, but that his name was never on the list, nor was he ever considered one of them. More information about Nicholas, or Nicola, is given in Chap. XII, *William Fullerton and the Patna Massacre.* He seems to have run great risks in the service of Anderson and of the other English prisoners at Patna, and to have deserved well all he got.

In 1763–65 a considerable number of officers entered the Company's army from King's regiments returning from India to Europe. Among them were several medical officers, including:

A. Sinclair, Surgeon, 89th Foot; Madras, 6th June, 1763.
C. L. Lucas, Surgeon, 96th Foot; Madras, 9th Jan., 1764.
W. Raine, Surgeon's Mate, 96th Foot; Madras, 23rd Feb., 1764.
M. Allen, Surgeon, 96th Foot; Bengal, 19th Feb., 1765.

The transfer of Gilbert Pasley from the King's to the Company's Service in 1761 has been described in Chap. XVII, *Rank*.

These officers retired on half pay from the British Army, and of course drew full pay from the Company. The combatant officers mostly got a step on their transfer in addition; *i.e.* Lieutenants in the King's regiments entering the Company's army as Captains. The medical officers were transferred with their rank as Surgeon or Surgeon's Mate.

There were two ways in which the Medical Service was occasionally recruited during the eighteenth century which are of special interest: by promotion from the ranks and by the appointment of foreigners. The former method, promotion from the ranks, could never be common; for some professional knowledge, at least, is necessary in a medical officer, and private soldiers seldom possess such knowledge. Several cases, however, of such promotion are on record. The men so promoted seem all to have studied medicine before enlisting, and several of them held qualifications of the time.

The earliest such case recorded is that of Walter Stewart, in *Fort St. George Cons.* of 2nd Jan., 1687/88.

"One Walter Stewart a Phisitian coming out on the Resolution in the quallity of a Souldier, and having had severall successfull practises in his profession here made it his Pitition to be free'd from the duty of a Souldier, that he might have more time to study and practise, which in consideration, that there is great occation for him in Toun these sickly times, tis agreed that he be free'd from bearing Armes provided he pay the Charge &c^{a} the Right Honble Company have been att in sending him out."

Thirty years later another soldier at Fort St. George, Samuel Raworth, was promoted to Surgeon's Mate, as recorded in *Cons.* of 15th Sept., 1718.

"Agreed that Samuell Raworth, who came out a soldier by these last Ships, be entertain'd as Second Mate of ye Hospital at three pagodas p. Month, He having been educated in that way. Order'd, that the said Samuell Raworth be struck off the Roll of the Military and entered upon the Civil List."

In the *Cons.* of 9th Feb., 1720/21, it is noted that Raworth paid 44 pagodas, 16 *fanams*, for discharge from military service.

The appointment of a soldier named Richard Holmes to be Surgeon at Anjengo is noted in the *Bombay Cons.* of 5th Jan., 1715/16.

"Mr Richd Holmes (who came out of England in the Capacity of a Soldier on the Stanhope) being a person in years well skilled in Physick and surgery by his profession and of a decent behaviour requesting to be employed in the business of his calling at Bombay or any of our Coast Factorys, & Mr Kyffin chief of Anjengo complaining of the Surgeon there & desiring another to be sent down.

"Agreed that Mr Holmes be entertained Surgeon for Anjengo at the usuall pay there given he taking passage on the Queen for Callicut & thence to proceed to Anjengo the Secretary being ordered to make out a Warrant accordingly."

The *Bombay Cons.* of 11th Nov., 1717, note that Holmes had been killed at Anjengo by a sergeant.

Thirty years later a note in the *Bombay Cons.* of 9th Sept., 1746, shows that Robert Trotter, Surgeon in the Bombay Marine, had first come out to India as a soldier. Trotter seems to have been first appointed in 1739. The *Cons.* of 12th Aug., 1746, note that, thinking he had been badly treated, he asked permission to resign; his resignation was accepted, and he was ordered to return to England by the first ship. In the same *Cons.*, 12th Aug., is recorded the dismissal of Dr. John Neilson, Surgeon at Bombay. Neilson's dismissal gave a step, and Trotter asked to withdraw his resignation. The *Cons.* of 9th Sept., 1746, note—

"Read a letter from Dr Robert Trotter, requesting to be readmitted into the Honble Company's Service, & employed as Surgeon, either at this Place or Surat, since a Vacancy must happen at one or other of them by Doctor Neilson's being order'd to England, which he did not foresee when he askt for his Discharge. Upon which it is remarkt that this Man came out of England in Quality of a Soldier; And as he has chiefly learnt what he may know of his Profession since his Arrival in India the Board judges him unfit to be at any of the Settlements & therefore confirms their Resolution made the 12th Ultimo."

Trotter was allowed to withdraw his resignation, but did not get an appointment ashore for another ten years; he was posted to Fort Victoria on 31st Aug., 1757. He died at Anjengo on 4th Sept., 1771.

Three promotions were made from the ranks in Madras between 1765 and 1773. The *Madras Mily. Cons.* of 24th June, 1765, record:—

"Read a letter from Col. Campbell dated 17th Inst enclosing one from Mr Lucas Surgeon in Camp recommending in a very particular Manner Thomas Walker, who came out a Soldier in the Pitt, as a Man well qualified to assist the Surgeon in the Hospital, being a careful, diligent, and sober Person, & having been regularly bred to that Profession, & therefore

requesting that he may be discharged from the Battalion and be appointed Assistant Surgeon.

" Agreed that Thomas Walker be appointed to assist the Surgeon in the Hospital, & that he do receive 15 Pagodas p. Month in Lieu of Batta & all Allowances whatever, and that his Pay as a Soldier do immediately cease."

Walker did not remain long in the Medical Department. The same *Cons.* of 17th July, 1766, contain a letter from Assistant Surgeon Thomas Walker, at Ongole, about hospital charges. On 30th Dec., 1766, Thomas Walker, at Ongole, was given a commission as Ensign, on the recommendation of General Caillaud He became Lieut. on 9th May, 1768. In the M.S. list of the Madras army for 1778 he is shown as dead.

The same *Cons.* of 26th Jan., 1770, record the promotion of Thomas Wilson.

" The President acquaints the Board that Mr Thomas Wilson, who came out some Time ago a Recruit, who has been bred a Surgeon, & has for a considerable Time past assisted in the Hospital at Vellour, had been particularly recommended to him by the Surgeon there, for his Diligence & Abilities to be appointed Surgeon's Mate in the Room of Mr Barry who has resigned—which is approved."

Wilson was promoted to Surgeon on 27th April, 1772, and was killed in action in the second Maisur war, when Colonel Baillie was defeated and taken at Perambakam on 10th Sept., 1780.

The same *Cons.* of 24th April, 1773, contain a letter, dated Camp, 7th April, 1773, from John Ross, paymaster to Colonel Bonjour's detachment, stating that Colonel Bonjour has appointed an artilleryman, called Mitchell, " who had some knowledge of Surgery," to act as Assistant Surgeon to the detachment. Orders were passed that Mitchell should receive pay as Assistant Surgeon till another Assistant Surgeon was appointed. Mitchell does not seem to be mentioned again.

Three similar cases of promotion occurred in Bengal, at a somewhat later date. In the *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board of 21st Nov., 1795, is a letter from Surgeon John Burgh, who was appointed Assistant Surgeon in India on 20th Dec., 1782, in which he states that he came out to India on the *Worcester* Indiaman in 1782, not in a medical capacity, but as a volunteer.*

* Volunteering was at this time a recognised road to a commission in the army. The volunteer served as a private, on the understanding that he would receive a commission on the occurrence of a vacancy.

He served in the Karnatik, in the second Maisur war, and also in the second Maratha war in 1803–04, taking part in Monson's retreat, and was killed near Fatehpur Sikri on 29th Aug., 1804. The remains of Monson's force reached Agra Fort on the following day, 30th Aug.

Assistant Surgeon John Smith Sloper, a St. Thomas' man, took the M.R.C.S. in 1809, enlisted as a private in the Company's Artillery in 1814, and got a commission as Assistant Surgeon in 1815. He resigned on 6th Feb., 1819. John Smyth enlisted as a private in the Bengal Army in April, 1817, having the degree of M.D. He officiated as Assistant Surgeon from 31st Oct., 1818, to Sept., 1820, got a commission as Assistant Surgeon from 21st Feb., 1824, became Surgeon on 1st March, 1838, and retired on 10th Feb., 1847. While such an appointment, to a commission in the I.M.S., is hardly likely at the present day, little more than twenty years ago, a doctor, who had enlisted, and was serving in India in the ranks, was appointed to the Uncovenanted Medical Service.

A considerable number of foreigners were appointed to the Medical Service in the eighteenth century, chiefly French, though several Dutch and Portuguese names also appear. The first Surgeon to hold medical charge of Calcutta was a Dutchman, whose name, unfortunately, has not been preserved. Gregorius Meisters, whose removal has been related in Chap. XX, *Pensions*, Frederick Haag, serving on the West Coast from 1729–43, and John Errick Kusch, who relieved him there in 1743, had Dutch or German names. Several Portuguese names occur in the list of Madras medical officers: Francisco Pinto in 1707, Nicolas Carasco in 1710, Daniel Gregorio in 1751, Antonio Simoens from 1767–1803. It is the Surgeons of French extraction, however, who are of most interest. The appointments of Joyfull in 1705 and of Clausade in 1707, as Surgeons at Bombay, have been related in Chap. XVIII, *Pay*. Augustin De Champ or Deschamps also served in Bombay in 1720–21, and at Bencoolen in 1728, and Daniel Espignol at Madras in 1738. And in the second half of the eighteenth century, some eight or ten French medical officers took service with the English Company, some of whom had served the French King and Company, while others had been in the employment of country powers.

In Chap. XXIV, *Courts-Martial*, the execution of the unfortunate Assistant Surgeon La Forge has been described, and in the

same chapter has been related how Surgeon Jean Martin deserted from Haidar Ali's service, and entered that of the E.I. Co. For several years he held the post of Surgeon of the Foreign Legion. On 2nd Jan., 1768, Assistant Surgeon Fabre or Favré was appointed Surgeon's Mate to the same corps; owing to sickness he never joined, and on 11th Sept., 1769, his discharge was ordered. Bartholomew Suffrein, or Suffrein-Tonnelle, was appointed Assistant Surgeon on 9th Jan., 1764; he died at Ellore on 5th May, 1774. On 9th Jan., 1769, John Buirette was entertained as Assistant Surgeon in Madras; he retired in 1794, subsequently became Police Surgeon in Calcutta, and died in that city on 4th June, 1811. When the English were besieging Muhammad Yusuf Khan in Madura, a foreign Surgeon, Jean Carere, deserted to them on 26th Feb., 1764, along with Captain Riquet. Carere was appointed Assistant Surgeon on 13th Aug., 1764, became Surgeon on 20th April, 1767, and died in February or March, 1780. About 1766, F. Laney was appointed Assistant Surgeon. The name is also spelt Lamie and Lamee, but the signature is certainly F. Laney. He was debarred from promotion as a foreigner, and the last mention of him is an application, dated 11th Feb., 1778, on account of ill health, consumption, for a transfer to Masulipatam, which was granted. Assistant Surgeon Tenier was appointed to Chingleput in 1771, and seems to have put in his whole service in that station, dying there in July, 1782. Jean Castaréde served under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan for some nineteen years, 1770–89, until he made his escape in the latter year. He was appointed Assistant Surgeon on 2nd June, 1790, as related in Chap. II, *European Surgeons in the Service of Oriental Potentates*, and died at Kadalur on 1st Feb., 1798.

Curious differences appear in the treatment these French medical officers received from the English Company. In a list of the Medical Service, entered in the *Madras Mily. Cons.* of 8th April, 1771, six Assistant Surgeons are specially noted as "not to rise." These six are Tenier, Gahagan, Swallow, Simmons [Simoens], Buret, and Suffrein. Laney was also debarred from promotion as a foreigner. In this same list Martin is entered as junior Surgeon, with the note "not considered on the establishment." On the other hand, in the same *Cons.* of 29th Oct., 1770, is entered a memorial from Martin, to which answer was made that he was entitled to the same advantages as other Surgeons.

And no question appears ever to have been raised about Carere's promotion; he was promoted to Surgeon as a matter of course. Simoens also was promoted in 1782 to be a supernumerary Surgeon. Carere, however, seems to have been a Swiss Protestant, not a Frenchman and a Catholic.

Of all these foreign Surgeons, the names of only two appear in Dodwell and Miles' *Medical List*, Simoens and Castaréde. The latter is called John Casterade, but he signs himself Jean Castaréde. In Bengal no similar appointments of foreigners seem to have been made in the latter half of the eighteenth century, though a few were made later.

The Court of Directors, however, while not requiring their medical officers to be British subjects, apparently insisted that they should be Protestants by religion, in the case of foreigners, at any rate. A Mily. Letter from Bombay, dated 24th Dec., 1790, has the following reference, in para. 36, to a Catholic Assistant Surgeon :—*

"Medical Board, to whom your orders were referred, reporting that Mr Pouget was a foreigner and a Roman Catholic, we declined admitting his pretensions, but as he has served 12 years, and was at one time placed upon the list of Surgeons though irregularly appointed, we have allowed him the Pay of that rank, and fixed him at Surat as Hospital Mate."

Joseph Pouget, the officer here mentioned, was appointed to the Bombay Service as Assistant Surgeon on 10th Sept., 1778, and, in spite of the above remarks, served for thirty years, retiring on 19th Oct., 1808. He does not seem ever to have been promoted to Surgeon, but a Bombay Mily. Letter of 25th Feb., 1807, in paras. 124, 125, reports that he has been granted furlough to Europe, and recommends him for the pension of a Senior Surgeon on retirement,† which was sanctioned in para. 128 of a Mily. Letter from Court, dated 5th Jan., 1810. He died at Florence on 25th July, 1833, having drawn his pension for nearly twenty-five years.

In 1773 the E.I. Co. appointed a Board in London to examine candidates for appointments as Assistant Surgeon. The passing of orders to this effect is noted in a despatch from England to Madras, dated 13th April, 1773; the Court also say that it is desirable that all vacancies for Surgeons should be filled up by men licensed

* *Abstracts, Letters from Bombay*, Vol. V, 1785–99, p. 145.
† *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, 1799–1807 (partly unpaged).

by this Board. Exactly a year later, the same announcement is made at greater length. The actual order, contained in paras. 14 and 15 of a General Letter from Court, dated 13th April, 1774, to the President and Council of Fort St. George, runs as follows :—

Para. 14. " It being of the greatest Importance to the Welfare of our Settlements in India, as well as the Crews of our Ships, that they should be supplied with able and experienced Surgeons, we have for a few years past established here a Board of Gentlemen of the Faculty of known Ability in their Professions as well in Physic as Surgery, for examining all the Surgeons appointed from hence either for our Settlements or Ships."

Para. 15. " And that our Service may be benefited as much as possible by this regulation we direct that when Vacancies of Surgeons happen in your Hospitals or in the Regiments a Preference in the Choice of Successors be always given to such who have the Company's License for residing in India, and who have passed their Examination here by the Board above-mentioned, and that if possible none other be employed by you. And that you may never be in want of Persons properly qualified, you will advise us how many may be necessary to be sent to you every year."

Similarly worded orders were sent to Bengal in para. 38 of a General Letter dated 30th March, 1774, and to Bombay in paras. 12 and 13 of a Letter dated 13th April, 1774. Unfortunately the names of the members of the London Board are not given.

About the same time, the necessity for examining men locally appointed in India became apparent. In 1775 the Government of Madras directed Surgeons Pasley and Anderson, who were at this time acting practically though informally as a Medical Board, to recommend to the Board persons qualified to be Surgeons' Assistants.

Madras *Mily. Cons.* of 30th Jan., 1775, contain a letter from Pasley and Anderson on the want of Assistant Surgeons, and the necessary qualifications; it is stated that they must come out young, and acquire a knowledge of tropical diseases in India. The same *Cons.* of 14th and 23rd Oct., 1775, contain two resolutions on examinations.

14th Oct., 1775. " Resolved likewise that all Surgeons Assistants in future be properly examin'd before they are admitted on the line of Surgeons."

23rd Oct., 1775. " Resolved, therefore, that all Surgeons and Surgeons Assistants be in future examined by the Senior Surgeons at the Presidency, & that the Reports of the Senior Surgeons be delivered in Writing. And further it is Resolved, that no Hospital hereafter, shall be entrusted to the care of a Surgeon, who shall not be found qualified to take charge of one, on Examination of the Senior Surgeons."

Madras Separate Letter of 9th Dec., 1775, reports in paras. 16 and 17—*

"Surgeons and Surgeons' assistants; prior to their being admitted into the Service we have resolved for the good of our Hospitals shall be strictly examined by our Senior Surgeons at the Presidency and declared competent in the different Branches of their Professions. Their Reports are to be entered on our Consultations."

In Bengal similar orders were formally passed in 1767. The *Cons.* of 29th April, 1767, contain the following order:—

"The Board, taking into Consideration how requisite it is that the Gentlemen of the Faculty employed in the Hon'ble Company's Service should be well skilled in their profession: *Resolved* that in future none shall be admitted into the Service as Surgeon's Mates without having previously passed an Examination before the four Head Surgeons of the Settlement."

The *Minutes* of the Bengal Council of 5th Aug., 1779, contain the following order:—†

"Surgeons. No Surgeons Assistants are to be admitted into the Honble Company's Service on the Bengal Establishm^t^ until they have been examin'd & approv'd of by the Surgeon Genl and two Surgeons of the Army.

"The Arrangement in the Rank of Surgeons made by the Board of Field Officers on the 14th August 1777 to remain in force till the Pleasure of the Court of Directors be known."

Then follows a list of the Bengal Medical Service, which is the same as a list in the *Minutes* of 17th Oct., 1777, not brought up to date at all.

The *Minutes* of the Bengal Council of 27th Sept., 1784, published as G.O. of 16th Nov., 1784, order that all Assistant Surgeons, whether sent out from home or locally appointed, should pass an examination before a Committee of which the Surgeon-General was President, before admission to the Service.

Minutes of Council, 27th Sept., 1784. *Resolved*—"That all Assistant Surgeons who may hereafter be appointed by the Court of Directors, or admitted into the Service under this Presidency by the Board, be examined by a Commitee, consisting of the Surgeon-General and two or more Surgeons of his Nomination, from the Civil or Military Surgeons doing duty at the Presidency, and that on passing such Examinations the Certificate of their Qualification, which they shall in consequence receive from the

* *Abstracts of Letters received from Madras*, Vol. II, 1773–84. Also *Mily. Cons.*, 23rd Oct., 1775.

† *Abstracts, Letters from Bengal*, Vol. III, 1774–83, p. 280.

Surgeon-General, be delivered, together, with their Credentials from the Court of Directors (if their Appointment is from them) to the Military Secretary, that the Persons so approved may be reported by him to the Board, receive their sanction for being confirmed in General Orders, and for being appointed to the Civil Hospital at the Presidency or to the Military Department, according as their Services may be required."

The examiners in Calcutta, on occasion, criticized those at home, but apparently did not venture to reject as unfit a man who had been passed in England, and appointed by the Court. A Mily. Letter from Bengal, dated 27th April, 1792,* makes the following remarks upon Assistant Surgeon J. Briars :—

Para. 84. "*Mr Briars, Assistant-Surgeon.* Hospital Board observe this Gentleman must have been sent out without having been duly examined as to his qualifications, or that the examination must have been superficial."

Briars may have been duly qualified when examined in England, but was probably mentally deranged when examined in Calcutta, for he was undoubtedly insane a few weeks later. The *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board of 8th May, 1792, contain a letter from Mr. Boyd, Head Surgeon at Barhampur, dated 13th April, 1792, which is summarized as follows :—

"Reports that Assistant Surgeon Briars has been disordered in mind ever since his arrival. His prescriptions cannot be made up. He prescribed Glauber's salt in quantities of one to ten ounces for a dose. Mr Haig has had to treat all his patients. He continues to go about in the sun all day, very Ragged and very Dirty, an object of great compassion to every one who beholds him."

The same *Proceedings* for 4th Dec., 1793, note the receipt of a letter dated 25th June, 1793, from the Court of Directors, Mily. Dept., which states that John Briars had the usual certificates, including the certificate of the Corporation of Surgeons, June, 1787. Probably he became insane during the long voyage to India.

Orders were passed that Mr. Briars should be sent down to the Calcutta Insane Asylum. A Mily. Letter from Fort William, dated 14th Feb., 1794, reports in para. 77 that—

"Mr Briars, Assistant Surgeon, still continues disordered in his mind and is at present confined in the Hospital for Insanes."

* *Abstracts, Letters from Bengal*, Vol. V, 1789–95, p. 204.

In the Army Lists in the *East India Register*, Briars is shown as " Insane " up to 1804; his name is omitted in 1805.

In 1795 the Calcutta Medical Board instituted an inquiry into the medical qualifications of the numerous Assistant Surgeons appointed locally in Bengal in 1782–83, and as to how and why they first came to India, the results of which appear in the *Proceedings* of the Board from Oct. to Dec., 1795. The majority had come out as Surgeons to Indiamen, several as Surgeons' Mates in the Royal Army or Navy, a few as passengers, a few as combatant officers or cadets, Burgh as a volunteer. Only one, John Gilman, appears to have had no medical qualification. He had, however, been apprenticed to a Surgeon, and had attended classes at Bart.'s. He came to India as a Cadet of the Bombay Infantry in April, 1781, was sent to Madras in March, 1782, and was there appointed an Assistant Surgeon by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Eyre Coote, from 6th April, 1782. His want of qualification did not stand in the way of his promotion, for he rose in time to be second member of the Medical Board. John Peter Wade had come out as Surgeon to a Portuguese ship, the *Arabida*; he had studied at Edinburgh, but his qualification was a licence from the Queen and Minister of Portugal. Patrick Ivory, besides the certificate of the London College, was an M.A. and M.D. of Paris.

In Madras, as well as in Bengal, Assistant Surgeons had been appointed locally in times of stress. In the *M.S. Army Lists* in the India Office, containing the histories of the Company's Medical Officers,* among the entries about Nicol Mein, appointed Assistant Surgeon on 20th July, 1772, it is stated that two of the Cadets sent out to Madras in 1772, Nicol Mein and John Simson, " had been regularly bred to Surgery," were found by the Surgeons well qualified, and were therefore appointed to be Surgeons' Assistants.

The *C.G.* of 1st July, 1790, publishes extracts from a Letter from Court, dated 2nd Dec., 1789, giving a list of deserters from Indiamen, who had remained in India, and whom the Court ordered to be apprehended and sent back to Europe at once. The list is a very long one, and includes eleven medical officers.

* *Service Army Lists, Medical*, 11 volumes; five Bengal, three Madras, three Bombay. Of the five Bengal volumes, two contain the histories, up to date, of officers serving in 1858, three those of officers dead or retired by that time. The appointment of Cadets Nicol Mein and John Simson is also mentioned in Madras Separate Letter of 15th Oct., 1772, para. 80.

Out of the eleven, five had been duly appointed, locally, to the Medical Service in Madras. None of these five were sent home. One, Joseph Copeland, disappears from the list in 1793. A second, John King, was dismissed by Court-martial in 1803. The other three, Robert Gallaway, David Halliburton, and John MacArthur, all died, while serving, between 1799 and 1803.*

A considerable number of local appointments were made to the Bombay Service also between 1788 and 1791. A Bombay Mily. Letter, dated 24th Dec., 1790,† states in para. 10—

"Have appointed no Surgeons ourselves, but have been obliged to entertain a few Assistant Surgeons provisionally, as your own Appointments had not been sufficient, but shall employ them no longer then until you may supply us."

In spite of the last clause, all, or nearly all, of the Assistant Surgeons thus appointed in Bombay, locally and temporarily, seem to have been confirmed on the permanent establishment, sooner or later.

In an article on the constitution of the Medical Department, published in the *India Journal of Medical and Physical Science, New Series*, Vol. I, 1836, edited by Frederick Corbyn, (pp. 127 and 346), the writer, probably Corbyn, states that a diploma was first required in 1795. He does not give his authority for the statement. Most likely it was deduced from the inquiry, quoted above, made by the Calcutta Medical Board, in 1795, as to the qualifications of the men locally appointed in 1782–83. It seems probable that some sort of diploma or qualification had been required since 1764; although in some of the cases of local appointment, in time of emergency, the necessity of possessing a diploma had not been, and could not be enforced.

A Mily. Letter from Court to Bombay, dated 26th Aug., 1801, in para. 10, gives orders.

"Cadets and Assistant Surgeons are to rank in future as they arrive at the several Presidencies to which they are appointed."

The same order is given in a Mily. Letter to Madras of the same date, 26th Aug., 1801, para. 149.

The Assistant Surgeons appointed from England received and

* This list is quoted in Seton-Karr's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes*, Vol. II, pp. 23, 24.

† *Abstracts, Letters from Bombay*, Vol. V, 1785–99, p. 144.

executed regular covenants. In the *Calcutta Press Lists* of 1784, is mentioned a letter of 23rd July, 1784, from Surgeon-General James Ellis to the Government, forwarding the covenants of Assistant Surgeons Smith, Carstairs, Corse, and Macleod, four of the Assistant Surgeons appointed in England in 1783.*

The *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board of 14th Nov., 1791, contain the following letter from Government to the Medical Board, forwarding such covenants for execution :—

"To A. Campbell, Secretary, Medical Board.—Sir, I am directed by the Governor-General in Council to transmit to you the covenants of Messrs. J. W. Smith, Adam Mitchell, and Charles Campbell, who have been appointed Assistant Surgeons on this Establishment, and to desire that they may be executed by the parties before the Hospital Board and then returned for the purpose of being forwarded to England.—I am, J. Fombelle, Sub-Secretary, Military Department. Council Chambers, 5th Oct., 1791."

The appointment of natives of India as commissioned officers in the Medical Service was strictly forbidden by the Court, and it was not until the introduction of competitive examination in 1855 that admission was thrown open to Indians. Still, in spite of orders against their admission, a few men, who were officially called natives of India, were from time to time appointed. As all these men, however, bore European names, it seems probable that they were either country-born Europeans or Eurasians. From the order appointing Assistant Surgeon J. G. Vos, in 1832, it appears that the definition of a "Native" then employed was the "son of parents of whom either one or both were of pure unmixed native extraction."

In Vol. II A of the *Cadet Registers* (17 MS. Volumes) appears the name of Richard Samuel Richardson, with the following note :—

"Standing orders of Company respecting Natives of India dispensed with in favour of Mr Richardson, the 1st February, 1792."

Richardson's first commission bears date 19th Sept., 1792. He rose to be Surgeon, and died at Barrackpur on 24th Nov., 1818.

In their *Proceedings* of 14th July, 1797, the Calcutta Medical Board recommend James Lumsdaine, "a native, but well qualified," for appointment as temporary Assistant Surgeon in an

* *C.P.L.* of 1784, p. 1136, O. C. 26th July, 1784, No. 10.

expedition to the East, and he was appointed from 17th July. This expedition never took place, but Lumsdaine was appointed Acting Assistant Surgeon for Bencoolen in *Proceedings* of 9th Nov., 1797. He was confirmed in the Bengal Service from 9th Sept., 1799, became full Surgeon, and retired on 5th July, 1825.

A letter from Court dated 12th Feb., 1806, published in the *C.G.* of 31st July, 1806, appoints William Noyes to be Assistant Surgeon, subject to his passing an examination, and not being a native of India.

"We have appointed Mr William Noyes, now Surgeon of the *William Pitt*, an Assistant Surgeon on your Establishment, provided he shall appear on examination by your Medical Board to be qualified for that station, and that the Governor General in Council shall be satisfied that he is not the son of a native Indian. His order of rank will be transmitted to you on a future opportunity."

Noyes had but a brief career in India. He was appointed Surgeon to the commercial Residency at Radnagore, (Radhanagar in Midnapur), and died there the following year, on 18th Nov., 1807.

In Vol. XXV of the books of Assistant Surgeons' certificates occurs the following order appointing J. G. Vos an Assistant Surgeon in 1832, which gives the conditions then laid down as necessary for appointment to the I.M.S. Vos was commissioned from 16th Sept., 1832, became full Surgeon, retired on 15th Oct., 1850, and died at Southampton on 28th April, 1860.

"We have appointed Mr James Gregory Vos, M.D., now at your Presidency, an Assistant Surgeon upon your Establishment, provided he is not the son of parents of whom either one or both are of pure unmixed native extraction, that he is not under 22 years of age, or exceptionable in any other respect, subject also to his being first examined and found qualified for the profession by your Medical Board. Upon the conditions before stated we direct you to admit him an Assistant Surgeon, and administer to him the usual oath of fidelity to the Company. Mr Vos' order of rank will be transmitted at a future date. [Approved, Committee for passing military appointments, 15th August, 1832, Bengal Military.]"

G. O. No. 47, dated 22nd March, 1830, published in the *C.G.* of 29th March, 1830, notifies, in exactly the same wording, the appointment of Assistant Surgeon James Harvey, who was actually ranked from 2nd Oct., 1829. Several other similar cases are notified from time to time.

Cadets were sometimes appointed to the Indian Army in the

same manner, young men who were in India at the time of their appointment. One such case may be seen in G.O. of 22nd Nov., 1830, published in the *C.G.* of 29th Nov., 1830, appointing Mr. Josias Dupre Fergusson a Cadet of Infantry in Bengal. *Mutatis mutandis*, the wording of the order is exactly the same as for the Assistant Surgeons.

It was not until 1854 that British nationality was made a condition of appointment, using the word British in the widest sense. The first of the rules for competition, published in 1854, throws open appointments to "all natural-born subjects of Her Majesty," and to them only. Many foreigners have served in the I.M.S. prior to that date. Ephraim Morton, (Madras, 1st Oct., 1790), and Josiah Harlan, (Bengal, 1st July, 1824–27), were Americans, citizens of the United States.* Theodore Cantor, (Bengal, 1839), was a Dane; Aloys Sprenger, the famous Oriental scholar, (Bengal, 1843), was a Swiss.

By the India Act of 1853, Act 16 and 17 Vict., *cap.* 95, admission to the I.M.S. was ordered in future to be made by competitive examination only, and was thrown open to "all natural-born subjects of Her Majesty," as stated above.

The first competitive examination was held in Jan., 1855, when the list of successful candidates was headed by S. C. G. Chuckerbutty, one of the Bengali students who had gone to England with Goodeve ten years before, and who had served as an Uncovenanted Medical Officer in Bengal from 1850–54.

Since then a large number of natives of India have entered the service by competition, and most of them have served with credit and success. Dr. Chuckerbutty and Dr. Chandra filled in succession the post of Professor of Materia Medica in the Calcutta Medical College, along with that of Second Physician to the Medical College Hospital; and both were successful as Teachers and as Physicians. Only twice since that time, in July, 1910, and in July, 1913, has the list been headed by an Indian.

Only three Indians had succeeded in entering the Service by competition prior to its closure from 1860 to 1865. Chuckerbutty, as stated, passed first in Jan., 1855. He died on furlough in

* The strange career of Josiah Harlan, first Surgeon, later General and Governor, has been related in Chap. XXVIII, *Doctors as Civil and Political Officers.*

London on 29th Sept., 1874. R. C. Chandra entered on 27th Jan., 1858; he retired as Brigade Surgeon on 18th Oct., 1891, and died in London on 20th Dec., 1895. Both Chuckerbutty and Chandra were Bengalis, and both served in Bengal. The third, Rustomjee Byramjee, the first Parsi to gain admission, entered on 29th Jan., 1857, was posted to Bombay, retired as Surgeon-Major on 6th Oct., 1875, and died at Ravenscourt Park, West London, so recently as 3rd Nov., 1913.

No Indian has yet been confirmed as an A.M.O., in the rank of Colonel. Lieut.-Colonel E. P. Frenchman acted for some time as I.G. of Civil Hospitals in Burma. Lieut.-Colonel H. E. Banatvala is now acting in the same appointment in Assam, and presumably will be confirmed when the post becomes permanently vacant in April, 1914.

The number of natives of India, counting those only with pure native names, who have entered the I.M.S. from Jan., 1855, to Aug., 1913, has been 109.*

Bengal	26
Madras	14
Bombay	15
Junior I.M.S.	54

The conditions are now somewhat more stringent. The latest regulations for admission, issued by the India Office in May, 1910, state, in rule 2, that "candidates must be natural-born subjects of His Majesty, of European or East Indian descent." This definition, it will be observed, while opening the door to all colonists of European descent, French in Canada or Mauritius, Dutch in South Africa or Ceylon, closes it entirely, not only on British subjects of African descent, but on all Asiatics, except Indians; *i.e.* on Malays, Arabs, Chinese, etc. Portuguese in India apparently might claim both European and East Indian descent. It is not easy to see how Armenians, of whom many have entered the I.M.S., are included, for they are by descent neither European nor East Indian; but apparently they have been considered as domiciled in India.

In addition to the Assistant Surgeons, or Surgeons' Mates, appointed to the service in England, other young qualified men were from time to time permitted to go out to practise in India,

* Portuguese and Armenian names are not included.

to succeed to appointments as Assistant Surgeon as vacancies occurred. The Company did not encourage men to go out on speculation without permission.

The admission of a large number of Assistant Surgeons in 1782–83 to the Bengal Medical Service, and the long discussions over the respective rank of the men appointed from home and of those locally admitted, a dispute which lasted for some sixteen years, has already been mentioned.* The number of men locally appointed during the next thirty years was not large. Still the Government of India found it necessary, from time to time, when short-handed, to make a few such appointments.

That of Lumsdaine in 1797–99 has been quoted. The *Proceedings* of the Calcutta Medical Board of 9th Jan., 1798, note the recommendation for temporary employment as Assistant Surgeon at Dakka of William Tutin, a resident there, who had come out as Surgeon to an Indiaman. The appointment was sanctioned by Government. And in 1801 two doctors who are spoken of as residents of Calcutta, J. Hare, junior, and B. Reilly, were temporarily appointed. On 31st July, 1794, Thomas Lyon petitioned the Calcutta Medical Board, saying that he had been taken prisoner in the Indiaman *Pigot* on 7th Feb. of that year, that he had lost the savings of nine years' service in the Company's ships, and that he had been a prisoner of war for three months, and asked to be appointed an Assistant Surgeon in Bengal. The Medical Board recommended his appointment to the Bengal Government, which at first refused to make the appointment, but a week later agreed to do so.† All four of these officers were eventually confirmed in the service. Lyon was killed in the battle of Deig, in Bhartpur State, on 13th Nov., 1804.

Numerous temporary local appointments were made to the Bengal Service in 1816–19, at the time of the third Maratha war, and in 1824–25, for the first Burmese war. On both these occasions the Court insisted on the removal from the service of all the temporary Assistant Surgeons when the need for their services was over. On each occasion about one-half of the temporary men were successful in getting nominations to the Service in the regular way, and the rest were struck off.

* See Chap. XIV, *Strength from time to time.* Also articles in *Indian Medical Gazette,* June to November, 1909.

† *Proceedings,* Calcutta Medical Board, 4th Aug., and 5th Sept., 1794.

The sale or purchase of appointments as Cadet or Assistant Surgeon was absolutely forbidden. If detected, the purchaser of a commission was liable to dismissal. No case seems to be on record in which an Assistant Surgeon was actually dismissed for having procured his admission by purchase. It is not likely that such sale or purchase was at all common. The nominations to both cadetships and medical appointments were in the hands of the Directors of the Company, most of whom were wealthy men. The power of nominating to commissions in the Indian Army was a valuable piece of patronage, the holder of which was able to oblige his friends, or those from whom he in turn hoped for favours, by providing a start in life for their sons, or the sons of their friends. The exchange of nominations was common; *i.e.* a Director who wished to nominate a man to the Bengal Medical Service might not have a nomination for that service at his disposal at the time, but might have a nomination for some other branch of the service, say for instance for the Madras Cavalry, which he did not want, and which he would hand over to another Director in exchange for the nomination he required. But the actual sale of nominations must have been rare. What was feared, rather than actual sale, was brokerage, or the offer to influence others who had such appointments in their gift.

That it was believed that nominations could be bought is clearly shown by the following advertisement, published in the *Times* of 6th March, 1806, and reproduced in the issue of 7th March, 1907:—

"FIFTY POUNDS may be had by procuring the Advertiser an ASSISTANT SURGEONCY in the East India Company's service. Address (postpaid) to A. M., at Peele's Coffee-house."

The sale, purchase, or brokerage of appointments in the Army, Navy, or other branches of the public service, including that of the E.I. Co., was made a penal offence in 1809, by Act 49 George III., *cap.* 126. A resolution of the Court of Directors, dated 9th Aug., 1809, declared that the purchase of an appointment in the Company's service should entail the dismissal of the offender. This resolution is published in the *East India Register* of 1827.

"Resolution of Court of Directors, 9th August 1809, to prevent the purchase of appointments. That any person who shall, in future, be

nominated to a situation, either civil or military, in the service of the Company, and who shall have obtained such nomination in consequence of purchase, or agreement to purchase, or of any corrupt pretence whatever, either direct or indirect, by himself or by any other person, with or without his privity, shall be rejected from the service of the Company, and ordered back to England, if he shall have proceeded to India before a discovery of such corrupt practice be made: and if such situation shall have been so corruptly procured by himself, or with his privity, he shall be rendered incapable of holding that, or any other situation whatever, in the said service. Provided always, that if a fair disclosure of any corrupt transaction or practice of the nature before described, wherein any Director has been concerned, shall be voluntarily made by the party or parties engaged in the same with such Director, the appointment thereby procured shall be voluntarily confirmed by the Court."

In 1807, objections were made to medical officers of the Company leaving their service to join the King's Army. A Mily. Letter from Madras, dated 6th March, 1807, reports in para. 369 that Assistant Surgeon Piper has been discharged, having entered the King's service; and goes on to state that a rule has been made that, for the future, no medical officer will be permitted to retire from the Company's service without returning to England.* This rule does not seem ever to have been enforced.

Later in the same year, another Madras Mily. Letter of 21st Oct., 1807, states in para. 764, that in future Assistant Surgeons will be attached to a certain extent, at first, to King's regiments, to extend their medical knowledge.†

The following appointment letter of Assistant Surgeon J. F. Berger, dated 18th Jan., 1814, is given as a specimen of the manner in which a number of men then joined the service. It is a sample of many, and shows how young medical men were allowed to go out to India to practise their profession, while waiting to succeed to vacancies as they might arise. Apparently they were not entitled to any pay until formally appointed to fill a vacancy. But, as a rule, on arrival they would find several vacancies due to deaths or retirements which had arisen since their nomination, and would not have long to wait before they obtained a footing on the establishment.

"Pursuant to reference of Court of 12th instant, the Committee have taken into consideration the petition of Mr John Francis Berger, for leave to proceed to India as an Assistant Surgeon, and Mr Berger having produced the necessary testimonials of his qualification for that station are of opinion, he be permitted to proceed to Bengal to practise in the line of his

* *Abstracts, Letters from Madras*, Vol. IX, 1806–12 (unpaged). † *Ibid.*

profession and to succeed to the post of Assistant-Surgeon, and that his rank be settled at a future time. (Recommended by James Pattison, Esq.)"

In the original letter Bengal is written and struck out, Madras being written above. Berger, as a matter of fact, never joined the Service at all. He may have been a foreigner, as he says in his application for an appointment, (*Asst.-Surgeons' Certificates*, Vol. IX), that he was born at Geneva on 26th June, 1778. He was therefore thirty-five at the time of his appointment to the I.M.S. He seems to have previously served in the A.M.D., as he speaks of receiving his certificates from the War Office.

The London College of Surgeons * used to grant, from 1745 up to 1800, an inferior diploma, or certificate, by which the applicant was certified as qualified for appointment as Hospital Mate or Surgeon's Mate in the Navy or Army, or to an Indiaman, or as Assistant Surgeon to an Indian Presidency. From 1800 to 1822 they granted, in addition to the diploma of M.R.C.S., a second diploma as Licentiate. The following diploma granted to Assistant Surgeon James Mann, though dated 1811, appears to be a specimen of the earlier certificate. It occurs in the volume of *Asst.-Surgeons' Certificates* for 1811, and is a specimen of many. In the original the words shown in brackets, including, of course, the signatures, are in writing, the rest of the document in copper-plate print.

"To the Clerk to the Committee of Shipping of the Hon'ble United East India Company. Sir,—We have examined Mr. (James Mann) and find him qualified to serve as Assistant-Surgeon at any of the East India Company's Presidencies in the East Indies.

"We are, Sir,

	Charles Blicke . .	Master.
	David Dundas . .	Governors.
	Thompson Forster .	
	C. Hawkins . .	
"College of Surgeons.	J. Earle . . .	
(15th February) 18	C. Chandler . .	
(11.)	J. Keate . . .	Examiners."
	Everard Home . .	
	William Blizard .	
	Henry Clive . .	

* The London College has gone through the following forms: 'Corporation of Barber Surgeons (1540–1745); Corporation of Surgeons, London (1745–1800); Royal College of Surgeons, London (1800–22); Royal College of Surgeons, England, from 1822. They have given, from time to time, the following diplomas: M.R.C.S. (Corporation), 1540–1800; M.R.C.S., London, 1800–22; M.R.C.S., England, 1822 to date. Certificate, Corporation of Surgeons, 1745–1800. Licentiate, L.R.C.S., London, 1800–22; Fellow, F.R.C.S., England, 1844 to date.

In a few cases, members of the Sub-Medical Department have been promoted to commissioned rank. Daniel Fallon was appointed Sub-Assistant Surgeon, in Bombay, on 16th Jan., 1817. He was promoted for good service in the field at Alashkara in Arabia, in Nov., 1820, when his immediate superior officer, Surgeon George Whigham, was killed in action. He was appointed Assistant Surgeon, Bombay, from 27th Jan., 1821, but without claim to future promotion. Possibly this bar to his rising in the Service might have been removed, had he lived long enough; but he died of cholera at Panwell, Bombay, on 9th April, 1828, before his turn for promotion had arrived. John Bowron was born in Feb., 1799, entered the Bengal Sub-Medical Department as a medical pupil on 1st July, 1813, became Apothecary on 7th Sept., 1816, got a commission as Assistant Surgeon, Bengal, from 20th Dec., 1825, became Surgeon on 16th Dec., 1840, retired on 31st Dec., 1851, and died at Hove on 5th March, 1899, aged 100, having lived to a greater age than any officer who had yet served in the I.M.S. William Leggatt was appointed Sub-Assistant Surgeon, Bombay, in Feb., 1823, served in the First Burmese War in that capacity on the cruiser *Teignmouth*, was appointed an acting Assistant Surgeon in March, 1827, and confirmed in that rank from 3rd Jan., 1828. He became Surgeon on 9th Jan., 1843, and died on 16th May, 1854. Thomas Prendergast, an Apothecary on the Madras Establishment, was nominated Assistant Surgeon on 17th Jan., 1830. Having declined to appear for examination before the Madras Medical Board, he was granted sick leave to England to prosecute further medical study; but not having succeeded in qualifying, his appointment was revoked, and he was reappointed Apothecary.

Since admission to the service was thrown open to competition, a large number of members of the Sub-Medical Department have succeeded in gaining commissions by examination.*

During the last twenty-five years of the nomination system commissions as Assistant Surgeons in the I.M.S. were several times given by Directors of the Company as prizes at various Medical Schools. In 1832 a student recommended by London University was nominated by Sir R. Campbell, but this appointment hardly proved a success, as W. D. Nash, who was thus appointed, resigned, after a few years' service, on 14th June, 1838.

* See Chap. XXVII, *The Uncovenanted and Subordinate Medical Services.*

In 1842 and 1849 nominations were given by Sir J. Lushington to the London College of Surgeons, also one in 1847 by the Court of Directors. At least eight other nominations were given by different Directors, from 1852 to 1855, as prizes for competition at Medical Schools. A list of these prizemen is given below :—

Date of Commission.	Name.	Medical School.	Director nominating.
18th Sept., 1842	W. Crozier	Nominated by Council R. C. S. (Bart.'s)	Sir J. Lushington
19th June, 1847	J. Williams	Ditto	Court of Directors
4th Feb., 1849	G. Hansbrow	Ditto	Sir J. Lushington
30th June, 1852	W. B. Beatson	Guy's	J. Masterman
20th April, 1853	T. J. Duthoit	Bart.'s	J. Masterman
18th June, 1853	F. N. Macnamara.	King's College	W. A. C. Plowden
20th Oct., 1853	A. J. Dale	London Hospital	R. Ellis
20th Oct., 1853	A. Sanderson.	Aberdeen	Col. J. Sykes
30th Dec., 1854	J. C. Annesley	St. George's	R. D. Mangles
14th Jan., 1855	R. H. Bartrum	Guy's	J. Masterman
9th Jan., 1856	J. H. Thornton	King's College	W. H. L. Melville

Most of the officers thus nominated fairly justified their early success. Two fell in the Mutiny, Hansbrow, murdered at Bareli, and Bartrum, killed in the relief of Lucknow. Four, Beatson, Dale, Sanderson, and Thornton, rose to the rank of Deputy Surgeon-General, Thornton also being decorated with the K.C.B.; Duthoit died at five, Crozier at twenty years' service. Williams, Annesley, and Macnamara retired with between twenty and twenty-five years' service; the last had held the Professorship of Chemistry in Calcutta for over twenty years. Sanderson was appointed to the Madras Service, all the others to Bengal.

Age on admission.—The first introduction of any age limit on admission appears to have been about 1821. The regulations for admission published in the *East India Register* of 1822 state that the newly appointed Assistant Surgeon must not be under twenty years of age. In 1835 the age for admission was raised to twenty-two, at which age it remained until Jan., 1887, when it was lowered to twenty-one.

Previous to 1855, no maximum age limit existed. On many occasions men were appointed at ages which seem to us nowadays absurdly high. Lewis Blohme, appointed Assistant Surgeon on 6th July, 1772, four years later, on 19th Dec., 1776, resigned on account of age and infirmities, and was pensioned on Lord Clive's

Fund. Fort William General letter of 19th Dec., 1776, reports in para. 12—

"Dr Lewis Blohme, late a Surgeon on that Establishment, permitted to resign on account of his age and long illness. Have granted him certificates to obtain a pension."

In the volume of *Asst.-Surgeons' Certificates* for 1811, George Hewetson, appointed to Madras on 28th July, 1811, swears to his age as 49 years 6 months, on 17th April, 1811. Joseph Marechaux, appointed to Bengal on 31st July, 1812, was born on 26th Aug., 1764, consequently was within a month of 48 on first appointment. Hewetson died at Vellore on 9th Aug., 1824, Marechaux was drowned on 5th Dec., 1814, so neither of them lived long enough to earn a pension.

Even so late as 1853, such appointments seem to have been occasionally made. The *Lancet* of 9th July, 1853, contains a letter on the grievances of the I.M.S., in which the writer complains of old and sometimes unqualified men being appointed to the Service. The reference in this case is probably to R. C. Knight, who was appointed Assistant Surgeon in Bengal on 4th Feb., 1853. Neither his age nor his qualification, if any, are recorded; but he had served as an Acting Asst.-Surgeon in Bombay in 1840–41, and as an Uncovenanted Medical Officer in 1850–52, so must have been much older than most of the men joining. Other Assistant Surgeons appointed in 1853 at ages higher than usual were Peter O'Brien and Arthur Young. O'Brien was born on 19th Nov., 1806, and appointed Assistant Surgeon on 20th Nov., 1853, at the age of 47. He had, however, served for nine years in the Gwalior Contingent as an Uncovenanted Medical Officer, and was by no means unqualified, as he had obtained the diploma of M.R.C.S. in 1843, before his first appointment, was also M.D. of Calcutta, and took the F.R.C.S., England, later, in 1859. Young was born on 21st Dec., 1816, officiated as Assistant Surgeon in Bombay from 5th Dec., 1846, subsequently serving as an Uncovenanted Medical Officer in Sind, before he obtained a commission as Assistant Surgeon, Bengal, on 20th Oct., 1853, when he was nearly 37.

Knight died at Bijnor on 14th June, 1860, but both O'Brien and Young lived to retire on pension, Young surviving up to 27th March, 1906.

The admission regulations of 1855 fix the age for admission as 22 to 28, and these age-limits have remained in force ever

since, except that the minimum age was lowered to 21 in Jan., 1887.

In the *East India Register* of 1822 appear for the first time regulations for the admission of Assistant Surgeons, as follows :—

"*Age.*—Not to be under twenty years; in proof of which he must produce an extract from the Register of the Parish in which he was born, or his own affidavit.

"*Qualification.*—A Diploma from the Royal College of Surgeons of London, or of the Colleges of Surgeons of Dublin or Edinburgh, or of the College and University of Glasgow,* or the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, is deemed satisfactory as to his knowledge of Surgery. The above testimonials must be produced upon his receiving his nomination from a member of the Court of Directors. The Assistant Surgeon will then be sent to Dr Chambers, the Company's Examining Physician, with the undermentioned letter :—

" 'Sir :—I have the commands of the Committee for passing Military appointments, to request you will please to examine Mr —— and certify whether he is now qualified in physic to serve as an Assistant Surgeon at any of the Company's Presidencies in the East Indies; and if not, at what period you think he may be sufficiently qualified to obtain your certificate.'

"The following regulations have been resolved on by the Court in reference to the examination by Dr Chambers :—

" 'That every person nominated an Assistant Surgeon be required to pass an examination in the practice of physic in which examination will be included as much anatomy and physiology as is necessary for understanding the causes and treatment of internal diseases, as well as the art of prescribing and compounding medicines.

" 'That upon the Assistant Surgeon presenting himself to Dr Chambers, he be required to produce to him satisfactory proof of his having attended one course of lectures on the practice of physic, and above all, of his having attended diligently the practice of the Physicians at some General Hospital in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, or Glasgow, for at least six months; and that unless he produce such proof, it be deemed a want of proper qualification, and be immediately reported as such by the Examining Physician, to the Committee for passing Military appointments.

" 'The Assistant Surgeon will likewise be required to attend one course of Dr Gilchrist's lectures in Hindoostanee, for admission to which he will have to pay not more than three Guineas; and previous to his passing the Committee, he will be required to produce Dr Gilchrist's certificate of his having so attended. *Dr Gilchrist's residence, 15, Arlington Street, Piccadilly.*

" 'The Assistant Surgeon will finally be required to execute covenants in the Secretary's office, and find security in two persons to the extent of £500, jointly and severally, for the due performance of those covenants. *Stamps and Fees, £15 15s. 6d.*

* Glasgow was then the only University which gave a Surgical as well as a Medical degree. This degree was given only for three years, 1819–22. It was not until 1860–65 that Surgical degrees were given generally by Universities. They were then introduced chiefly in order to comply with the requirements of the Public Services.

"'*Passage Money.* If the Assistant Surgeon should proceed in one of the Company's ships, he will have to pay £95 for his accommodation at the Captain's Table, or £55 for his accommodation at the Third Mate's Mess, and his passage money must be lodged in the hands of the Company's Paymaster, for the said Captain or Third Mate.'"

Between 1822 and 1855 the following additions to and alterations in these rules appear in the successive half-yearly issues of the *East India Register.*

In 1825. "At a Court of Directors held on Friday, the 27th February, 1818—*Resolved* that Cadets and Assistant Surgeons be in future ranked according to the seniority of the Directors nominating them, from the date of sailing of the several ships from Gravesend (whether the Company's or Private Traders) by Lloyds' list, and that those who may embark at any of the outports, be likewise ranked upon the same principle from the date of the ship's departure from such outport by Lloyds' list."

In 1828. "The Assistant Surgeon will likewise be required to take a copy of the work published by Mr Annesley, entitled '*Sketches of the most prevalent Diseases of India,*' and ~~will~~ then receive a certificate of his appointment, signed by the Secretary, for which he will be required to pay a fee of £5 in the Secretary's office."

The clause regarding the execution of a covenant for £500 is omitted in 1825.

In 1834 the clause requiring him to take a copy of Annesley's work is omitted, and three new clauses entered.

"The Assistant Surgeon is also required, as a condition to his appointment, to subscribe to the military or medical fund at his respective presidency.

"The Assistant Surgeon is required, by resolution of Court of the 21st of May 1828, to apply at the Cadet-office for his orders for embarkation, and actually proceed under such orders within three months from the date of being passed and sworn before the Military Committee; he will then be furnished with an order to obtain the certificate of his appointment, signed by the Secretary, for which he will pay a fee of £5 in the Secretary's office.

"'At a Court of Directors held 21st May, 1828.—*Resolved* that all the Cavalry and Infantry Cadets and Assistant Surgeons who shall fail to apply at the Cadet office for their orders for embarkation within three months from the date of their being passed and sworn before the Committee, or shall not actually proceed under such orders, be considered as having forfeited their appointments, unless special circumstances shall justify the Court's departure from this regulation.'"

In 1836 the qualification in medicine is stated as follows in addition to attendance on lectures:—

"Above all, that he should produce a certificate of having attended diligently the practice of the Physicians at some general hospital in London

for six months, or at some dispensary in London for twelve months, or at some general hospital in the country (within the United Kingdom) for six months; provided such provincial Hospital contain at least, on an average, one hundred in-patients, and have attached to it a regular establishment of Physicians as well as Surgeons."

In 1836 the age of admission was also raised to twenty-two.

In 1838 the clause "or at some dispensary in London" is omitted, and the following sentence added:—

"No attendance on the practice of a Physician at any *Dispensary* will be admitted."

In 1842 is added a clause to the effect that subscription to the Military Orphan Society is compulsory on Assistant Surgeons appointed to Bengal.

In 1843 the following paragraph is added to the qualification required in Surgery:—

"He is also required to produce a certificate from the Cupper of a Public Hospital in London, of having acquired, and being capable of practising with proper dexterity, the art of cupping.'

In 1848 the following addition is made about qualification in Surgery:—

"The Assistant Surgeon, upon receiving a nomination, will be furnished with a letter to the Court of Examiners of the Royal College of Surgeons, to be examined in Surgery and their certificate will be deemed a satisfactory testimonial of his qualification."

The rules then go on to say, as before, that a diploma from Glasgow University, or from one of the Colleges of Surgeons, will be accepted.

In 1852 the following is added to the end of the paragraph on "Qualification in Physic":—

"It is also expected that the Assistant Surgeon will produce a certificate of having diligently attended, for at least three months, the practical instruction given at one of the Asylums for the treatment of the *Insane* and at one of the Institutions or Wards of a hospital especially dedicated to the treatment of *Ophthalmic* disease. He will also be required to attend a course of lectures on the principles and practice of Military Surgery, if such a course shall be given at the place at which he has been educated." *

* A Chair of Military Surgery was founded in Edinburgh in 1806, and filled from 1806 to 1822 by Dr. Thomson, who was succeeded by Sir George Ballingall. Mr. Tufnell, a retired Army Surgeon, began to lecture on the same subject at Dublin in 1846, in the College of Surgeons there. Both these chairs were subsidized by the State, and both were abolished on the foundation of the Army Medical School.

The Regulations passed for the first competitive examination, in Jan., 1855, are contained in the *East India Register* for that year, and are as follows :—

" All natural-born subjects of Her Majesty may be candidates for admission into the service of the East India Company as Assistant Surgeons. They must, however, be between twenty-two and twenty-eight years of age, and of sound bodily health.

" They must subscribe and send in to Dr Scott, Physician to the East India Company, before the 10th day of December, 1854, a declaration to the following effect :—

" ' I (Christian and surname at full length) a candidate for employment as an Assistant Surgeon in the service of the East India Company, do hereby declare that I was —— years of age on the —— day of —— last, and that I labour under no constitutional disease or physical disability that can interfere with the due discharge of the duties of a medical officer ; and I also attest my readiness to proceed on duty to India within three months of receiving my appointment.'

" This declaration must be accompanied by the following documents :—

" 1. Proof of age, either by extract from the register of the parish in which the candidate was born, or by his own declaration, pursuant to the Act 5 and 6 William IV, cap. 62.

" 2. A diploma in surgery, or a degree in medicine provided that an examination in surgery be required for such degree, from some body competent by law to grant or confer such diploma or degree.

" 3. A certificate of having attended two courses of lectures, of six months each, on the practice of physic, and of having attended for six months the practice and clinical instruction of the Physicians at some Hospital, containing at least, on an average, one hundred in-patients, or of having attended one course of lectures, of six months, on the practice of physic, and clinical instruction for twelve months.

" 4. A certificate of having attended for three months the practical instruction given at one of the public Asylums for the treatment of the Insane.

" 5. A certificate of having attended for three months one of the institutions or wards of a Hospital especially devoted to the treatment of ophthalmic disease.

" 6. A certificate of having attended a course of lectures on midwifery, and of having conducted, at least, six labours.

" 7. A certificate of having acquired a practical knowledge of cupping.

" Candidates may also, at their option, send in certificates of attendance at any Hospitals, or at any course of lectures in addition to the above. Attendance on a course of military surgery is recommended.

" Candidates producing satisfactory certificates will be admitted to an examination to be held in January, 1855.

" The examination will include the following subjects :—

" 1. Surgery in all its departments.

" 2. Medicine, including the diseases of women and children, therapeutics, pharmacy, and hygiene.

" 3. Anatomy and physiology, including comparative anatomy.

" 4. Natural history, including botany and zoology.

" The examination will be conducted—

" 1. By means of written questions and answers.

" 2. By object examinations and experiments, when the subject admits of such tests.

" 3. By practical examination at the bedside of the patient, and by dissections and operations on the dead body.

" 4. By *vivâ voce* examination.

" The persons who shall be pronounced by the examiners best qualified in all respects shall be appointed to fill the requisite number of appointments as Assistant Surgeons in the East India Company's service.

" All Assistant Surgeons are required to subscribe to the military or medical, and medical retiring funds, at the Presidencies to which they may be respectively appointed, and to the Military Orphan Society also if appointed to Bengal.

" All Assistant Surgeons who shall neglect or refuse to proceed to India under the orders of the Court of Directors, within three months from the date of their appointment, will be considered as having forfeited them, unless special circumstances shall justify a departure from this regulation.

" Candidates may apply to Dr Scott, 13, Stratton Street, for further information, if needed.

" *N.B.*—The certificates and notices as to examinations herein contained apply only to the examination to be held in January next. Regulations regarding the requirements of candidates for future examinations will be issued after the first examination.

" Candidates who may not have been able to attend the practice of an asylum for the insane, or of an ophthalmic hospital, for three months, previous to their offering themselves for examination in January, 1855, will not be excluded from examination, but will, if successful in obtaining recommendation for appointments, be required to produce certificates of having attended such practice during the interval between the examination and the time of proceeding to India.

" The Board of Examiners of Candidates for the appointments of Assistant Surgeons in the East India Company's service give notice that, on the 8th January, 1855, they will hold examinations at the East India House, for the selection of Assistant Surgeons. The selection will be made according to merit, and it is expected that about thirty appointments will be awarded."

In spite of the notice given that the above regulations were intended to apply only to the first competitive examination, very little change was made during the next five years. In 1856 the practical study of surgical operations on the dead body was recommended, and the following clauses added to the regulations; the first following the rule for proof of age required :—

" A certificate of moral character from a Magistrate, or a Minister of the religious denomination to which the candidate belongs, who has personally known him for at least two preceding years.

" The persons who shall be pronounced by the examiners to be the best qualified in all respects will be appointed to fill the requisite number of

appointments in the East India Company's service, and so far as the requirements of the service will permit they will have the choice of the Presidency in India to which they shall be appointed according to the order of merit in which they stand on the list resulting from such examination.

"A copy of these regulations and any further information may be obtained on application to the Secretary of the Military Department East India House.

"The examinations will take place in the months of January and July in each year, and due notice will be given by public advertisement of the days appointed and of the probable number of candidates to be selected."

The India Act of 1853, (Act 16 and 17 Vict., *cap.* 95), provides that all future admissions to the East India Company's Service, including Assistant Surgeons, after 30th April, 1854, shall be by competitive examination. This law, however, was not strictly carried out, as some fifty appointments to the I.M.S. were made by nomination between 30th April and 31st Dec., 1854. The first competitive examination was held in Jan. 1855, when only twenty-eight candidates appeared to compete for thirty vacancies. The examiners were Messrs. Paget, Busk, Hooper, and E. A. Parkes. Competitive examination for the A.M.D. was introduced in 1857, the first examination, for twenty vacancies, being held on 16th July, 1857.

In 1864 a Bill was introduced by Sir Charles Wood, Secretary of State for India, to authorize the Government to appoint Assistant Surgeons to the I.M.S. without competition, thus partly cancelling the Act of 1853. The proposal was lost by two votes. The numbers voting, 46 to 44, look as if not much interest was taken in the matter.

It is worthy of remark that, while a nomination as Assistant Surgeon in the I.M.S. had for years been considered a prize worthy of competition by some of the best students in the medical schools, when the whole number of appointments was thrown open to competition, the number of candidates, twenty-eight, was less than the number of vacancies, thirty. At the second examination, held in July, 1855, for fifty vacancies, fifty-five candidates competed, and forty-six were selected. From 1855 to 1860, indeed, competition for the I.M.S. does not appear to have been brisk. It was not until 1865, after admission to the service had been suspended for nearly five years, that the competition became really severe.

From 1st Oct., 1860, to 1st April, 1865, no new admissions

to the I.M.S. were made, while the question of amalgamating the I.M.S. with the A.M.D. was under consideration. When the Service was again thrown open to competition, early in 1865, among the successful candidates were six young Assistant Surgeons who had just gone through the Netley course in the A.M.D., J. Cleghorn, R. Harvey, J. Bennett, H. Cook, J. T. Welsh, and A. Barry. The list was headed by Kenneth McLeod, afterwards Professor of Surgery in Calcutta, and of Military Medicine in the Army Medical School at Netley. The second was Cleghorn, who became Director-General in 1895, just thirty years later, and the third was Harvey, who succeeded Cleghorn in that post in 1898. Among the Assistant Surgeons of the A.M.D., in the batch which Harvey and Cleghorn had left, was W. Taylor, afterwards Director-General.

The rules issued for the examination of 1865 do not differ greatly from those of 1855, ten years earlier, as far as the examination itself is concerned. But they include rules for the Netley course, which was not in existence at the last preceding examination in 1860. The rules are given in full in the *Bengal Army List* of July, 1865. The chief differences from 1855 are as follows :—

"2 (*c*). The candidate must possess a diploma in Surgery or a license to practise it, as well as a degree in medicine, or a license to practise it in Great Britain or Ireland.

"(*d*). Degrees, diplomas, licenses, and certificates of their registration in accordance with the Medical Act of 1858, must be lodged at the India Office, for examination and registry, at least one fortnight before the candidate appears for examination."

Rules 3 to 6 give the subjects for examination. Those for the competitive examination were three only, anatomy and physiology, surgery, and medicine, including therapeutics and diseases of women and children. Candidates who desired to do so might also take up comparative anatomy, zoology, botany, and physics, but marks gained in these subjects only counted for place among the successful competitors, not for gaining a place among those successful.

"8. After passing the preliminary examination, every candidate will be required to attend one entire course of practical instruction at the Army Medical School, before being admitted to his examination for a commission, on—

(1) Hygiene.
(2) Clinical and Military Medicine.

(3) Clinical and Military Surgery.

(4) Pathology of Diseases and Injuries incident to Military Service.

These courses are to be of not less than four months' duration.

" 9. At their conclusion, the candidate will be required to pass an examination on the subjects taught in the school. The examination will be conducted by the Professors of the school.

" The Director-General, or any Medical Officer deputed by him, may be present and take part in the examination. If the candidate gives satisfactory evidence of being qualified for the practical duties of an Army Medical Officer, he will be eligible for a commission as Assistant Surgeon.

" 10. During the period of his residence at the Army Medical School, each candidate will receive an allowance of 5*s*. *per diem* with quarters, or 7*s*. *per diem* without quarters, to cover all costs of maintenance, and he will be required to provide himself with uniform (*viz*. the regulation undress uniform of an Assistant Surgeon of the British Service, but without the sword).

" 11. All candidates will be required to conform to such rules of discipline as the Senate may, from time to time, exact.

" The persons who shall be pronounced by the Examiners to be the best qualified in all respects will be appointed to fill the requisite number of appointments as Assistant Surgeon in Her Majesty's Indian Army, and, so far as the requirements of the service will permit, they will have the choice of the Presidency in India to which they shall be appointed, according to the order of merit in which they stand on the list, resulting from the preliminary examination.

" 12. All Assistant Surgeons, who shall neglect or refuse to proceed to India under the orders of the Secretary of State for India within two months from the date of their appointment, will be considered as having forfeited it, unless special circumstances shall justify a departure from this regulation.

" 13. Myopia, necessitating the use of glasses, is a disqualification for admission to the Indian Medical Service."

Since 1865 little alteration has been made in the regulations for admission. In Jan., 1887, the minimum age for admission to the competitive examination was reduced from twenty-two to twenty-one years. In Aug., 1891, a rule was made that no candidate should compete for admission more than twice; in Jan., 1898, raised to three times. In 1866 a moderate degree of myopia was permitted by the Regulations, provided that the candidate did not require to wear glasses to operate. In 1873, French, German, and Hindustani were added to the optional extra subjects of examination. In 1880 the pay of the Surgeons on probation at Netley was raised to eight shillings, and in 1903 to fourteen shillings a day.

A Madras G. O. of 14th Aug., 1821, orders that newly joined Assistant Surgeons shall undergo a probationary course, on their

first arrival, of instruction in the treatment of diseases of India, on the completion of which they were examined by the Medical Board, and, if found fit, reported duly qualified to enter upon the general duties of the army. Another Madras G.O. of 18th Aug., 1829, lays down that, after finishing the first part of his probationary course, and being reported qualified for the charge of acute cases of the principal diseases of India, the Assistant Surgeon may be posted to one of His Majesty's regiments for the second part of his course.

In all three Presidencies, for many years, a modification of this system was in force. The newly joined Assistant Surgeon was posted, on his arrival, to the Presidency, and there underwent a certain amount of instruction in the diseases of India, in the chief hospitals of the city, while waiting until his services were required elsewhere. After the institution of the Netley course, however, no fixed period for his stay was required, and no examination held; he was only detained at the Presidency until required for other duty. This system continued in force until about 1879.

Examinations for Promotion were held at a very early date. In Long's *Selections*, No. 591, p. *282*, is quoted an instance of such an examination in 1762.

"*Proceedings* 11*th November*, 1762.—Mr Peter Smith, Surgeon's Mate in the Army, having arrived from Patna, ordered the Secretary to direct Mr Clement Crooke to call to his assistance one or more of the Surgeons of the Europe ships and examine Mr Smith on his knowledge of his profession. And after such examination they are to report to the Board whether they esteem him properly qualified to be promoted to be a Surgeon to the Army."

Peter Smith was duly examined and passed. He died at Dakka in Jan., 1779. The report of Smith's examination is entered in the *Bengal Cons.* of 15th Nov., 1762. It is signed by Clement Crooke, James Lind, and Christopher King. Crooke's career has been related in Chap. XII, *William Fullerton, and the Patna Massacre;* Lind's in Chap. XXIV, *The Sea Service.* Lind was Surgeon of the *Drake*, and King of the *Hardwicke.*

Orders were passed in Madras in 1775 that Assistant Surgeons should in future be examined before promotion to the rank of Surgeon. There are several entries to this effect, some of which have been quoted above, in the *Mily. Cons.* of 1775–76. The subject appears to have been raised by Terence Gahagan, who

was one of the Assistant Surgeons specially noted as not to be promoted, so presumably was unqualified. On 9th April, 1775, he applied for promotion to Surgeon, saying that he had served for eight years, and seen much war service; he was answered that there was no vacancy. A similar petition, dated 12th Sept., 1775, received the same answer. On 12th Oct., he complained that Pasley, the senior Surgeon, was prejudiced against him, therefore he objected to being examined in Madras, and asked leave to go to England, with a recommendation to Court for promotion, if he could pass at Surgeons' Hall. Orders were issued that he must be examined in Madras, and Surgeons Anderson, Boswell, and Davies were directed to examine him. Boswell got out of this duty, on the plea of want of leisure; Anderson and Davies examined Gahagan, and reported unfavourably upon his qualifications. He was then granted leave to go home, and sailed in Feb., 1776, on the *Ankerwyke*. His departure was reported to Court in Madras Separate Letter of 14th Feb., 1776, para. 5.*

"Assistant Surgeon Terence Gahagan allowed to return to Europe. On examination he was judged unqualified to succeed as Surgeon, but he bears a very good character, has been 9 years in your Service constantly employed in Hospitals, and is, therefore, recommended to Court's attention should he make himself properly qualified."

Terence Gahagan entered the Madras Medical Service as Hospital Mate on 4th Aug., 1767, and was promoted to Surgeon from 12th June, 1778. A letter from Court dated 30th Jan., 1778, in para 16, states that he is returning to India on the *Grosvenor*,† and is appointed Surgeon at Madras, to rank next below the youngest Surgeon. He became Head Surgeon on 15th Feb., 1788, member of the Medical Board on 22nd Jan., 1800, retired on 29th Feb., 1812, and died in London on 21st Jan., 1814. His first regular qualification seems to have been the certificate from the London College, which he got in 1777. He afterwards obtained, in 1798, the M.D. of King's College, Aberdeen.

* *Abstracts, Letters from Madras*, Vol. II, 1773–84, p. 88.

† The *Grosvenor* is still remembered on account of the tragic circumstances of her loss, on 4th Aug., 1782, on the coast between Natal and Delagoa Bay. Her crew and passengers numbered about 142, under Captain Coxon. Most of them got safely ashore, including three ladies and five children; but only a few, five men and a boy, survived to reach the Dutch settlement at the Cape. See *Bengal, Past and Present*, Vol. II, p. 324.

For several years after Gahagan's promotion, a dispute went on between him on the one side, and Surgeons Binney and Mein on the other, as to their respective seniority. The question was, whether Gahagan's rank as Surgeon should date from Oct., 1777, the date of the Court's order for his promotion, or from the date of his subsequent arrival at Madras, on return from leave. The Court finally decided in favour of Gahagan.

This early promotion examination seems to have gradually been discontinued.

The examination for promotion from Assistant Surgeon to Surgeon was reintroduced in the new warrant of 1864 for the I.M.S., para. 33.*

"Asst. Surgeons of twelve years' service from the date of first commission (of which two years shall have been passed in charge of a native regiment) who shall have passed the prescribed examination in professional subjects will be promoted to the rank of Surgeon."

The Royal Warrant of 10th May, 1873,† which abolished the rank of Assistant Surgeon, directs in paragraph 2—

"A Surgeon *shall* be promoted to Surgeon Major on completion of twelve years' service from date of first commission, subject to his passing such examination as our Principal Secretary of State for India in Council may require."

This examination was dropped in 1880, under the provisions of the Royal Warrant of 16th Nov., 1880,‡ para. 4 of which, omitting the order for promotion examination, runs—

"A Surgeon shall be promoted to Surgeon Major on completion of twelve years' service from date of first commission."

Surgeon Robert Reid, one of the officers who entered the Bengal Medical Service on 1st April, 1865, refused to appear for this promotion examination, and remained at the head of the list of Surgeons from 1st April, 1877, when his contemporaries were promoted, to 16th Nov., 1880, when the examination was abolished, and he was promoted, with a loss of three and a half years' seniority.

* See Chap. XXXVII, *The Crown succeeds the Company.*
† See Chap. XXXVIII., 1865 *to* 1896.
‡ *Ibid.*

Since 1880 there has been no examination for promotion to Surgeon-Major or Major. But an examination for promotion from Lieut. to Captain was introduced by Notification No. 1047, dated 23rd Oct., 1903, by the Govt. of India, Mily. Dept.,* para. 4 of which states—

"Officers after completing eighteen months' service will be required to pass an examination in Military Law and Military Medical organisation."

Commencement of Service.—The medical officers appointed from 1855–60 counted their service from the date of the examination at which they passed. From 1865 to the middle of 1889 their first commissions were dated from the day on which they joined the Army Medical School at Netley. From the middle of 1899 to the middle of 1902 their commissions were dated from the day they passed out of Netley, under the provisions of I.A.C., clause 115, of June, 1890. This change was made in order to assimilate the conditions of service in the I.M.S. to those of the A.M.D.† At one time the Surgeons on probation for the Navy, the A.M.D., and I.M.S., all of whom had passed at the same examination, were all under training together at Netley, but ranking from three different dates, the Navy from the date of examination, the I.M.S. from the date of joining Netley, and the A.M.D. from the date of leaving Netley. Finally, Notification No. 1047 of 23rd Oct., 1903, quoted above, again dated the newly joined officer's commission from the day on which his course of instruction in England began, beginning with those who joined on 1st Sept., 1902.

The Army Medical School.‡—Both the Army Medical School and the Royal Victoria Hospital at Netley owe their foundation to the Crimean war. In 1857 a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into—"the regulations affecting the sanitary condition of the army, the reorganization of military hospitals, and the treatment of the sick and wounded." Of this Commission the Right Honourable Sydney Herbert, afterwards Lord Herbert of Lea, was President; Sir James Ranald Martin was one of the

* See Chap. XXXIX, *The New Service.*

† See Chap. XXXVIII, 1865 *to* 1896.

‡ Much of the information about the Army Medical School is taken from an article entitled *Netley*, in the *Caledonian Journal* of Oct., 1906, by Col. K. McLeod, I.M.S., retired.

members. Lord Herbert was, in fact, the founder of the school, and in his memory was founded the Herbert prize, awarded each session to the candidate who gets the highest marks in the examination held at the end of the term. The Commission reported to Parliament early in 1858. Among their proposals was one to the effect—

" that, after the first or Entrance examination, candidates for commissions should be sent to a military general hospital, there to go through a course of instruction in military hygiene and in clinical military medicine and surgery, for which purpose the necessary professional chairs, in lieu of the two now existing in Edinburgh and Dublin, should be instituted at the principal general hospital in England."

The Royal Victoria Hospital, Netley, was erected by the special desire of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, both she and the Prince Consort taking a personal interest in the plans. The foundation-stone was laid by the Queen on 19th May, 1856, and in 1863 the building was completed and opened for the reception of soldiers invalided from India and the Colonies.

The Army Medical School was first established at Fort Pitt, Chatham. Its Senate was appointed on 31st March, 1860, and consisted of the following seven officers :—

Inspr.-Genl. Gibson, C.B.	Director-General, A.M.D.
,, J. R. Martin	Physician to the Secretary of State for India.
,, J. R. Taylor, C.B.	I.G., A.M.D., at Chatham.
,, T. Longmore	Professor of Military Surgery.
Surg.-Major C. Morehead	Professor of Military Medicine.
,, E. A. Parkes	Professor of Military Hygiene.
Dr. W. Aitken	Professor of Pathology.

Of the four professors, two were retired officers of the A.M.D., one, Dr. Morehead, belonged to the I.M.S., and the fourth, Dr. Aitken, had served as Pathologist to the Army in the Crimea.

The Army Medical School remained at Chatham for five sessions, or two and a half years. In the meantime one change had taken place in the staff, Surgeon-Major Morehead having resigned in March, 1861. He was succeeded by Surgeon-Major (Hony. Surgeon-General) W. C. Maclean, who remained in office for a quarter of a century, until 1886. On the completion of the Victoria Hospital the school was moved to Netley, where

its first session began on 1st April, 1863. For the first two years, the selected candidates for the A.M.D. only attended the school, admission to the I.M.S. being temporarily suspended. In 1871 the officers selected for the Medical Department of the Navy were also posted to Netley for instruction, an additional professor being appointed to teach Naval hygiene. On the opening of the Naval Medical School at Haslar Hospital, Gosport, in 1880, the naval men ceased to attend Netley.

In 1901 it was decided to reorganize the school, a new Army Medical School and Staff College being erected at Millbank, on the site of the old penitentiary. This school was opened on 1st September, 1902, the last batch of selected candidates for the R.A.M.C. leaving Netley on 29th June, 1902. After this date the probationers for both R.A.M.C. and I.M.S. were sent to the new school for two months, after which the Lieutenants of the R.A.M.C. went on to Aldershot, those of the I.M.S. going to Netley, for two months' instruction in military medicine and surgery. This system went on for nearly three years. The Netley School was finally closed on 31st May, 1905. Since then all Lieutenants on probation for both Services have attended the school at Millbank, and afterwards gone through a course at Aldershot.

Until the Netley School was closed, one of the Professorships, that of Military Medicine, was always held by a retired officer of the I.M.S., the Indian Government paying part of the cost of the school. As that Government pays no part of the cost of the Millbank School, it no longer appoints one of the professors.

The Professorship of Military Medicine, at Fort Pitt and Netley, during the forty-five years that the school existed, from 1860–1905, was held by the following officers :—

Surgeon-Major C. Morehead (Bombay), March, 1860, to March, 1861.
Surgeon-General W. C. Maclean (Madras), March, 1861, to Feb. 1886.
Surgeon-Major D. B. Smith (Bengal), March, 1886, to June, 1889.
Brigade Surgeon H. Cayley (Bengal), June, 1889, to July, 1897.
Colonel Kenneth McLeod (Bengal), Aug., 1897, to July, 1905.

During its life of forty-five years, 3218 Surgeons on probation went through the Army School at Fort Pitt and Netley, 1687 for the A.M.D., 1318 for the I.M.S., and 213 for the Navy ; the two latter, of course, at Netley only.

The present system of instruction, at the Millbank School and at Aldershot, appears to have been found suited to the needs of the R.A.M.C. But whether it is adapted to those of the I.M.S. is, to say the least of it, doubtful. For a corps which serves in India only, it would seem that India is the proper place for instruction in tropical diseases. In the large hospitals of the Presidency towns may be found an inexhaustible supply of material for clinical study and research. These hospitals are now well equipped with modern appliances for bacteriological work. As almost all new arrivals in India land at Bombay, that city would probably be the most convenient in India as the site of a great tropical post-graduate school of medicine. Were such a school established, that would be the best place for training the Lieutenants on probation for the I.M.S., after they had gone through a short military course at Aldershot.

Since the Crown took over the Government of India in 1858, all appointments to the I.M.S. have been made by competitive examination, with the exception of some six plague officers who were given direct commissions in India in 1902–03, and five men who have exchanged from the R.A.M.C.

It may be of interest to give below a table of the marks gained by the successful competitors for the A.M.D. and the I.M.S. respectively, during a period of somewhat over twenty years, when candidates for the two Services underwent the same competitive examination. For the greater part of this period, from 1880–98, the candidates for the A.M.D. and for the I.M.S., though appearing for the same examination, had to declare beforehand which Service they wished to enter, and were not competing against each other. From 1898 to 1901 the examination for the two Services was identical, and those who entered for it, provided they were by birth eligible for the A.M.D., were given the choice of which Service they would select, according to their position on the list of successful candidates.

In the later seventies of last century competition for the A.M.D. had ceased to exist. That service was very short-handed, and few applicants were forthcoming to fill many vacancies, consequently all who could pass a qualifying examination received commissions in the department. With the issue of the Royal Warrant of 27th Nov., 1879, this state of affairs instantly changed, and after an examination held on 8th Dec., 1879,

sixty-five commissions were given, the marks gained by those at the top of the list being very high. Surgeon-General Sir Alfred Keogh, K.C.B., afterwards Director-General, passed second on this occasion. For several examinations the marks required to be successful for the A.M.D. were higher than those required for the I.M.S.*

As a rule, the number of vacancies for the A.M.D. was larger than for the I.M.S., and it naturally follows that many men succeeded in gaining commissions in the former service who would have failed for the latter.

For two years, Aug., 1887, to Feb., 1889, inclusive, no competitive examination for the A.M.D. was held. This leaves thirty-nine simultaneous examinations, in five of which the first man for the A.M.D. scored higher marks than the first for the I.M.S., which took the lead on the other thirty-four occasions. And, in these thirty-nine examinations, eight men in all got into the I.M.S., who would have failed for the A.M.D. On the other hand, out of 842 men admitted to the A.M.D., only 411, or less than one-half, would have succeeded, on the marks earned, in entering the I.M.S. And on one occasion the first man for the A.M.D. actually scored fewer marks than the last successful competitor for the I.M.S.

The second large batch admitted to the A.M.D., after the examination in Feb., 1885, when war with Russia seemed imminent, after the Penjdeh affair, and the men admitted by nomination, between 1890 and 1901, are not included in these tables.

Since 1901 the examinations have no longer been held simultaneously, and have been marked upon a different scale, so that comparison is hardly possible. It is probable, however, that the difference in favour of the I.M.S., if it still exists, would not be so marked now as it formerly was. Indeed, at the last entrance examination held in July 1913, when the list was headed by three Indians, the marks required to pass, *i.e.* those gained by the last successful candidate, were lower than for many years past.

* It may be noted, however, that while, in the two examinations held in 1881, the last man for the I.M.S. got in with lower marks than the last man in the A.M.D., on each occasion the last but one for the I.M.S. would have stood a good way up the A.M.D. list. In Feb., 1881, there was a difference of nearly 250 marks between the last but one (1510) and the last (1265) men in the I.M.S.

THE R.A.M.C. AND THE I.M.S.

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE MARKS GAINED AT THE ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS FOR THE TWO SERVICES FOR TWENTY YEARS.

	R.A.M.C.				I.M.S.				
Date of Examination.	No. of Vacancies.	Highest marks.	Lowest marks.	Would have passed for I.M.S.	No. of Vacancies.	Highest marks.	Lowest marks.	Would have failed for R.A.M.C.	Remarks.
Dec., 1879 .	65	2590	1365	—	—	—	—	—	
Feb., 1880 .	35	1925	1135	2	23	2470	1785	—	
Aug., 1880 .	69	2510	1250	52	26	2385	1460	—	R.A.M.C. got highest marks.
Feb., 1881 .	40	2320	1345	40	22	2395	1265	1	
Aug., 1881 .	25	2390	1805	25	10	2702	1795	1	
Feb., 1882 .	15	2295	1940	15	8	2495	1900	1	
Aug., 1882 .	15	2365	1870	3	8	2960	2185	—	
Feb., 1883 .	15	2630	2050	8	5	2555	2225	—	R.A.M.C. got highest marks.
Aug., 1883 .	20	2410	1755	13	5	2475	2015	—	
Feb., 1884 .	20	2440	1920	15	5	2564	2040	—	
Aug., 1884 .	30	2475	1960	2	5	2625	2378	—	
Feb., 1885 .	45	2540	1800	20	5	2590	2160	—	
Aug., 1885 .	40	2980	2070	6	8	3208	2760	—	Marks raised 900.
Feb., 1886 .	60	3045	1940	10	16	3265	2710	—	
Aug., 1886 .	41	3180	2090	29	25	3165	2315	—	R.A.M.C. got highest marks.
Feb., 1887 .	25	3390	2630	19	28	3435	2720	—	
Aug., 1887 .	No Entrance Examination				23	3360	2780	—	
Feb., 1888 .					14	3410	3070	—	
Aug., 1888 .					4	3470	3060	—	
Feb., 1889 .					10	3550	3170	—	
Aug., 1889 .	8	3085	2630	2	12	3400	3050	—	
Feb., 1890 .	10	3005	2660	2	17	3205	2930	—	
Aug., 1890 .	20	3245	2825	4	12	3450	3140	—	
Feb., 1891 .	20	3135	2670	2	21	3625	2975	—	
Aug., 1891 .	20	3300	2550	2	6	3660	3105	—	
Feb., 1892 .	25	3160	2665	5	17	3425	3060	—	
Aug., 1892 .	10	2815	2235	10	17	2850	2185	4	
Feb., 1893 .	14	2565	1990	3	15	3150	2505	—	
Aug., 1893 .	12	2421	1978	5	12	2777	2065	—	
Feb., 1894 .	10	2849	2178	9	14	3120	2192	—	
Aug., 1894 .	12	2445	1940	8	14	2727	2000	—	
Feb., 1895 .	12	2580	1611	8	18	3104	1959	—	
Aug., 1895 .	8	2685	2001	5	16	2605	2212	—	R.A.M.C. got highest marks.
Feb., 1896 .	9	2740	2000	5	17	3186	2223	—	
Aug., 1896 .	13	3018	1804	11	12	3005	2366	—	R.A.M.C. got highest marks.
Feb., 1897 .	14	2272	1800	Nil	7	2823	2506	—	
Aug., 1897 .	19	2933	1800	15	18	3124	2500	—	
Feb., 1898 .	21	2775	1943	1	15	3470	2721	—	
Aug., 1898 .	16	2638	1848	15	20	3179	2027	—	
Feb., 1899 .	24	2393	1846	17	18	3457	2295	—	
Aug., 1899 .	14	2875	1800	3	22	3151	1939	—	
Feb., 1900 .	17	2554	1800	11	18	3640	2262	—	
Aug., 1900 .	9	2779	1855	2	14	3476	2385	—	
Feb., 1901 .	7	2750	1905	7	28	3449	1895	1	

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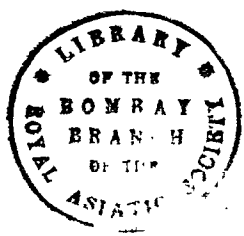

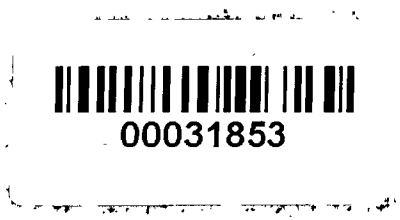

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